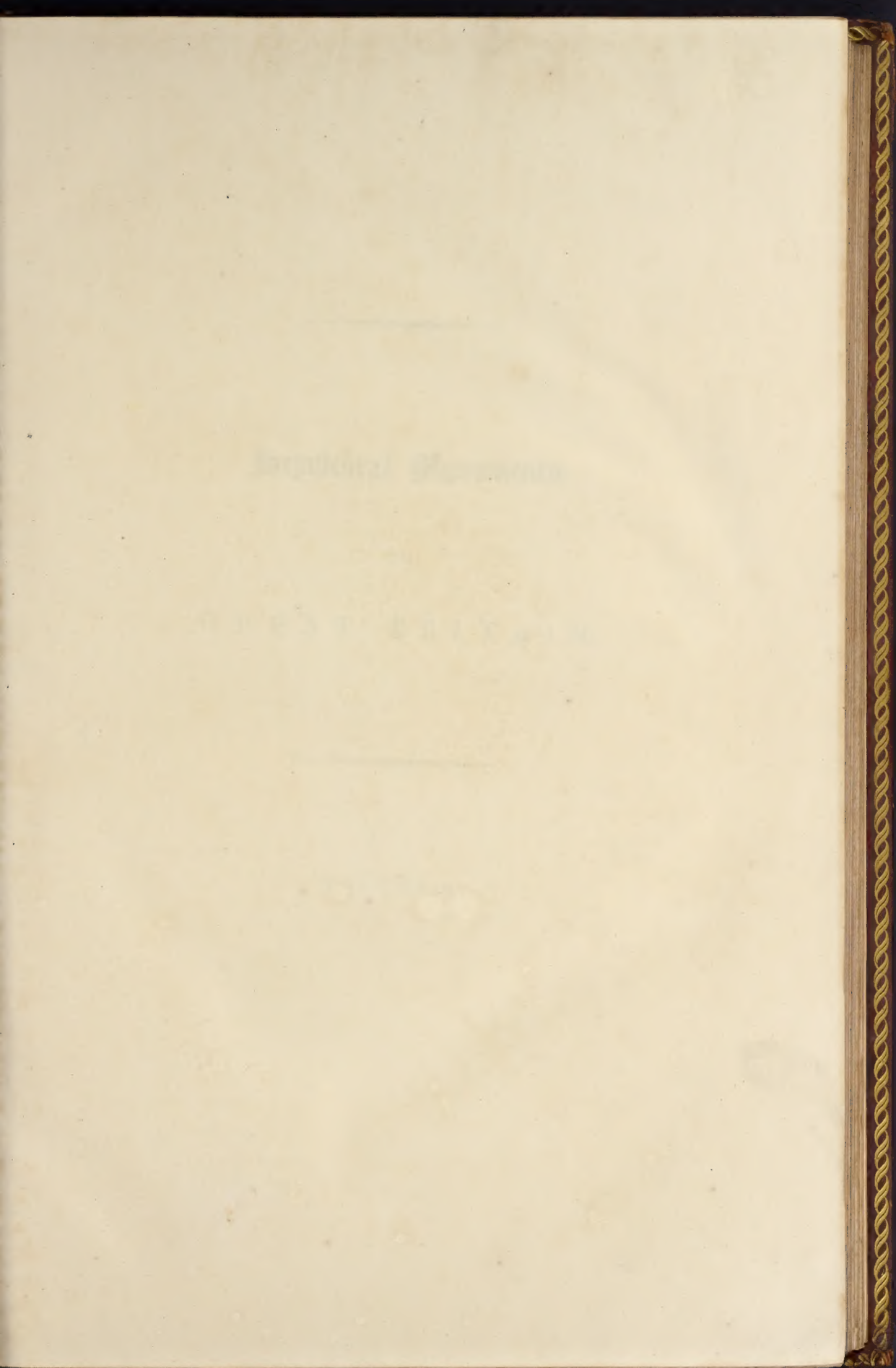
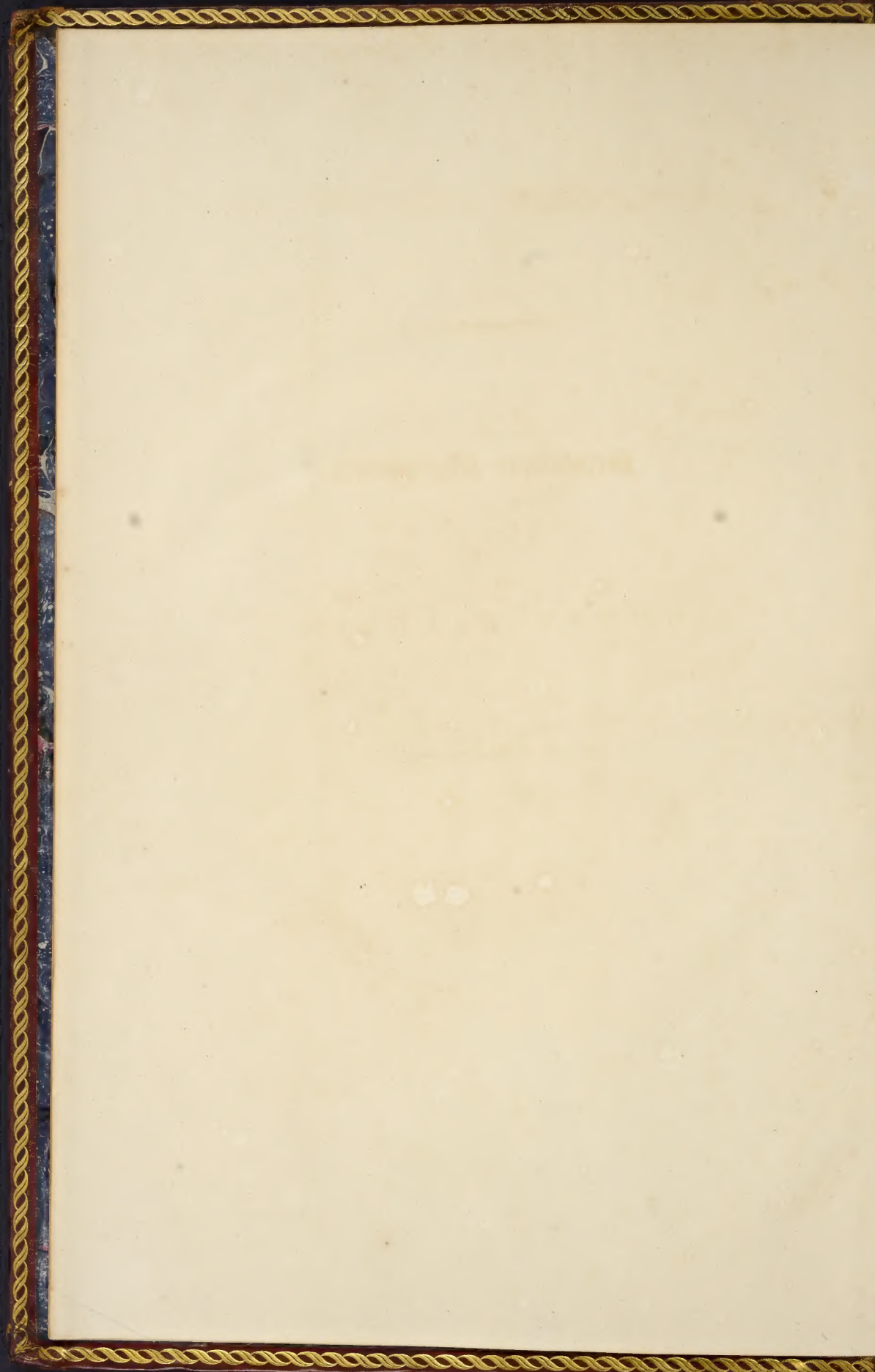


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Sepulchral Monuments,

IN

GREAT BRITAIN.

VOLUME II.

SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS,

I N

GREAT BRITAIN.

APPLIED TO ILLUSTRATE

THE HISTORY OF

FAMILIES, MANNERS, HABITS, AND ARTS,

AT THE DIFFERENT PERIODS

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

WITH

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

PART II.

CONTAINING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

*La Sculpture peut aussi fournir les Monumens en quantité : la plupart sur les TOMBEAUX.
MONTFAUCON.*



LONDON,
PRINTED BY J. NICHOLS, FOR THE AUTHOR;
AND SOLD BY T. PAYNE, AT THE MEWS-GATE;
AND G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.
M DCC XCVI.

INTRODUCTION.

VOL. II.

Est honor et tumulis. Animas placate paternas;
Parbaque in extinctis munera ferte pyras.

OVID.

P R E F A C E.

I present a second volume and fourth century of SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS of Great Britain to the Public. If they read it with the same interest which I felt in compiling it I have my recompense.

The period of our History which it comprehends is one of the most interesting to minds who delight in contemplating the progress and revolutions of Art. We behold Sepulchral STATUARY advanced to Sepulchral ARCHITECTURE; and from tombs in the public chapels and other parts of churches we proceed to tombs in their own appropriate chapels.

Thus monuments suggest an history of GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

One may fairly presume also, that the improvements in the sister art of PAINTING were equally progressive, and that statues became every day true portraits. The beautiful and magnificent chapel of the Beauchamp family at Warwick, and the monument of its founder, are striking evidences of this; and the contract for the latter bears testimony to the respective merit of *native* artists. The marbler, founder, coppersmith, glazier, and painter, are Englishmen: only the goldsmith, or gilder, is a foreigner. Sir William Dugdale has preserved specimens of their respective works, and I flatter myself I shall not be accused of partiality to my contemporaries if I say that I have found artists of my own country to improve on his representations both at Warwick and Tewksbury. The earliest instance of native workmanship has been given in the monument of Richard II. who prepared it for himself, and employed two goldsmiths of Wood street, London, to make the moulds, and cast the images of the king and queen still extant in Westminster abbey¹.

My great exemplar; and I am happy in the opportunity of calling him my patron, in his congenial pursuits, has observed, that "the most valuable artists of that age (the 14th century) were the illuminators of the MSS²". Mr. Edwards, bookseller of Pallmall, had enabled me to give the noblest proof of the truth of this observation, in yielding to me the plates which his kinsman copied with so much truth and spirit from the portraits in that inestimable missal, a present worthy of the sovereign to whom it was offered. These paintings it is true are of foreign work; but the representations are not less faithful. The statue of Henry IV. on his tomb at Canterbury is to be added to the list of portraits of that prince, and that of his consort on the same tomb to our royal portraits. One of John of Gaunt is preserved, with others of the

¹ Stowe,

² Anecdotes of Painting.

reign of Henry VI, in All Souls College, Oxford¹. That of Chaucer remaining till within a few years on his tomb at Westminster, and another of him in an illuminated MS. of Thomas Occleve, by Occleve himself, places the latter in the rank of one of our first painters, as well as poets. The figure of Alice duchess of Suffolk, Chaucer's granddaughter, at Ewelme, is a beautiful specimen in this kind. The figure of Gower has perhaps undergone too many redaubings to pass for an original portrait. What English antiquary does not regret the mutilation of the figure of our FIFTH HENRY on his tomb at Westminster, and that his likeness is preserved only on lord Orford's altarpiece, with those rather doubtful ones of his brother and sister²? unless the bust of him in the bas relief of his coronation on the frieze of his chapel be admitted.

The rich historic sculptures on the chapel of Henry V. breathe a spirit of improvement in the arts, and may fairly be supposed to have preserved a good likeness of that prince. Many portraits of Henry VI. are preserved. One in the window of a side chapel of his own magnificent structure at Cambridge. His wedding seems to have been a favorite subject with the painters of the time; for besides that engraved in the "Anecdotes of Painting," Mr. Carter has executed another on painted glass from the Museum of the late Mr. Fletcher of Oxford, said to have come out of the parish church of Little Rollriche³. On the first of these is preserved a strong resemblance of cardinal Beaufort to his figure on his tomb. I have endeavoured to supply the want of a monument for the unfortunate king by a sketch intended for one, which I found in the British Museum. Henry's queen was the daughter of a prince "who was not only reckoned the best painter of his age, but who would really appear no mean performer in the present⁴," the good René of Anjou, king of the two Sicilies, whose portrait by his own hand was engraved by Montfaucon, from the chapel of the Carmelites at Aix.

The portraits of the duke and duchess of Bedford in their missal are well known. Lord Orford has authenticated two portraits of that good prince Humphrey duke of Gloucester⁵, who was indebted for a monument to the ingenious abbot of St. Alban's John Whethamsted, "a man of great learning and merit, who adorned the chapel of our lady there with various paintings, as he did the sides of that church, and his own lodgings, under all which paintings he caused mottoes and inscriptions to be placed⁶." And it is not to be doubted that many more are concealed under the several coats of plaister with which the walls have been loaded to efface the memorials of superstition, and to enrich the whitewasher. Traces of this kind have been brought to light on the West face of a pillar of the nave, but too imperfect to be ascertained.

The poor remains of the North window at Canterbury cathedral are no bad specimen of the portraits of the family of Edward IV. of whom have escaped himself and queen, drawn by Mr. Schnebbelie for the Society of Antiquaries.

¹ Engraved by Mr. Carter in his *Specimens of Ancient Painting and Sculpture*.

² At least of the Duke of Clarence; see *Anecdotes of Painting*.

³ There is another in Mountnessing church, Essex.

⁴ *Anecdotes of Painting*, 8vo edit. l. p. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34. 37.

⁶ These may be seen in Weever, p. 562—567: and, it is not improbable, the only one remaining, under a window in the South aisle of the abbey church, was of his composing.

Though

The series of the Beauchamp family in the East window of the choir of the collegiate church at Warwick built by Thomas earl of Warwick, who died 1401, may be presumed to many portraits of the persons represented. There were others in the sepulchral chapel adjoining to this church, erected by earl Richard his grandson. Perhaps no county in the kingdom preserved such a collection of family portraits as that of Warwick; but they were not copied with due fidelity by Sir William Dugdale's artists. Such portraits were not however confined to one county; but were to be found in all mansionhouses and churches.

How essential an accompaniment Painting was to Architecture may be exemplified in the ornaments of St. Joseph's chapel at Glastonbury, St. Stephen's at Westminster, the *camera stellata*, or notorious *Star* chamber, the chequered works in the upper parts of the abbey church at Westminster; the histories of St. Stephen and St. John in their chapels in St. George's chapel at Windsor, the legends of St. Anthony and St. Austin on the back of the stalls in Carlisle cathedral¹, others in the chapel of St. Mary at Winchester; and the devices in the Hungerford chapel at Salisbury. The paintings in several of the royal castles and palaces form innumerable instances in our own country, without going back to the Egyptian temples and sepulchral grotts. Besides paintings of saints and religious, we have other histories on and over tombs; those of Henry III's children and Edmund earl of Lancaster at Westminster; the Waytes in Hampshire; Dean Borew, at Hereford; Sir Peter Arderne at Latton; and others in Durham cathedral and Hexham abbey church. The many tombs and the statues on them that preserve traces of various colours leave no doubt that our churches were formerly gorgeously decorated.

The general judgement at Gloucester, and the *Mappa mundi* in Hereford cathedral, were altar-pieces, not painted on the doors of altar-cases, but directly in the centre over the altar. The murder of Becket is on a tablet at the head of Henry IVth's monument at Canterbury. Add to these, genealogies, portraits, and monuments, painted on folding doors, as in Lydiard Tregoze, Tenbury, and other churches.

Though the reign of Edward IV. does not seem to have afforded so many proofs of skill or taste in the science of painting, his monument, a kind of sepulchral chapel of polished steel, is matchless in its way, and perhaps improved from the iron one of Walter lord Hungerford at Salisbury, on which his noble representative the present earl of Radnor has bestowed so much elegant embellishment, and most kindly enriched the present volume with a print of it.

Bishop Beauchamp, chancellor of the Order of the Garter, left a striking memorial of his skill in architecture in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, which Edward's successor has preserved and repaired with strict adherence to truth, while Beauchamp's successor has destroyed his chapel at Salisbury, and scattered the ashes of the whole family.

¹ In the windows of the abbey church of Glastonbury, abbot Styward was always painted with a scourge or broom expressive of his manners. (Collinson, Somerset, II. p. 249.)

² The paintings at Tenbury are by *Melchior Salaba*, 1585, a painter hitherto unnoticed.

Farther

Farther proofs of the improvement of statuary in this country are to be found in the monuments of the nobility and dignified clergy. The figure of Philippa duchess of York, at Westminster, deserves to be first mentioned for delicacy of form and dress: and next to it that of Alice duchess of Suffolk at Ewelme: those of John duke of Somerset and lady at Wimborne minster, for expression; and those of Margaret Holland and her two husbands at Canterbury, and lord Berkeley and son at Berkeley, and of the Nevilles at Staindrop; those of judge Gascoigne, and others at Harwood, for various particulars. Those of John duke of Exeter, at St. Catharine's; lord Wenlok, at Tewksbury; bishop Bekington at Wells; Sir John and lady Crosbie in St. Helen's church, London; Sir Robert Harcourt and lady at Stanton Harcourt; should next be noticed, as single monuments with figures. In richness of ornament none surpass that at Beverley minster, whose appropriation is with difficulty ascertained, and which has hardly been noticed by Antiquaries.

Sepulchral chapels are of two sorts: those within churches, like those of bishops Beaufort and Wainfleet at Winchester; the views of which, engraved by the Society of Antiquaries, will at once explain my meaning. We have beautiful specimens of this kind in those of Henry V. at Westminster; Isabel Beauchamp countess of Warwick at Tewksbury; Humphrey duke of Gloucester at St. Alban's; abbots Seabroke at Gloucester, Whethamsted¹ and Ramridge at St. Alban's; bishops Hatfield at Durham, Audley at Salisbury², Stanbury at Hereford, Wickham and Fox at Winchester; and prince Arthur at Worcester. Of the second sort, or those built on the outside of churches, but opening into them, are those of the Hungerford and Beauchamp families at Salisbury³; of bishops West and Alcock at Ely; Russell, Fleming, and Longland, at Lincoln; and in an undercroft that of archbishop Moreton, at Canterbury. At the East end of all these chapels was an altar and figure of the patron saint. In some of the latter class the best efforts of painting were exerted.

The wealthy merchants and manufacturers of the Eastern and Western counties vied with the superior ranks in the costliness of their brasses⁴; witness those of Grewel at Campden, Coney at Lynne, the Chicheleys at Higham Ferrers; others of various officers, as Sir Thomas Braunton and Sir Ralph Rochford at Wisbech: and even of prelates, nobles, and knights, as the Cobhams and Braybrokes at Cobham, Lyffe at Thrupton, the Wingfields at Letheringham, Sir Nicholas Dagworth at Blickling, William Burgate at Burgate, the Perients at Digswell, Sir John Herpeden at Westminster, Sir Thomas and lady Bromflet at Wymington, Sir Thomas and lady Chaucer at Ewelme, the

¹ Weever, p. 562, speaks of his sepulchral chapel in the South part of the church, in which (i. e. the South part of the church) he caused certain pictures and verses to be painted in the windows.

² Bishop Audley erected a very beautiful chapel on the South side of the Lady Chapel (now the library) at Hereford, about the year 1495. On his removal to Salisbury he built in that cathedral a chapel in all respects similar to the other, which became the depository of his remains, as he probably intended the former to have been, had he continued at his first see.

³ An instance of a brass plate, with the effigies of the deceased, so late as the end of this century, may be seen in Chigwell church, Essex, to Mr. John Hodgkin, 1791. Lyons's Environs of London, IV, p. 121.

Felbrigges in Norfolk and Suffolk, lady Tiptoft at Enfield, the Cromwell family at Tatefale, Sir Thomas and lady Sharnborn at Sharnborn, the Hungerfords at Salisbury; lord L'Estrange at Hillingdon; abbots Kirton and Eastney at Westminster; the Colt and Peyton family at Roydon and Iffham; several judges; Sir Anthony Gray at St. Albans; archdeacon Rudyng at Biggleswade, archbishop Cranley at Oxford, bishops Bell at Carlisle and Wyville at Salisbury; abbeesses at Elnstow; priests at Higham Ferrars and Exeter.

It were an invidious boast how little is owing to the assistance of my fellow labourers in the vineyard of antiquity. The little success of invitation to communicate correct drawings of monuments serves but to prove how novel the subject is, or how little impression it has made on them, or that in this, as in most of the pursuits of life, we labour individually for ourselves. I feel, however, gratified in the reflexion that I shall not have passed uselessly through the world, if I have administered to the amusement of an idle hour; and it affords me peculiar pleasure to have preserved so many antient memorials of art in my native country.

While I congratulate myself in having contributed to preserve from decay so many of these beautiful remains, I congratulate my country that so many monuments of art have yet survived the decay of time and the ruder devastation of ignorance, violence, malice, and accidents; that, while a neighbouring nation which was so stored with similar monuments seems to have given them up a prey to a new system of policy, and to almost as rapid a destruction as befell those in our own kingdom at the dissolution; or to the unequal representation of the declining arts, I have found a Schnebbelie, a Carter, and a Basire, to second my efforts, which, without their hand, would most imperfectly have fulfilled the task.

I avow my abhorrence of that class of Iconoclasts who affect to make war on superstition, forgetting how much superstition administers to the comfort of the gross of mankind, by impressions which the cold reasoning of philosophy would never convey to the heart. These men revive the Puritanism of the two preceding centuries without its best quality, a sense of religion. Reformation of every kind too frequently operates by extremes, and the true spirit of simplicity is forgotten. In England it levelled its fury against Popery. In France it unites the cause of Religion, Monarchy, and Nobility, and sacrifices to its fears that either should be reinstated, every object that can bring back the bulk of the nation to their regard for God, the King, and their superiors. Left it should be said that no person arises to preserve the monuments in that kingdom from immediate ruin, as was the case with us at the Dissolution, a feeble attempt has been made, and favourably received by the National Assembly, to draw and engrave the "National Antiquities," to insult their institutions, and to hasten their ruin. But what has this done to save the illuminated genealogies of the nobility, the portraits of national worthies, the statue of the best of sovereigns, and a thousand memorials of real glory to that now humbled nation?

: Henry IV.

B

The

The "Antiquités Nationales" cannot keep pace with the destroying angel. M. Millin can no more set bounds to his havoc than to his own reproaches of the superstitious but well-meant piety of his forefathers. He could not prevail on the municipality of Vernon not to take from its tomb the slab and beautiful brass of William de Vernon, and lay it where the rude feet of passengers will shortly abolish every trace of it; for he had no commission to penetrate into the hidden treasurers of antiquity in the conventual libraries or churches, or in the portefeuilles of individuals, or to rescue the records of nobility from the flames. He could not deprecate the demolition of churches which has reduced the thirty-three parochial in Paris to nineteen.

What a burlesque! to establish a gallery of artists and literature, when neither religion, loyalty, nor true patriotism, are permitted to furnish them with subjects. What a resemblance to Athens, which preserved the subjects most obnoxious to the versatile ideas of the moment, because they were the work of a Praxiteles, a Phidias, and an Apelles; and transmitted them entire to the last periods of the state, and till the country was overrun with Goths and Mussulmans! But I spare myself the painful reflection. The nation, or her representatives, that can sport with degraded loyalty, and lay the foundations of a regenerated government in blood and massacre, in the worst renewal of the revocation of the edict of Nantes and of the scenes of St. Bartholomew, and will neither afford protection to the person or properties of faithful subjects, can give no place in their frenzy to the thought of preserving the works of cultivation in art or science.

Indifferent as were Montfaucon's representations, we do not meet with his superior in the number, choice, or arrangement of his materials. Here then I may be permitted to boast of a collection of drawings of French Sepulchral Monuments, which fell into my hands while the former volume was printing, and furnished so many observations in the introduction to that volume. It comprehends the monuments in the Isle de France (including those at St. Denis), Valois and Brie, Brie, Beauvais, Chartres, Vendôme, Normandy, Champagne, and Burgundy; but which it is now impossible to open without grief and horror.

The monuments of the 15th century have multiplied so fast, and many more still remain unnoticed, that it was impossible to compress the original plan within the compass of the present volume. It were useless to continue it beyond the period of the Reformation, which left much to glean after it in the 16th century, its ravages not taking effect before the middle of

³ P. Montfaucon acknowledges his obligations to the collections of the late M. de Gagniere his friend, who opened his way by collecting and procuring drawings of all the monuments in and about Paris and in the provinces. He expended considerable sums, and had frequent recommendations from Montfaucon to the abbots of his order, to which he went in person, taking his draughtsman with him. The father little thought that in gratifying his friend he was serving himself; nor was it till after his death that he formed his plan; and without his assistance he could never have executed it, on account of the immense expence of having drawings taken from originals, many of which are at a great distance from Paris. M. Gagniere's collections are in the Royal Library, whence, by favour of Abbé Bignon, he obtained the greater part of the pieces in his work. He found a great number in the collection of the count de Seignelas, formed by M. Colbert, his grandfather, and in that the founder, the bishop of Metz, formerly belonging to chancellor Seguier. M. Millin, in his *Antiquités Nationales*, has copied many of Gagniere's drawings in a better manner than Montfaucon's artists. See *Royaumont Abbey*.

that

that century. Many circumstances conspire to prevent an absolute engagement to carry it so low.

In the mean time let me congratulate the Society of Antiquaries that their views have been directed to the preservation of those public buildings which the piety of our ancestors consecrated to the service of religion, while yet they can be contemplated with useful admiration. This has been done by a single artist, under private patronage, in a most perfect manner for the monastery of Bataha, which owed its foundation to an intermarriage with a princess of England, and to an English architect. This promises to be done for the cathedrals of our own country at the expence of the beforementioned Society, who have just published eleven beautiful prints of Exeter cathedral, engraved by Mr. Bafire, junior, after drawings by Mr. Carter.

" — Dii, coeptis, nam vos mutâstis et illas,

" Aspirate fuis."

A destroying angel now rides triumphant over a *third* cathedral, which is new modelling, under the uniform unvarying idea of a lengthened choir, bearing no proportion to the body or transepts. To this idea every beautiful specimen of antient Gothic architecture must give place. Even the bodies of the dead cannot escape being dug up and removed with their monuments from their original resting places, or, in not a few instances, scattered over the face of the ground. The fullest conviction of the inutility and inconvenience of such a plan has not overcome the rage of fashion; and though sound is palpably sacrificed to fight at Lichfield, the experiment is still pursued. And what is to be seen! The long-drawn aisle is exceeded in length by a wire-drawn choir terminated in a kind of round or oval tribune, unbroken by the screen, whose beautiful open work let in the Lady Chapel or the Presbytery, with the richly storied windows playing on the light. Instead of this, the modern Gothic taste is darkness, to relieve one favorite unexpressive picture filling the East window with a few undiversified colours or the blaze of a single one. Can our bishops, deans, and chapters, find no better application of their revenues, and those of their clergy, than to destroy their cathedrals! the members of which might yet sit at their ease in their stalls, without impoverishing the parochial clergy by contributions¹ to such capricious alterations, in which all varieties of stile, all history of architecture as a science among us, is totally done away, and much historic knowledge besides. How long shall we be governed by the absurdity of fashion! and the Society of Antiquaries itself, instituted for the study of Antiquity and the history of former times, depart from, and counteract the very object of its institution.

It will not appear extraordinary that I have taken notice of so few monuments in Wales or Scotland. There are indeed but few in either. I have obtained no drawings from the former; and such as have been put into my hands from the latter would have defied the ingenuity of an engraver to make out,

¹ See Dr. Pegge's Letter to Mr. Hope, minister of All Saints, Derby. Gent. Mag. LVIII. 503. The sum then wanted was £. 5955.

Such

Such, I am truly concerned to say, was the case with the sketch of the rich monument of bishop Kennedy at St. Andrews¹, communicated to me in the politest manner by General Melville, which, though accompanied by particular references and description, it was not possible to reduce to that degree of perspective as would have given it the desired effect of assisting the reader in forming some judgement of the style of architecture which obtained in the kingdom of Scotland in the middle of the 15th century.

In the present system of religion which obtains in North Britain, burial is no act of religion, the minister being only invited among the numerous train of the deceased party's friends to fill up the procession to the grave where the body is deposited without any ceremony, and frequently loaded with a heavy pompous monument. Yet, even with this concern for the memory of the dead, the burial places have so little idea of property annexed to them that they undergo the common fate of estates or houses, by exchange, and the next proprietor sweeps away all the trophies of the extinct family.

Who that considers the long lapse of time since the creation, and, when he has multiplied these years into days, can contemplate the events of those days, and allow throughout the world one death to a day, but must be struck with the idea of so many rational beings born and dying in constant succession, and recoil at the bare presumption that they have sunk into eternal oblivion; that the series of events which history measures only by the large scale of centuries, but which philosophy, estimating the passions and employments of man, traces to days and hours; that all these events are unaccountable, and to be resolved into the mechanism of caprice, and reducible to no standard; that the great and good have fought the cause of virtue against the violence of vice, oppression, and artifice, more mechanically than the brute creation seem to do their duty, yet with as little regularity as a madman resolves and unresolves!

That a good character and a good conscience are powerful impulses to good conduct, it requires very little reflection to prove. That Fame, Interest, Ambition, are the motives of many praiseworthy actions, does not admit of a doubt. That Religion, and a view to futurity, inspire too few virtuous deeds, is a melancholy ground of apprehension; but to throw these two last motives entirely out of the question, because they are too often disguised under error, superstition, and enthusiasm, is a presumption unworthy the divinity of the human mind. It is reasoning from the corruption of the human system, not from its original design.

Conversation with the dead and sepulchres must awaken serious reflection. One cannot hear of so many personages, great by worth or wickedness, recorded to immortality, without asking whether there is an immortality. The uniform persuasion of all mankind that there is might seem sufficient to prove it. The mind cannot bear the reflection that so many rational beings acted on the great theatre of life to sink into eternal death. This is to put men on the level of the

¹ See p. 217.

beasts that perish; and if in this life only men have hope, they must be of all beings most miserable. The greatest man that lived must be in a worse situation than Adrian's racchorse or Signior Fido. *Their* merits were nothing; but those of human kind endure to the latest posterity. The series of British worthies alone would encourage hopes beyond the grave; and however large the proportion of those to whom vanity, pride, and fashion erected monuments, there is still a competent number who have obtained their memorials by due desert, whose examples are worthy of imitation on the same hope of living for ever, not to fame only, but in a state of actual existence. Whatever be the ideas of that state, whether we carry into eternal exercise the latest ideas wherewith life closes, or some which have been predominant through life, some ruling passion or principle wherein to exult or wherewith to be tormented to eternity, it cannot be imagined we shall lose all ideas, and be left as unanimated as the busts on the monuments, or the bodies in the mausolea. Our hope is *that*

Che tra l'uom del sepolchro, ed in vita lo serba.

PETRARCH.

I seem fated to deplore the loss of some valuable associate and congenial friend in these pursuits at the close of this as of the former volume. In this I am to erect a monument to that able artist and antiquary JACOB SCHNEBBELIE, who was pointed out to me at the beginning of this volume, and who has borne his part of the pleasing labour through it. I lament his mild and modest manners, his ready eye, and expressive hand. His first specimens were taken in the cathedral church of Canterbury, in the year 1787, when our acquaintance commenced. I have notes taken by himself alone and with me in various churches, illustrated with drawings of monuments and parts of architecture. Often have I indulged an unlimited confidence in him by himself; often I received instruction from his suggestions, when we visited many churches together. His unremitting zeal and energy was relieved by the frankness of a cheerful companionableness when the labours of the day were ended. To an admirable talent of drawing he had gradually superadded a happy talent of distinguishing and comparing subjects of antiquity. Let me not be accused of undue partiality when I say he was a true practical Antiquary, nor of vanity when I add, we mutually instructed each other. "We took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends." In the five years of our acquaintance I see nothing to blame in him, but that he had not accumulated a sufficiency for an amiable wife and a young family; or to regret for myself, but that I had not more proofs of his abilities. I had planned a concluding view of monuments in England and Scotland, to have compared those of our own country, and even with those in France; but,

Ostendunt terris hunc tantum fata.

I hesitate not to say, that in my favourite pursuit of antiquarian research I have sustained an irreparable loss. I take the warning, and retire from the pleasing task of immortalizing former generations, those who have gone before me for centuries—to meditate on my own mortality, and, with the good abbot of St. Alban's, "recordans melius et memorans quomodo diei mei
"vitalis tam mane transierat quam meridies, sicque pene finitæ sint vesperæ, quod
"multum de prope instat completorii, juberem sterni mihi lectum in quo pau-
"fando quiescerem quousque sol vitæ secundæ iterum affurgeret, reducetque ad
"ortum !"

I have witnessed in my own country that Antiquity is losing her votaries. "Old things are passing away: behold, all things will become new". The pervading principle of equality is a greater leveller than Time itself. We are to forget old *principles*, and no wonder if old *practices* are to be forgotten also. Theoretically mad, we are to do away all that our forefathers transmitted to us as system, and *every* prejudice. We must throw away the ecclesiastical history of England, as the nursery of bigotry, superstition, and idolatry; and the civil history, as the picture of tyranny, ambition, and despotism. "I have seen," to quote once more the old neglected book, "servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon earth". I may live to see Order restored, or, "Confusion worse confounded." I have seen, and I rejoice in the reflection, the Father of his People, and the Patron of Arts and Sciences, restored to his health, and his subjects, restored to their loyalty and duty, rallying round him in the important crisis. And may they have disinterested firmness to persevere through the longest contest and to the latest posterity!

The INTRODUCTION to this volume, so much larger than that to the former, embraces a large field—the modes and rites of sepulture in general from the earliest period of history, more particularly among the Greeks and Romans, to the primitive Christians, deducing the several conformities. Somewhat of the old ground has been gone over again, with additions and corrections. There is much new matter, and some light it is hoped has been thrown on our Orthography and Numerals as connected with this subject. If hints capable of farther improvement have been suggested, the purpose will have been answered, and no apology may be thought necessary.

I cannot close this Preface without expressing my great obligations to my friend and fellow labourer *Craven Ord*, Esq. who, with indefatigable assiduity, by a process of which he may be almost deemed the inventor, has formed a collection of monuments rolled off from the brasses themselves, thus displaying their original dimensions and lines, from which fifteen engravings in this work have been reduced; and Plate XI. is an impression actually taken off by the rolling press from a brass of the Wingfield family at Letheringham;

¹ *Gesta Johis Wherlmsfede*, Bibl. Cotton. Nero. D. VII. f. 27.

² ΤΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΠΑΡΗΓΕΝ; ΔΙΟΤ, ΤΕΤΟΝΕ ΚΑΙΝΑ ΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ. 2 Cor. v. 17.

³ Eccles. x. 7

together with some shields of arms from another in the same church. Plates XXII. and CXXV. were copied from Sir William Burrel's collection of Suffex drawings, by Mr. Grimm, who also drew Plate XXI; and I am indebted to William Bray, Esq. for copies of the brasses in Plate CXXIV. by Mr. Carter; for Plate LXXV. to Samuel Lyfons, Esq.; and for Plate XXXVI*, XXXVI** to Mr. Edwards of Pall-mall. Of one hundred and fifty plates in this volume, seventy-six are from drawings by Mr. Schnebbellie; ten by Mr. James Bafire, senior; twenty-four by Mr. Carter; three by Mr. Johnson of Suffolk; five by George Vertue; two by Mr. Fisher; one by Mr. Carpenter, a self-taught draughtsman at Carlisle, communicated by Major Rooke; two by Mr. Longmate; one by Mr. Coles of Farnival's Inn; one by the late Mr. Beckwith of York; one by Mr. Bonner; one by Mr. Underwood; and one by Mr. Joseph Halfpenny of York, whose skill and taste in repairing and engraving the beautiful parts of architecture and sculpture in York cathedral cannot be too much applauded.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE common consent of mankind from the beginning of time to the present moment concurs in the propriety and decency of Interment. *Ælian*¹ pronounces it a dictate of nature; and, indeed, it is a natural act inspired by humanity², a practice observed even by enemies in time of war, and denied to none but those who laid violent hands on themselves³.

It is, moreover, a religious act; because it is a decent one, and because it refers the mind of man to the Author of his being, who, as he created him at first, will, after death, restore him to life. Thus it reminds man of his duty and his expectations.

It is, furthermore, a civil act, because it concerns the state that every one of its members should be accounted for. Thus marriage is both a civil act and a religious rite. Considered only on the ground of notoriety, neither of these rites should be private. Perhaps both should be celebrated by officers or magistrates appointed for that purpose, and the subjects of them recorded in one common register, without distinction of rank or religious tenets.

This duty of sepulture, and instances of the discharge of it, are frequent in scripture. Abraham pleads most pathetically for the purchase of a burial place⁴. David passes high encomiums on the men of Jabez Gilead, who rescued the bones of their king and prince from the enemy's walls, and committed them to their family vault⁵. It is part of the praise of Tobit that he went about burying his murdered countrymen, at the hazard of his own life⁶. Jeremiah threatens it as the greatest of punishments that the wicked should be deprived of burial, and left on a dunghill⁷, or, as it is emphatically expressed, buried with the burial of an ass. *Isæus* brings it as a proof that Cleon was not the son of *Astyphylus* because he neither buried him nor performed his funeral exequies⁸.

A law of Athens compelled the burial of a dead body found by accident, and pronounced the refuser impious⁹. *Servius* on *Virgil*, *Æn.* VI. 176. says, writers

¹ V. H. xii.

² *Cicero* pro *Quintio* and *Quintilian* Institut. c. ult. call it *humanity*.

³ *Philoftrat.* in *Heroicis*, of *Ajax*. *Statius* *Theb.* iii. 97, 98. of *Mæon* king of *Thebes*.

⁴ *Gen.* xxiii. 2—12.

⁵ 2 *Sam.* ii. 5.

⁶ *Tobit.* i. 19, 20. ii. 8.

⁷ *Jer.* viii. 2.

⁸ *Oratio* de hereditate *Astyphyl.*

⁹ *ισογης*. *Ælian*, V. H. v. 14. *Petit de leg. Att.* *Sophocles*, *Antigone*, *Schol.* ad v. 251. *Quintilian* *Declam.* vi. *Horace*, *Ode* i, 28. v. 34. compared with *Suidas*, v. *Αστυφύλης*, both speaking of a dead body cast on shore after shipwreck.

on moral duties place the duty of interring the dead among the first. It was profanation for the priest to look on a dead body, but the height of impiety to leave it unburied.

The Athenians carried their attention to the dead beyond the grave; and Solon by an express law forbid any reflections on their character. On this law Plutarch thus comments: "Piety should induce us to reverence the dead; Justice should prevent us from intermeddling with the affairs of those who no longer exist; and Policy should lead us to prevent the perpetuity of enmity."¹ Demosthenes extends the caution still further: not even any provocation from survivors of the family should urge us to any reflections on the dead², and every citizen was at liberty to bring an action against the abusive party³.

The conformity between the practices of civilized nations in this article of sepulture is so apparent, that it will be worth while to take a short view of the practice of Greece and Rome, and deduce it down in regular succession: we shall at least have an opportunity of seeing with what peculiar decency it was conducted by the antient Greeks and Romans.

The kiss given in the last moments, or immediately after, may be seen in the instance of Joseph to his father Jacob⁴. The Heathens supposed the departing spirit was thus received by the survivor⁵.

The primitive Christians, and their priests, gave it as a ceremony⁶ till forbidden by a council⁷. Nature has not got the better of ceremony.

Mercury was invoked to give an easy passage into the other world⁸. The dying parties took off their rings, and delivered them to their heir or successors, or they were taken off immediately on their decease⁹.

After closing of the eyes, which was the office of the nearest relations, followed the *Conclamatio*, or loudly calling the deceased by name: a ceremony calculated to guard against precipitate interment or burning¹⁰, which the washing with warm water was also designed to prevent¹¹, and the body was kept eight days¹².

Washing the body was the first decent rite after death; the Greeks with warm water¹³; the modern Jews in warm water with roses and camomile¹⁴. See the practice of ablution in Euripides¹⁵, and among the Romans in Virgil¹⁶, and among the primitive Christians in the case of Dorcas¹⁷; and down to the seventh century¹⁸. It was the office of women in all these instances¹⁹.

¹ Και ὅταν ὁταν τις περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν λέγει, καὶ δεικνύει ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναφέρει τὰς ἐχθρὰς τοῦ αἵματος. Solon, p. 89, E.

² In Leptinem, p. 298. ³ Ulpian in loc. Demosthenes in Baebios, p. 588 Suidas. ⁴ Gen. l. 1.

⁵ *Habitus* and *Anima* among the Romans seem to have been synonymous in the kisses given to dead and living friends. Cicero in Verrem. Virg. Æn. IV. 683, 684. Seneca, Herc. Fur. 1310. Manilius, v. 624. Quintil. declam. v. Statius, Sylv. v. 1. 195. Albinovan. in mortem Draui, l. 95. 97. 158. Aristoneti Epist. II. 7 & 19.

⁶ Dionys. Areop. Hierarch. Ecclef. c. 1.

⁷ Concil. Antioch. can. 12.

⁸ Val. Max. II. 16.

⁹ Plin. N. H. XXXII. 11. Sueton. Tiber. 73. Curtius x. 5. Val. Max. VII. 9.

¹⁰ Propert. IV. 7. 26. Ovid. Trist. III. 43, 44. Pliny, vii. 52. Corn. Celsus de re medica II. pref.

¹¹ Pliny in Servius on Æn. vi. 218.

¹² Scivius, ib.

¹³ Hom. Odys. II. 44. So the body of Patroclus was washed and anointed, and the wounds filled

with ointment nine years old. II. E. 347-351.

¹⁴ Leo of Modena, part v. c. 8.

¹⁵ Phœnissæ, l. 1340. 1695. Kirchman, 45.

¹⁶ Æn. vi. 218.

¹⁷ Acts ix. 27.

¹⁸ Cæcilius vit. pontif. I. ad an. 509. Greg. Turon. vit. patr. Angrad. vit. Anberti epi. Rothomag.

¹⁹ Servius ad Æn. IX. 487. Kirchm. 57. Euripides, ubi supra. Apul. Met. VIII. Plato in Phædon.

An antient ritual of the monastery of Silos in Spain, written 1502, has this ordinance: "Despues de haber lavado el cuerpo, segun es de costumbre, se le pone el vestido proporcionada a les ordenes que tuvo en vida." After washing the body, according to custom, it must be habited in a manner suitable to its rank when living¹. The same says the ritual of the monastery of Cardesa², and that of the Carmelites³. The Mahometans, Ruffians, Chinese, and other nations, observe the same practice. The Egyptians were particularly attentive to it during the course of embalment; a practice as antient among them as the time of Joseph⁴. The Lacedæmonians⁵ and Babylonians⁶ employed honey to embalm their dead. The Persians⁷ and Scythians⁸ wax. The Ethiopians plaster, which they painted with various colours, and formed to a resemblance of the deceased⁹. The Jews¹⁰ and other nations made use of a mixture of myrrh and aloes. The practice obtained among the Romans¹¹, and was adopted by the primitive Christians for their martyrs¹². It was in after-ages confined to great personages. The method of embalming the dead has not long been known in Europe. In the twelfth century the whole art consisted in cutting large gashes in the body and throwing in salt, and wrapping them up in an ox's hide¹³.

To the instances of embalment may be added, that the Egyptians kept their dead friends in their houses, and almost at their tables.

—Ægyptia tellus

"Claudit odorato post funus stantia saxo

"Corpora, et a mensis exanguem haud separat umbram"¹⁴.

and Lucian tells us he had seen a dried corpse at table¹⁵.

Anointing the dead was a Roman custom¹⁶. It was either to prevent offensive smells¹⁷, or as preparatory to embalment, or as a mark of respect. Another method of preventing offensive smells was to burn sweet smelling things on a small altar before the dead. This altar was called *Acerra*¹⁸. We supply this by burning a *cork*.

The drapery of the dead among the Romans was the *Toga*¹⁹, which was *white*²⁰ in all cases except the poor, who had it *black*²¹. The magistrates and military men were wrapt in their purple robes of honour, or *toga prætextate*²²;

¹ Berganza Append. a las Antiquedades de España, tom. 11.

² C. 14. N° 8, and 86. ap eund.

³ Breviar. Carmelit. de obitu fratris.

⁴ Gen. lli. 25.

⁵ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. v. 564. of Agefpolis, who died in Greece, and Diodorus Siculus, xv. c. 93. of Agefilaus, who died in Egypt, and was done up in honey, to bring him home. See also Plutarch, in his Life.

⁶ Herodot. i. c. 80.

⁷ Herodot. i. c. 48. Cicero Tuscul. l. 8. Strabo xv. p. 735. Plin. xxii. 24.

⁸ Herodot. iv. c. 71. ⁹ Herodot. iii. 24. So St. Afra and St. Thomas were found. Kirchin. 56.

¹⁰ John xix. 40.

¹¹ Virg. Æn. vi. 210.

¹² Jerom, in act. Apost. viii. Baron. l. A. D. 69. Surita pass. S. Andreæ. Greg. Nyff. de fun. Melet. Nicephorus, x. 46.

¹³ Aldovera Tratado de los Funerales. Madrid, 1736. p. 8. So our Henry I. 1135. See before, l. 20.

¹⁴ Silius Ital. xiiii. 474.

¹⁵ De luclu. Λεγει δὲ ἄλλοι ἔφηροντες τοὺς νεκροὺς συνδέσσειν καὶ συμπεπῆναι.

¹⁶ Plin. Epist. v. 16. Apuleius Apol. l. Martial, iii. 12. Plin. xiiii. 1. Kirchin. p. 47.

¹⁷ Lucian de luclu.

¹⁸ Acerra, ara quæ ante mortuum poni solebat in qua odores incendeantur. Festus in voc.

¹⁹ Juvenal, Sat. iiii. 171, 172. Martial, ix. Ep. 58. Apul. Florid. i. Kirchin. p. 66. Pet.

Morellus, l. 16. ²⁰ Artemidorus, II. c. 3.

²¹ Ib.

²² Livy, xxxiv. 7.

or other precious garments¹ of various colours. Persons of rank and fortune were burnt in their official habits². Mark Antony gave his own robe to cover the body of Brutus³. The severe Lycurgus ordered a purple garment and laurel-leaves for the funeral habit⁴, though some confine this to persons of singular merit⁵. By the laws of the twelve tables⁶ Crowns were allowed to be worn on these occasions by those who had merited them, and garlands and flowers were cast on the body as it passed⁷. The funerals of great men were conducted at the public expence, as that of Scipio⁸.

It was a custom with the antients to weave their own funeral garment or winding-sheet. So Penelope in Homer⁹, and the mother of Euryalus in Virgil¹⁰. The late empress queen Maria Teresa made her own in such a private manner that it was not known till after her decease¹¹.

The Greeks buried in white¹². The Jews swathed their dead in white linen bound with sashes, and put on the face a napkin, as in the case of Lazarus¹³, and our Lord himself¹⁴. The modern Jews put on a shirt and breeches, and on some a kind of rochet of fine linen, with the *Taled*, a square cope with strings, and on the head a white cap, and so lay it in the coffin, with a sheet under, and another over it¹⁵. The Chinese bury in their best apparel, with the ensigns of their profession in the coffin. The dress most common among the early Christians was white linen. St. Isidore's body was found by Don Gomez Tello, in 1565, wrapped in silk with linen over it¹⁶. Many persons direct by will to be buried in a religious habit. Ecclesiastics, and religious of particular orders, were buried in their proper habits; knights of military orders, with the mantle of their chapter, spurs, and dagger. An antient ritual of the monastery of Silos, speaking of the practice in the Gothic times, says, if the party be a priest the manual is to be laid on his breast; if a deacon, the book of the Gospels¹⁷. The ritual of Cardena, following the decree of the council of Toledo, and fifth of Valencia, directs, that a bishop, after being washed by the priests and deacons, be habited according to custom in his *pontificalibus*, and the Gospel laid on his breast. A bishop is then to be sent for to bury him, who, opening his mouth, puts into it some chrism, saying, "This sacrament of piety preserve thee until thou be made partaker of the happiness of the blessed¹⁸". Our laws in favour of the woollen manufacture lay a fine on the use of linen.

¹ Æn. vi. 22. xi. 72—76. Val. Max. iv. 5. Lactant. ii. 4. Nero in cloth of gold, stragulis albis auro intertextis, Sueton. Ner. c. 50.

² Livy, xxxiv. 7.

³ Val. Max. v. 1. Appian, B. C. IV. p. 668.

⁴ Plut. de Inſtit. Lacon.

⁵ Elian, V. H. x. 6. Instances of persons of both sexes who put on their best clothes to be put to death in may be seen in Kirchman, p. 72, 73.

⁶ Pliny, xxi. 3. Cic. de Leg. ii. 24.

⁷ Pliny, ib. Dionys. Hal. of Virginia, xi. 719. ib. v. 290. of Brutus. Pliny x. 43. of Corvus.

⁸ Pliny, xxi. 3.

⁹ Odys. B. 97.

¹⁰ Æn. ix. 488.

¹¹ Mercurio de Enero, 1787.

¹² Homer II. E. of Patroclus 352, 353. Plut. in probl. Artemidorus, ii. 3.

¹³ John xi. 44.

¹⁴ Matt. xxvii. 29.

¹⁵ Leo of Modena, part v. c. 8.

¹⁶ Aſta Sanct. 15 Mail.

¹⁷ Berginza App. a las Antigüedades de España.

¹⁸ Ritual del Monasterio de Cardena en Berganza Antigued. de España.

The ancients used to crown the deceased with flowers, in token of the shortness of life; and the practice is still retained in some places in regard to young women and children. The Roman ritual recommends it in regard to those who die soon after baptism, in token of purity and virginity. It still obtains in Holland and parts of Germany. The primitive Christians buried young women with flowers, and the martyrs with the instruments of their martyrdom. I have seen fresh flowers put into the coffins of children and young girls.

After washing, anointing, dressing, and crowning, followed the laying out: *Collocatio*, or *Προθεσις*, which J. Pollux¹ says was done to shew that the party had not died a violent death. This office was performed by the nearest relations², and the body was placed in the porch of the house³. This, to great persons, was a lying in state, and the body was attended by servants, and lay either on the ground or on a bed, with the feet towards the door⁴. On this last circumstance Pliny observes⁵; Nature has ordained, that man should come into the world with his head foremost, and go out of it with his feet foremost. Seneca's expression, "*decrepitus et merito ad osium admotus, foras enim spectat*," means a man who *has one foot in the grave*⁶.

The use of coffins is of the highest antiquity. Joseph's body was put into one in Egypt, in order to its being carried away by the Israelites, when they quitted that country⁷. The modern Jews follow the same usage, as do the Persians, Russians, and others; and the Chinese provide their coffins in their life-time. The Spaniards bury their common people in the ground without but their clergy in coffins, and their people of rank in a leaden coffin, within a wooden one lined with cloth. The late emperor forbade the use of coffins to common people; but was obliged to rescind his decree.

The signs of death in a house were branches of pine and cypress⁸; and, among the Greeks, a vessel of holy water, wherewith all who came out sprinkled themselves⁹, and the hair of the deceased fixed up at the door¹⁰.

Solon's law directed, that the dead should be buried before sun-rise next day. This mode being in process of time changed, Demetrius Phalereus re-established it¹¹. The friends attended, but no woman under sixty, who was not a relation, was allowed to assist, or go into the house; and after the funeral no women but relations could go into the house¹². Solon allowed the

¹ Voc. II. §. 12.

² Euripides, *Hecuba*, 610, 611, et Alcest. 672—(74. Dio. xviii. 2. observes that Tiberius neglected to permit this duty to Livy, to whom he owed his advancement to the empire.

³ Euripides, *Hecuba*, 101, 102. Suet. Aug. 101. *Æn.* xi. 31. Will. it be thought a first-ditch conjecture that the streets or church-yards supply the place of cypress round towers, where *dead*, Trist. III. xiii. 21. say they were placed?

⁴ Homer. II. xiv. 210, 211. Petrus, iii. 103. The modern Greeks retain the custom, Cuy's Voyage lit. de la Grèce, lett. 18.

⁵ N. II. §. 12.

⁶ I. §. 12. Agreeably to this sentiment the classical writers of antiquity speak of death as a going away, the term of *παρέρχου*. Plin. Epist. ii. 1. *Abnovas de morte Dom.* l. 288. Autonus in Epistola patris l. 32. Petrus, p. 11. 1. Propertius, iv. 7. 25.—non occisos quæque incensavit cenos, where some copies read *incensavit cenat*; others, *inclinat tantes*.

antiquæ ætatis moriem, 1153 Festus in voce, *foveæ uel departuæ cond. &c.* For is used by Philopon, *Alec.* l. 419. 475. and *de mor.* lib. 2. c. 96. Hæc. Fur. 788. Suppl. 1112. 1. 03.

⁷ Gen. l. 25. The Scholiast on a line of the Odes of Euripides *de mor.* lib. 2. c. 96. observes, that the bodies of the dead used to be made of cedar-wood. Adian. *Æn.* (l. 25.) says, "He will be buried in the same cedar-coffin with his wife." 103.

⁸ Pliny xvi. 10. 33. Servius ad *Æn.* iv. 506. Festus.

⁹ Pollux, Heliogonius, and Suidas, v. *Αἵματι*. Euripides, *Alec.* c. 8. Aristophanes, *Eccles.* 1025.

¹⁰ Euripides, *Alec.* 97. ¹¹ Cic. de Leg. II. c. 26. ¹² Solon in Petit. de legib. Att. p. 600.

Vol. II.

b

expressions

corpse to be dressed in three garments and no more, and the Romans adopted this law¹, as also that against extravagant lamentations, and other violent expressions of grief². Hippias the tyrant directed, that for every death there should be paid to the priest of Minerva in the acropolis a measure of barley, another of wheat, and an obolus³. Solon forbid offering oxen in funeral sacrifice, which was performed on the day of the funeral, the ninth and thirtieth after the anniversary, and the birth-day of the deceased⁴. and these sacrifices the children and heirs were obliged to perform for their parents⁵. An entertainment or supper, which the Greeks called *περὶ δειπνός*, and Cicero⁶ *circumpositio*, made a part of a funeral, whence our practice of giving wine and cake among the rich, and ale among the poor. These entertainments were given by the nearest relations, who wore crowns⁷ or chaplets on the occasion, and celebrated the praises of the dead⁸; and candidates for public offices were examined whether they had duly performed this duty⁹. These junkettings were not allowed to slaves¹⁰.

The persons who among the Romans had the conducting of funerals were to be found at the temple of Libitina, whom Plutarch¹¹ calls the Goddess who presided over the sacred rites of the dead, and was accounted the same as Venus Epitymia at Delphi¹²; and the *Libitinarii*, answering to our undertakers, were called persons *qui Libitinam exercebant*¹³. All the articles of their business were sold in her temple¹⁴. Servius Tullius appointed a register of deaths in the city to be kept there, and for each person a piece of money to be paid, as one for each birth in the temple of Juno Lucina, and one for each person coming of age in that of Youth¹⁵. This was equivalent to our register of births and deaths. Suetonius¹⁶ says, that the Libitinarii kept an account of the burials of thirty thousand persons who died of the plague in one autumn of Nero's reign. They offered themselves gratuitously to conduct the funerals of Hirtius and Pansa, who fell fighting for their country¹⁷.

Funus locare was the term for contracting with them¹⁸. Seneca¹⁹, comparing them with those who hunted after legacies, says, the former were the better men of the two; for they wished for deaths without knowing the parties; while the others wished for those of their best and richest friends. There were *Death bunters* we see at Rome.

These Libitinarii had under them the *Pollinctores*²⁰, *Vespillones*, *Ulores*, &c. whose offices were to anoint and lay out, bear, and burn the dead.

¹ Plut. Solon. Ciero ubi sup. Petit. p. 600.

² Petit. p. 600.

³ Aristot. Oecon. ii. § 4. p. 684.

⁴ Pollux, iii. 19.

⁵ Demosth. contra Timocrat. p. 461. Hæus, p. 36.

⁶ De Leg. ii. 24.

⁷ Demosth. de corona, 187.

⁸ Cic. ib.

⁹ Xenoph. Mem. II. 587.

¹⁰ Cic. ib.

¹¹ Numa.

¹² Plut. quest. Rom. p. 169. *Επιτιμία των περί της Σιπρινίδος ονομασθίας Διός.*

¹³ Val. Max. v. 2.

¹⁴ Plutarch ubi sup.

¹⁵ Dion. Hal. iv. 15. ed. Hudson.

¹⁶ Ner. c. 93.

¹⁷ Val. Max. v. 2.

¹⁸ Plin. vi. 52. Seneca de Tranquil. c. i. et Epist. 99. *Lota offerendum*, agree for his burial; Plautus Aulul. act. 3. sc. 6. speaking of a starved lamb.

¹⁹ de Benef. iv. 38.

²⁰ So called from *Pollen*, meal, used to smear the face with, to conceal the blackness. Servius in *Æneid* ix. 487. or *Pollus*, fergere, or *Pollingere*, *oleimere*. Plautus in prologue to *Poenulus* says, "I am sure of the death of a person, because I had it from the *polluctor*," q. d. the man who laid him out.

The funeral procession was called *Elatio*¹. Servius² expressly says, the dead were kept seven days, burnt on the eighth, or buried on the ninth. The funeral was in the night, that the body might not come in the way of the magistrates or the priests³. The Athenians also buried before sun-rise⁴; but as the Romans did not adhere strictly to this custom, the emperor Julian endeavoured to bring them back to it by a law founded on this just reason, that the silence of the night was best calculated for grief, which should be consulted, and not parade and public curiosity⁵. In Holland they do not bury before the fifth day. The use of torches was however retained alike in the day-time⁶, as was the case at weddings; whence Propertius beautifully⁷,

"Viximus insignes inter utramque facem."

Thus illustrated by Ovid, *epist. Cydippes ad Acontium*: l. 172.

"Et face pro thalami fax mihi mortis adest."

And Fasti II. 561. speaking of February, a month set apart for *parentalia*, or funeral anniversaries, and therefore not proper for marriage:

"Conde tuas, Hymenæe, faces et ab ignibus atris

"Aufer, habent alias mœsta sepulchra faces."

The use of lights gave the very name of *funeral* to the process of interment. "*Funera a funalibus candelis sebo vel cera circumdatis dicta censentur*," says Servius, on *Æn.* ix. where we may understand the term *circumdata* like the "*cera circa corpus regis Edwardi*," which occasioned much disquisition among antiquaries, though obviously referring to the wax candles ranged round the tomb in which the body lay. Christians adopted the Pagan custom, first on account of the dark recesses of the catacombs, the receptacles of their dead, and afterwards as a symbol of the glory to which they aspire⁸. Heaven itself supplied their place by a miraculous illumination at the interment of some of the martyrs⁹. Perhaps the auroræ boreales, whose nature was not understood, were taken on this, as on other occasions, for supernatural.

Music and singing made a part of funerals. Macrobius¹⁰ assigns as a reason that it implied *the soul's return to the origin of harmony, or to heaven*. Hyginus¹¹ understands it to mean a signal of decent disposal of the dead, and

¹ Kirchman, II. i. et aut ibi cit. By the Greeks *Εκταφη*, Euripid. *Alcest.* 427. 726. *Æschyl.* *Septem adv. Theb.* 1032. Pollux in v.

Some understand the *Conclamatio* as performed during the funeral procession, as by the servants of *Alcebis*, Euripid. *Alcest.* 619. or after the funeral was over, as *Æn.* III. 68. VI. 251. The women of Picardy have a custom of calling the deceased by his name as he is carried to the grave (*Incert. des signes de la mort*, p. 180). So do the Indians, and exhortate with him for dying. *Xaups* was a common and afflicting patting exclamation at the grave; Eurip. *Alcest.* 751—753. Ion, 179. *Æn.* V. 81. XI. 98. Statius *Sylv.* III. iii. 209. And it occurs frequently on Greek funeral inscriptions.

² *Æn.* V. 64. Otho directed his funeral to be soon, and at little expence. Suet. *Oth.* c. 11. Cicero pro *Cluentio* speaks of a child who was well and dead in the course of a day and burnt before daylight the next day.

³ Servius, on *Æn.* xi. 143, *rapuere faces*: hence *funus a funalibus et vespillones* or *vesperones* a *vespera*. Servius. *Festus*.

⁴ Demosthenes. *Orat.* *πρὸς ἀρχιερεῖς*, Cic. *Leg.* II. 26. Kirchman, II. i. p. 107. very properly applies the term *funus acerbum* to funerals of persons who died in the prime of life, or immaturity.

⁵ Cod. Theodol. tit. 17. de sep. viol. leg. 5.

⁶ Tac. *Ann.* III. 4. of the funeral of Augustus.

⁷ *iv Eleg.* ult. l. 47.

⁸ Aldovera, 17.

⁹ *Acta Sanctor.* 16 Maii and 18 Junii, et *acta canonizationis D. Joan. Nepomuceni*, N° 26.

¹⁰ *Sonn. Scip.* II. 3.

¹¹ *Feb.* 174.

that

Besides these, at public funerals it was not unusual to introduce buffoons and dancers¹; and, which is more extraordinary, at that of Vespasian, a pantomime, representing the emperor himself, and taking him off, walked at the head of the procession². Slaves who were manumitted by the will of their masters preceded the funeral³. To make up the parade, a great number of beds were carried along on which were placed the images of the deceased's family, which were not unfrequently brought from their temples or public niches on the occasion⁴. Sylla had 6000⁵; Marcellus 600⁶; Junia 20⁷. The laws of the twelve tables restrained these beds⁸, and we have an instance in Tacitus⁹ of only three. Lepidus ordered his children that he should be carried on a bed without sheets¹⁰ or purple, for that a number of images were a greater credit than an expensive funeral¹¹.

Pliny¹² informs us these images were only busts made of wax, to keep up a consolatory remembrance of the deceased, and placed in presses for the purpose of accompanying funerals: so that a series of relations were always ready to be produced¹³. At the funeral of Augustus the series went back to that of Romulus; but that of Julius Cæsar was omitted, on account of his being deified¹⁴, it having been enacted by the triumvirs, that no image of his should ever be crowned at the funeral of his descendants, because he was actually become a God¹⁵. The same decree was passed by the senate respecting Augustus himself¹⁶. A senator moved, that the image of Libo should never attend on these occasions¹⁷. Those of Brutus and Cassius were left out of a procession where those of twenty illustrious families were borne¹⁸. Each image had its separate bed¹⁹. Spoils, crowns, memorials²⁰ of cities taken by a victor, accompanied the body on its bed: the standards undressed, and the fasces and arms and shields reverent²¹, and horses led without those trappings²², which the Gothic ages of chivalry loaded them with.

In St. Chrysostom's time it was become a fashion to have horses with mourning trappings led at funerals²³. Their manes were cropt on the death of great personages, as Mardonius²⁴, Hephæstion²⁵, Pelopidas²⁶, Masiftius²⁷, and Alcestis²⁸.

¹ Dion. Halic. vii. 477.

² Suet. Vesp. 19.

³ Justinian Cod. de lat. libert. l. vi. 55. Appian. B. Mithrid. p. 172. Dion. Hal. iv. p. 228.

⁴ Val. Max. viii. c. 25. of Scipio. ⁵ Servius ad Æn. vi. 874. ⁶ Servius ad Æn. vi. 861.

⁷ Tacitus. An. iii. 76.

⁸ Lanteis.

⁹ N. H. xxxv. 2.

¹⁰ defunctio aliquo totus aderat familiæ ejus qui unquam fuerat *populus*.

¹¹ *πολλὰ τὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς νεκρᾶς ἐγγεγραττο*. Dio. LVI. 34.

¹² *καὶ οὕτως οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς ἀληθείας*. Ib. xlvii. 19.

¹³ Ib. LVI. 46.

¹⁴ *lectus* or *feretrum*. Sil. Ital. x. 506—8.

¹⁵ *μενῆμα ὡς εἰς ποταμὸν*. Dionys. Hal. viii. p. 528. *tituli legum latorum, victarum ab eo gentium*

vocabula anteferrentur Tac. de Aug. funere. Ann. I. 8. Emblems of the nations, *εἰδη ταπεινωμένων*.

Dio. lvi. 34. or statues of them in brass, as that of Pertinax; Dio. lxxiv. 4. inimicaque nomina figi,

Æn. xi. 84.

¹⁶ *incompta signa, versis fasces*. Tac. iii. 2. at the funeral of Germanicus. *versis* Arcades arms.

Æn. xi. 93. and Servius. *versis* insignibus. Statius Theb. iv.

¹⁷ Æn. xi. 90.

¹⁸ Homil. iii. ad pop. Antioch.

¹⁹ Plut. in vit. Pelop.

²⁰ Herodot. ix. 24.

²¹ Ap. Kirchm. ii. c. 14.

²² Plut. Alex.

²³ Euripides, Alcest. 433, 434.

The nearest relations or the heirs were the bearers¹. Metellus was borne by his four sons and other officers of state². Coriolanus by illustrious youths³. Julius Cæsar by magistrates⁴. Augustus by the senators⁵. Trebius, a popular magistrate, by the people⁶. The poorer sort, or obnoxious persons by the common bearers as Domitian⁷. Herod was carried two hundred stadia for three days and an half⁸, wearing the royal crown on his head, and bearing the sceptre in his hand. The bier was called *feretrum* and *capulum*: *leſtica*, κλινη; *leſticula*, λεχρίς, *torus*, and that of the poor *sandapila*, or *arca*, for both⁹. The *leſtica* had six or eight bearers; the *sandapila* but four¹⁰. The faces of the dead were sometimes uncovered; at others concealed. So Scipio Africanus, who was suspected of having been strangled, had his head covered¹¹; and Nero covered with plaister¹² the face of Britannicus, whom he had poisoned¹³. The whole was sometimes concealed; as in the case of Condiarius, who, in order to escape from sentence of condemnation, got it given out that he had been killed by a fall from his horse, and then had a ram carried out in a coffin, and burnt for him¹⁴.

Bearers in general were hired persons; the servants bore the body of Alcestis¹⁵; but the corpse of the emperor Augustus was borne on the shoulders of the senators¹⁶. Paulus Emilius, not only by Romans, but young men of all nations who then happened to be at Rome¹⁷. The kings of England and Scotland, being at Lincoln at the funeral of Sir Hugh bishop of that diocese, put their shoulders to bear the corpse into the church¹⁸. Bishops have borne faints to their graves.

In succeeding ages this bearing the body was changed into supporting the pall. Aldovera is therefore guilty of a pleasant mistake in saying that at the funeral of Sir Isaac Newton he was carried to Westminster Abbey, the royal burial place, *on the shoulders* of the High Chancellor and three peers of the realm. For this he cites the Historical Dictionary. Whereas the fact is, that the Lord Chancellor, the dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, and the earls of Pembroke, Suffex, and Macclesfield, *supported the pall*. Constantine the Great appointed *Leſticarii*, or bearers of the bier, in the church of Constantinople. We learn from the fathers, that in the primitive church, among the ecclesiastical officers, were *Fossarii*, or grave-diggers¹⁹. The emperor Constantine formed them into a society, and exempted them from public offices and taxes. The emperor Anastasius confirmed this establishment, and in late times it was restored at Rome, under the title of *fraternity of charity*²⁰. The Roman ritual and Durand²¹ confine the bearers of the laity and clergy to their respective

¹ Servius in Æn. vi. 223. Horat. Sat. ii. 5. 85.

² Plin. vii. 44. Val. Max. vii. 1.

³ Pliny, vii. 44.

⁴ Suet. Cæs. 84.

⁵ Tacit. An. 1. 8.

⁶ Plin. xviii. 3.

⁷ Suet. Domit. 17.

⁸ Joseph. Bell. Jud. I. c. ult.

⁹ Val. Max. ii. 6.

¹⁰ Martial. vii. 75. Il. 81. vi. 77.

¹¹ Caput velatum. Velleius Pat. ii. 4.

Aur. Victor. 38.

¹² *gypsum*

¹³ Dio. lxi. 7.

¹⁴ Dio. lxxii. 6.

¹⁵ Euripid. Alcest. 617, 618.

¹⁷ Plut. in vit.

¹⁸ Matt. Paris, p. 204.

¹⁹ Tacit. Ann. ii. 8.

²⁰ St. Epiphani. in canon. St. Hieron. Epist. ad Ruf

²¹ Spondan. Annal. Eccl. An. 336. xiv.

²² Lib. vii. c. 35. n. 37.

orders; and even deacons and priests, and members of fraternities to their own orders respectively, and in some places women and children to each other. The Messenians forbade woman to assist at funerals¹, and St. Chrysostom objects to the impropriety of it².

The slain in battle were buried at the public expence. Thucydides thus describes the ceremony: The bones were ranged under a tent erected three days before, and every one brought his offering as he pleased. When the day of burial came, the cypress coffins, one for each tribe, were brought in waggons, and in them were put the bones of the persons of the respective tribes. An empty bed represented those who could not be found. The citizens and foreigners attended, and the female relations were at the monument weeping. The bones were deposited in a public monument in the fairest suburbs, where the slain in battle were always buried, except those who fell at Marathon, whose distinguished merit entitled them to a monument on the spot. The ceremony of interment being over, some person appointed by the state for his prudence and rank pronounced the funeral oration³. After which the company departed. The oration on the first who fell in the Peloponnesian war was delivered by Pericles, not on the spot, but from a high rostrum, that he might be heard by all present⁴. The assistants at public funerals among the Greeks were clothed in white⁵.

Public funerals were extremely frequent among the Romans. They proceeded through the forum at Rome⁶, and the funeral oration was pronounced from the rostrum⁷, by the son, or, if he was under age, by some of the nearest relations of the deceased⁸, or by the best orator of the time⁹, or by the magistrates by order of the senate¹⁰. Cicero¹¹ and Livy¹² complain much of the misrepresentations in these popular harangues, and their ill effect on history.

Funeral elegies were first introduced at Rome, by Valerius, for his colleague Junius Brutus, and became an established fashion¹³. They obtained among the Greeks; and Plato in his Commonwealth allows of them for women¹⁴. The Egyptians pronounced the praises of their dead, if Alexander ab Alexandro¹⁵, does not confound this with the examination which their dead kings were made to undergo before they were allowed burial¹⁶. From funeral orations over Christian martyrs have followed funeral sermons for eminent Christians of all denominations, whether founded in esteem, or sanctioned by fashion, or secured by reward. Our ancestors, before the Reformation, took especial care to secure the repose and well-being of their souls, by masses and other deeds of piety and charity. After that event was supposed

¹ Moretelli. II. c. 3.

² Περὶ τῆς ὑποταξίας, lib. III. Synesius.

³ See Demosthenes, pro coron. 186. Diod. Sic. XVIII. 634.

⁴ Thucyd. II. c. 34.

⁵ Plutarch Timoleon, Philopæmen, and Aratus. Dionys. Halic. of the funeral of Brutus.

⁶ Dionys. Hal. II. 40. XI. 39.

⁷ Ib. v. 17.

⁸ Polyb. vi. 51. edit. Cataub. Dionys. Hal. IX. 54. Liv. II. 61.

⁹ Appian, B. C. I. p. 694. ed. Tollii, of Sylla. Plin. Ep. II. 1.

¹⁰ Quintil. III. 9.

¹¹ Bruto, 62.

¹² VIII. 40.

¹³ Plut. in Camillo.

¹⁴ De Legib. VII.

¹⁵ Gen. Diet. III. c. 7.

¹⁶ Diodor. Sic. I. 72.

to have dispelled the gloom of superstition, and done away the painful doctrine of purgatory, they became more solicitous to have their memories embalmed, and the example of their good works held forth to posterity. Texts were left to be preached from, and sometimes money to pay for such preaching. Gratitude founded commemorative sermons as well as commemorative dinners for benefactors.

It was a custom for the friends and relatives of the deceased to throw their hair as they pulled or cut it off on the body; so the women on Virginia¹, Delia to Propertius², the Ephesian matron on her husband³, and the emperor Caracalla on his favourite Festus⁴. The modern Greek women retain the custom⁵. The Persian soldiers as soon as they heard of the death of Alexander cut off their hair, according to the custom of their country⁶. It was sometimes placed on the porch of the house⁷.

Sons accompanied their fathers with their heads covered; daughters with their heads bare and their hair dishevelled⁸. The contrary is the custom at Otahite; for there the hair of the deceased is cut off, and given to the surviving friends⁹.

Cicero¹⁰ was of opinion, that inhumation was the oldest mode, and preferred by Cyrus in Xenophon: by Numa, the Cornelian family, and Caius Marius. But both Virgil¹¹ and Ovid¹² speak of burning as the practice before the foundation of Rome, the former in the instance of Pallas, the latter in that of Remus. Plutarch¹³ says Numa forbade it in his own case, and the laws of the twelve tables forbade burning as well as burial within the city. Tacitus¹⁴ says, Poppæa's corpse was not burned according to the Roman fashion. It is a misapprehension of Capitolinus's words to suppose Antoninus prohibited it. Macrobius¹⁵, who lived under Theodosius the younger, speaks of it as left off in his time. Infants¹⁶ and persons thunder-struck¹⁷ were not burnt among the Romans, nor those who had laid violent hands on themselves among the Greeks¹⁸. Burning of bodies occurs in Homer and Herodotus, and Thucydides.

¹ Dionys. Hal. xi. c. 39.

² I. 17.

³ Petron. Arb. See also Ovid, Met. iii. 502. et Epist. Canaces, l. 116. Statius Theb. vi. 195, 196. Sylv. v. iii. 104. Anna on Dido, Ovid Fasti iii. 562. and Charicleia in Heliodorus. Orestes on his father's tomb. Sophocles Elect. 51—53. and Electra, Ib. 439—452. Iphigenia on her brother's tomb, Euripides, Iph. in Taur. 703. Hecuba on her son's, Euripides, Hec. 480. Helena to her sister Clytemnestra, Euripides, Orest. 113. Achilles on Patroclus, Il. Y. 152. Achilles himself was thus honoured, Od. Ω. 46. See also Antigone of her brothers; Euripides, Phœn. 1523. and the Loves over Adonis, Bion Eleg. 81. Among the Romans, Catull. 63. 350. Propert. l. xvii. 21. Ovid Epistle to Livia, 98. Statius Theb. VI. 196. Seneca Hippol. 1182.

⁴ Herodian, iv. 14.

⁵ Gouy's Voy. lit. de la Grèce.

⁶ Curtius, x. 5.

⁷ Euripides. Alcest. 101. Bichylus, Chæroph. 6 and 166. Euripides,

Elect. 515, 519, 521, 546.

⁸ Plut. Popæia. Prob. 14.

⁹ Bligh's Narrative, p. 137.

¹⁰ The cutting off a lock from the head of a dying person was considered as a necessary and preliminary initiation to death. Euripid. Alcest. 75—77. Æn. iv. 704. Statius Sylva, II. 1. 147. Jodrell's Alcestis, 31—38. A custom like this was observed by Capt. Cook at Otahite, with regard to sacrifices, both of men and animals, II. 2. p. 30. 33. 34. 35. 40.

¹¹ De Leg. II. 22. Kirchman de funerib. l. 2.

¹² Æn. XI. 208.

¹³ Fast. IV. 853.

¹⁴ Numa.

¹⁵ Ann. xvi. 6.

¹⁶ urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro seculo nullus est. vii. 7.

Plin. vii. 16. Juvenal, Sat. xv. 139.

¹⁷ Plin. II. 44.

¹⁸ Philostratus in Heroicis of Ajax. Statius, Thebaid. iii. 97, 98. of Mæon king of Thrace.

Pliny¹ observes, it was not the antient custom of the Romans to burn their dead; but took rise from the practice of digging up the bodies in the civil wars; yet many of them adhered to the old practice, and Sylla was the first of his family who was burnt, which was done for fear of retaliation from the friends of Marius, whose body he had dug up². The Germans dug up the body of Varus, which the soldiers had decently buried³. And Sir William Dugdale⁴ supposes, the consul or eminent warrior who died in their British expeditions was burnt, for fear of like treatment from the Britans.

The Athenian law, mentioned by Ælian, vii. 19. obliged them to place the body to the West⁵. This was the original position of the Athenians, as Solon shewed in defence of his countrymen's claims to Salamis; for on opening the graves in that island he proved that the Athenians in it were so buried in a regular manner; but the Megarensian invaders at random and just as it happened⁶. Laertius⁷ says the Athenians, and the scholiast on Thucydides, all the Greeks, lay buried towards the East; that is, as Kuhnus on Ælian, loc. cit. properly explains it, with their faces looking to the East and their heads to the West⁸. This practice among Christians has been supposed to have a reference to the general resurrection. The motive for it among Heathens I have not seen assigned.

Though it was customary in antient times, as we learn from Servius⁹, to bury persons in their own houses, which Kirchman refers to the times of the Latins, and Plato¹⁰ asserts this of the antient Greeks, the Romans deposited their dead out of the city, before the introduction of the twelve tables. The examples of Numa and Servius Tullus prove this; and it was a special privilege granted by the senate to particular persons that they should be buried within the city¹¹. The old custom had been broken through before the law of the twelve tables was enacted, and others were found necessary in Duillius's consulship, A. U. C. 490¹² in the reigns of the emperors Adrian¹³ and the Antonines¹⁴; but all these were superseded by a law of the emperor Leo¹⁵. The Jews observed the same place for burial¹⁶. So did the Athenians¹⁷, the Smyrneans¹⁸, Sicyonians¹⁹, Corinthians²⁰, and Syracusans²¹. The reason for this was to avoid profanation²²; the effluvia seem to have been secondary considerations²³. It is obvious burning was forbidden in the city for fear of fire²⁴.

¹ N. H. vii. 54.

² Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti: terra condebantur. At postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovere tunc institutum. Et tamen multe familie prius servare ritus: sicut in Cornelia nemo ante Syllam dictatorem traditur crematus. Idque eam voluisse veritum talionem eruto Marii cadavere. Plin. ib. Cicero de Leg. II. 22.

³ Florus, iv. 12.

⁴ Warwickshire, Introd.

⁵ Δυσίτην τὴν πρὸς δυσμὰς ὁρισταίαν.

⁶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν. Plutarch adds, that the Athenians lay single in each grave; but the Megarensians two or three together. Ælian, V. H. vii. 19. Plut. in Solone.

⁷ Solone.

⁸ Palmerius understands καὶ μὲν καὶ ἀνατολῆς as synonymous.

⁹ Æn. v. 152. Plut. Lucul.

¹⁰ Minos prope fin.

¹¹ Cic. de Leg. II. 23.

¹² Servius on Æn. xi. 205. ¹³ Ulp. lib. xxx. ¹⁴ Capitol. Ant. Pio. c. 12. ¹⁵ Novell. Leonis. 53.

¹⁶ Lazarus, John xi. 38. The widow's son at Nain, Luke vii. 12. Christ in the garden, John xix. 41.

The Gergesenes, Matt. viii. 28. The dead raised at the crucifixion, ib. xxvii. 53.

¹⁷ Cic. Ep. Attic. iv. 12. Philip besieging Athens destroyed the tombs round the city. Livy xxxi. 26.

¹⁸ Cic. pro Flacco.

¹⁹ Plut. Arato.

²⁰ Pausan. Cor. II. 2.

²¹ Cic. Tusc. v. of the tomb of Archimedes. See also Houel and Non Voyages de Sicile passim.

²² Kirchman, II. 21. et aut. ibi cit.

²³ Ibid. Orig. xiv. 11.

²⁴ Cic. de Leg. II. 24.

The Lacedemonians buried within the city to familiarize death to their young men¹.

The antients, both Jews and Heathens, conceived that the touch of a dead body conveyed pollution. The wise legislator of Sparta was ambitious to remove this prejudice; he therefore established, as we learn from Plutarch, the custom of burial within the city, and erected monuments near the temples, that the youth might be trained from their infancy to the view of such objects, nor shudder at the spectacle of death. This author again mentions this law in his treatise on Spartan Institutions, and observes, that Lycurgus abolished all pollutions².

For the particular process of burning the dead, the reader may consult Kirchman, Book III. The pile was heaped with spices and various presents, and various animals, slaves, and captives were sacrificed at it. The embers were extinguished with wine, and the bones and ashes collected. The central situation of the body made it easy to distinguish its remains; we see, however, in many urns, a great admixture of other matter, like dirt or rubbish. Servius³ says, the pile was surrounded with cypress, to take off the disagreeable smell. The *presica* continued her lamentation till the whole was consumed, and then dismissed the assistants with *ilicet*⁴, and they were sprinkled three times with lustral water⁵.

Sepulchres were on ground that was private property, either by possession, purchase⁶, gift⁷, permission⁸, or bequest⁹. The poor were thrown into a common burial place, called *Puticuli*¹⁰, and *Exquilæ*, out of the Exquiline gate, and *Culina*¹¹.

Grottoes or caves in hills and rocks at some distance from the city were the receptacles of the antient inhabitants of Greece, Sicily, and Asia, of the Jews and Persians, and are to this day of the Chinese.

The spot chosen for private or public interment was as near the high road as possible. Alceftis was buried by the side of the road to Larissæ¹², an object of religious veneration to travellers¹³. Atticus was laid near the Appian way¹⁴, Galba by the Aurelian¹⁵, Paris the Pantomime by the Flaminian¹⁶, Domitian by the Latin¹⁷, Didius Julianus in his family vault by the Lavican¹⁸, Pallas the freedman of Claudius by the Tiburtine¹⁹, and many other instances²⁰. The Turks²¹ and modern Greeks²² have adopted this mode: the former believing that travellers offer up prayers for the souls of the deceased.

¹ Plut. Lycurg. It was also the custom at Tarentum. Polyb. viii. cxc.

² Joddrell on the Alceftis of Euripides.

³ Æn. iv. 216.

⁴ *Ire licet*. Livia remained five days on the spot, collecting the bones of Augustus. Dio, lvi. 42.

⁵ Æn. iv. 216.

⁶ *Locus amicus*. *Locus quem ipse vivus erogavit*.

⁷ *Locus dedit et donavit*.

⁸ Inf. ap Kirchm. 249.

⁹ Ib.

¹⁰ Either from *putei*, pits or wells, as Varro; or from *putrefcere*, rotting, as Festus.

¹¹ Agennus Urbicus l. de contr. ad Jul. Frontin.

¹² Euripides, Alc. 845. ¹³ Ib. 1007—9. See also Theocritus, Idyll vii. 21. Virgil. Eclog. ix. 60.

¹⁴ Nepos in vit.

¹⁵ Suet. Galb. 20.

¹⁶ Martial, ix. 14.

¹⁷ Suet. Dom. 17.

¹⁸ Spartian. in vit.

¹⁹ Plin. Ep. v. vii. 19.

²⁰ Kirchman, II. 22.

²¹ Tavernier's Travels, I. 3, 4.

²² Guy's Voy. lit. de Grece, t. i. 219.

Cicero¹ observes, that though statues were decreed to many persons, few had the honour of a public funeral. The place for it when granted was the Campus Martius². Inscriptions set forth such to have been decreed in the Municipia and Colonies³. Among the Athenians the place was the Ceramicus⁴. Poplicola was both burnt and buried in the forum⁵; but in Plutarch's time his family were only brought there and the torch withdrawn as soon as applied⁶. The Cincian⁷ and Claudian⁸ families had burial places in Rome. Trajan was the only emperor allowed to be buried in Rome⁹. The Greeks not unfrequently buried men of note in their fora. Themistocles at Magnesia¹⁰, Euphron at Corinth¹¹, Brasidas at Amphipolis¹², Thales at Miletus¹³, and Cæpio brother of Cato of Utica at Oenuns¹⁴. Germanicus was exposed in that of Antioch before he was burnt¹⁵.

Sepulchres of princes were Mausolea, as of Mausolus the inventor, of king Porfenna, the emperors Augustus and Adrian. The *Columbaria* were family vaults, among the Romans, as of the Scipios¹⁶, into which the poet Ennius was admitted, and that of the Livian family¹⁷. Among the Greeks, of the Bufelides, all of the family of Bufelus¹⁸. *Sibi et suis* is a common phrase on Roman monuments, and sometimes *libertis libertabusq. posterisq. eorum*. The mingling of ashes in one common urn¹⁹ or tomb²⁰ was an ancient and a natural wish.

Care was taken in the inscriptions to distinguish whether the monument was erected by the party in his life, or by his relatives, friends, or heirs²¹, or by will, for a sum specified²², and according to a given plan²³, whether they were to be confined to one person alone²⁴, or to be common to the same family²⁵, hereditary; and for freedmen and descendants. They were in many instances common divided into different parts, and leave was granted to other persons to be laid in them²⁶. Hence they acquired the name of *Polyandria*, in Greek and Roman writers²⁷. In these sepulchres the bodies or ashes were lodged in cells, urns, or stone sarcophagi, which last were charged with various subjects in relief, no way connected with the occasion: games, races, hunting-matches,

¹ Philip. ix. in fine.

² Strabo, v. p. 236. Sylla was buried there, Appian. B. C. i. p. 418. Plut. Lucul. and Pomp. Hirtius and Panfa, Livy, Ep. 119. Drusus, Suet. Claud. 1. See also Dio xxxix. 64. of the wife of Pompey, of Oppius, xlviii. 53. Sil. It. xiii. 658—660.

³ Kirchm. p. 259.

⁴ Suidas in voce. The Ceramicus was in the fairest suburb of Athens, and Sulpicius could not obtain leave to inter within that city his colleague Marcellus, who was killed at Athens. Cicero, Ep. Fam. iv. 12. Here were statues by Praxiteles, and other great statuary. Plin. xxxvi. 5. Pausan. Attic. i. 29. To this assemblage one might apply Virgil's description of Elysium, Æn. vi. 638—664.

⁵ Dion. Hal. v. 48.

⁶ Plutarch. Poplic.

⁷ Fest. v. Cincia.

⁸ Suet. Tiber. c. 1.

⁹ Euryp. viii. c. 5.

¹⁰ Plut. Themist.

¹¹ Xenoph. Hellen. vii. p. 632. ed.

¹² Tac. An. ii. 73.

¹³ Alcibiades, he received divine honours, καὶ ὡς ἀρχιερεῖν τῆς πόλεως σέβονται.

¹⁴ Theud. v. c. 11. He received the like honours, ὡς ἥτοι τε ἐβίβοντο καὶ τιμὰς δέδωκεσαν.

¹⁵ Plut. Solon.

¹⁶ Plut. Cat.

¹⁷ Aldovera, p. 31. See the description of it by Piranesi, Gent. Mag. LVII. 289.

¹⁸ Gori's Columbarium libertorum et servorum Livie. Flor. 1727, fol.

¹⁹ Demosth. contra Macaratum, 611. Petit de leg. Att. 598.

²⁰ Il. T. 83. 92. 244. Od. Ω. 78. Ovid, Met. iv. 166. Val. Flacc. v. 59.

²¹ Æn. X. 906. Ovid, Met. iv. 157.

²² Kirchm. iii. 11.

²³ Ib. 12.

²⁴ Ib. 13.

²⁵ gentilitia, familiaria. Magnum est habere eadem monumenta majorum, iisdem uti sacris, sepulchra habere communia, Cic. Offic. i. 17. Cicero was a true patriot in the strictest sense of the word.

²⁶ Kirchm. ib. c. 14.

²⁷ Suidas in v. Aelian. xxi. 21. An old inscription cited by Kirchman, ubi sup. Arnob. vi.

It is not improbable that the idea of the earth lying light on the party interred, which was the favourite wish of antiquity, suggested the raising cells of stones or sods within the vast barrows afterwards heaped over them.

sacrifices,

sacrifices, satyrs, nymphs and cupids, sea-gods, the labours of Hercules, &c. &c.¹. On the tomb of Archimedes was a sphere and cylinder², on that of Diogenes the Cynic a dog³, on that of Philagrus the preceptor of Merellus Nepos a crown⁴, on that of Isocrates a ram⁵. Sometimes arms, oars, &c.

The usual form of epitaph was, *D. M. Dis Manibus*, or *Hic jacet*, the name, titles, and office of the deceased, some verses⁶, and a conclusion, by whom or by what means erected. *F. C. fieri* or *faciendum curavit*, or *D. S. F. C. de suo fieri curavit*, and the dimensions of the burial place, *in fronte pedes tot, in agrum pedes tot*⁷.

Costliness in sepulchral monuments was restrained by the laws of Solon, who allowed none that could not be made by ten men in three days, without a roof or figures of Hermes⁸. Demetrius Phalereus fixed, by a law and an officer appointed to execute it, the height of the pillars on them to three cubits. Such a magnificence in monuments had obtained at Athens; which Cicero complains was afterwards introduced at Rome⁹. The early Christians had neither means nor motives to gratify sepulchral vanity. It crept in among their successors, in the time of Jerom and Chrysostom. The council of Rouen, 1581, issued a canon against it, and Philip II. of Spain, 1565, a rescript, or *pragmatica*, that no monument (*tumulo*) should be erected in churches, only a tomb (*tumba*), *with a mourning cloth*; Philip V. by another, 1723, forbade the costly coverings of coffins, and the hanging of benches and church walls with black. He ordered, "que los atahudes o caxas en que llevaren a enter-
"rar los difuntos no sean de telas ni colores sobrefalientes de seda, sino de
"bayeta o pa'no, ò olandilla negra, y galon negro ó morado, per ser suma-
"mente improprio poner colores sobrefalientes en donde está el origen de la
"mayor tristeza; y solo permito que puedan ser de color y de tafetan doble, y
"no mas los atahudes ó caxas de los niños hasta salir de la infancia, y de quie-
"nes la Iglesia celebra la Misa de Angeles; que no se vistan de luto las pare-
"des de las Iglesias in los bancos de ellas, sino solamente el pavimento que
"ocupa la tumba ó feretro y las hachas de los lados"¹⁰.

The first monument that carried marks of taste and elegance in Spain was that of cardinal Ximenes, in the church of the great college of St. Ildefonso, at Alcalá de Henares, the work of the celebrated Domenico of Florence: the balustrade of bronze round it is of excellent workmanship by Nicholas de Vergara of Toledo¹¹.

¹ Kirchm. ib. c. 18.

² Cic. Tusc. v.

³ Plutarch in x rhetor.

⁴ Laertius in vit.

⁵ Plut. in Cicer.

⁶ Propert. l. x.

Et duo sint versus: qui nunc jacet humida pulvis
Vivus quondam fervens amoris erat.

Virg. Ec. v. Ovid. Met. ix.

Some of the forms and characters may be seen in Kirchm. iii. 20. and the collections of inscriptions abounded with them.

⁷ Pantolabo securæ Nomentanoque nepoti

Mille pedes in fronte trecentos cippus in agrum

Hic dabat.

Hor. Sat. i. viii. 11—13.

where the scholiast explains *in fronte*, in length; *in agrum*, in breadth.

⁸ See vol. I. introd. p. ii.

Cic. de leg. ii. 26. Petit. de leg. Attic. p. 596.

⁹ Ubi sup.

¹⁰ Aldovera, p. 46, 47.

¹¹ Ib. p. 31.

In the church of the nuns of St. John de la Penitencia at Toledo is a tomb of good architecture and beautiful marble, over Francis Ruiz bishop of Avela, with three statues, of Faith, Hope, and Charity; and on the frieze supported by Doric pillars, *Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur*. Other pieces of admirable workmanship are the monuments of Philip V. in the collegiate church of St. Ildefonso, and of Ferdinand VI. in the church of the Visitation at Madrid¹.

Bodies could not be removed without leave of the emperor, governor of the province, or the priests, and for very good reasons². Cenotaphs were erected to soldiers whose bodies could not be found³, or who were slain in distant or foreign countries⁴, or to great men who were buried at Rome⁵. The Athenians placed a piece of ship-plank on the graves of persons who died abroad or in exile⁶; and the Lombards put a pole surmounted by a dove in their tombs, in memory of their friends who died abroad⁷. Virgil⁸, Statius⁹, and Ovid¹⁰, call these cenotaphs literally *inanes tumulos*, *inania busta*, and *inane sepulchrum*.

Solon's laws enforce a very particular case of sepulchres: "*Nequis sepulchra delectat neve alienum inferat: si quis tymbon aut monumentum aut columnam violarit, dejecerit, fregerit, pœna esto*." This wise lawgiver's delicacy extended beyond breaking down a tomb and defacing a monument, to breaking into it, and depositing therein bodies not related to the deceased, or of his family. No wonder then that Sophocles in Ajax, l. 1411, guards a tomb from the approach of an enemy to the party deposited in it:

σε δ' ὡ γέρας σπερμα Λαερτιάδης πόλεος
ταφῇ μὲν ὄκνω τῇ δ' ἐπιβλῦναι εἶναι.
μὴ τῷ θανόντι τύλο δυσχερές ποιοῖν.

and Solon prohibited any from approaching a tomb without an offering, *χωρὶς ἐκφομιδης*¹¹.

The inviolability of sepulchres was supported by imprecations from the manes¹², by the guilt of sacrilege incurred by selling or buying them¹³, disfigurement by will of the violators of hereditary sepulchres¹⁴, and the injunction of the law against those who disturbed or hindered their erection¹⁵. The emperor Severus enacted severe laws on this last article¹⁶. The fathers inveigh against the detention of the body by creditors and money lenders, *A fœneratoribus quoties*, says St. Ambrose¹⁷, *vidi teneri defunctos et negari tumulum dum fœnus exposcitur*. . . . *Nihil interest inter fœnus et funus, nihil inter mortem et sortem*. Our law knows no such distinction, and the threats of a creditor could not detain the body a moment from its grave. The church called in excommunication to its aid, to defend the dead in the quiet possession of their resting places¹⁸.

¹ Adovera, p. 31.

² L. i. c. de religio. L. 14. de religio. Ulp. ad. edict. l. 3. de sep. viol. Kirchm. tit. 25.

³ Xenoph. Anab. vi. p. 381. ed. Leuncl. Tac. An. i. 62. ⁴ Pausan. Cor. ii. 20.

⁵ Druſus. Suet. Claud. 4. Alexander Severus. Lamprid. 63.

⁶ Marcellinus in Vit. Thucyd.

⁷ Paul. Diac. v. 34. Pythagoras erected cenotaphs to those who renounced his Philosophy. Orig. contra Cels. i. ⁸ Æn. iii. 301. vi. 380. 505. ⁹ Theb. xii. 160—162.

¹⁰ Metam. vi. 568.

¹¹ Plut. Solone. Petir. de leg. Att. vi. tit. 8. p. 598, 599.

¹² Boissard, Antiq. Rom. part 2.

¹³ L. i. §. Prætor ait. D. de mort. infer.

¹⁴ L. i. §. Prætor ait. D. de mort. infer.

¹⁵ Ne corpora, D. de relig. l. 3. L. 3. §. adverſi. D. de rep. viol.

¹⁶ Lib. de Tobia, c. 10. ¹⁷ Extrav. detestand. de sep. inter com.

Instances of Roman sepulchres borrowed by Christians may be seen in cardinal William Flisco, who was buried in a magnificent sepulchre of a noble Heathen. Pope Innocent II. in that of emperor Adrian¹. And in the catacombs at Rome the same stone contains an Heathen and a Christian inscription, as in some of our churches an old brassless stone has been æconomically borrowed to commemorate a modern interment.

We come now to the rites subsequent to the funerals, such as anniversaries and exequies.

Feralia, were certain set days appointed by Numa in the month of February, which was the last of the year²; though Decimus Brutus made December the last month, and observed them in it³. Numa appears to have followed the Grecian custom, their month Anthesterion answering to parts of our February and March⁴. These were public anniversaries, attended with sacrifices to the celestial, terrestrial, and infernal Gods⁵. The private commemorations were called *Novendialia*, because held nine days after the interment⁶, during which Justinian forbid the interruption of the family and friends of the deceased⁷. These rites were called *Exuvæ*⁸; they were also called *Denicales*⁹; and were so religiously observed that cattle could not work on them¹⁰, and they were allowed to be a good plea of absence¹¹. There were however certain unlucky days¹², on which the parentalia could not be performed¹³. The ceremonies of these days were *Inferiæ*, or sacrifices, to the infernal Gods¹⁴, feasts and games. The offerings consisted of libations of water¹⁵, wine¹⁶, milk, blood, ointments¹⁷. The sacrifices consisted of oxen, sheep, and swine¹⁸. The tombs were decked with flowers¹⁹, particularly roses²⁰ and lilies²¹. The Greeks used the Amaranth²² and the Polianthus, one species of which resembles the Hyacinth²³, Parsley²⁴, Myrtle²⁵. The Romans added fillets or bandeaux of wool²⁶. The primitive Christians reprobated these as impertinent practices; but in Prudentius' time they had adopted them²⁷, and they obtain in a degree in some parts of our own country, as the garland hung up in some village-churches in Cambridgeshire,

¹ Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.* p. 82.

² Plut. Numa, Liv. i. 20. Varro de ling. Lat. vi. The *Julia* were the rites observed on the *Feralia*. Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 569. The omission of them was atoned for by sacrificing thereon a sow-pig, called *præsidena*. Cic. de leg. i. Festus, v. *Præsidena*. See also Gell. iv. 6. Varro de Vita pop. Rom. iii. ap. Non.

³ Cic. Leg. 2. 21. Plut. ubi sup.

⁴ Lactantius ap. Saubert, de sacrific. c. 15. p. 340.

⁵ Festus, Porphyry in Horat. Epod. 17. Donat. in Phorm. Apul. Met. IX.

⁶ Novell. 115. c. 5. 7.

⁷ Columella, 11. 22.

⁸ A. Gell. xvi. 4.

⁹ *Dies atri*; such were days commemorating a national defeat. Plut. in Camillo; the death of Julius Cæsar, &c. Dio xlix. c. 19. The Greeks called the days on which funeral ceremonies were practised *ακατάπατοι*, or unlucky. Suidas, in v.

¹⁰ Macrob. Sat. I. 16. ¹¹ Fest. ¹² *Arteria*, or *Adferia*, or *Arferia* aqua, Fest. *Asperæ*, Sophocles, Elect. *Ἐσπυλὴ γὰρ*, Æschylus, Choeph. The women who brought it were called *Ἐσπυλίσσαι*. Etymolog. and to unmarried persons it was ministered by the nearest young male relation, Id. Harpocration

¹³ Festus calls it *respersum vinum*; and Virgil, *Æn.* v. 77. *merum*.

¹⁴ Virgil, *Æn.* v. 78. 111. 66. and Sil. It. xvi. 308—310. enumerate wine, milk, and blood. Propert. 111. El. xiv. 23. and Auson. Epitaph. Carm. 36. the unguents.

¹⁵ *Æn.* v. 27.

¹⁶ Plin. xxi. 13.

¹⁷ Tibul. 111. 4.

¹⁸ Sophocles, Elect. 899—902.

¹⁹ Commodus crowned the monument of Achilles at Troy. Herodian iv. 14.

²⁰ Nero's tomb was for a long time decked with spring and summer flowers. Suet. Nero 57.

²¹ Anacreon.

²² *Æn.* vi. 883. de Marcello.

²³ Philostratus, Heroic.

²⁴ Suidas, *Ἐσπυλὴ*.

²⁵ Euripides, Elect. Plutarch, Aristid.

²⁶ *Infule*, or *Tania*, Varro de ling. Lat. vi. The urn of Philopsemen was almost smothered with crowns and fillets. Plutarch, Philop. Epaminondas gave a good turn to the blowing away of the ornament of his spear on a Lacedæmonian tomb, "that it boded defeat to the Lacedæmonians."

Frontin. i. 2.

²⁷ Kirchm. iv. 3. in fin.

and other counties, after the funeral of a young woman; and the inclosure of roses round graves in the Welch churchyards testify.

The feasts seem to have depended on the disposition of the heir. The private ones were called *Parentalia* and *Silicernia*, the derivation of which last name is not easy¹. Part of this was provided for the departed spirits², part for the surviving relatives³, either at the funeral⁴ or afterwards. Cicero⁵ says the tomb of Catiline was sprinkled with flowers, and frequented by the most audacious enemies to the public tranquillity, who feasted at it. The public ones were given to the people by the relations of the deceased⁶. Some of the fathers disapproved these practices, while others approved them, as an occasion of feeding the poor⁷. The principal articles of these feasts were pulse and vegetables⁸. The cup used on the occasion was called *Obba*⁹. All the company were dressed in white¹⁰. Exhibitions of Gladiators were substituted to human sacrifices¹¹, because, says Tertullian¹², departed spirits were supposed to delight in blood. They were first given by the sons of Junius Brutus at his funeral¹³; and they rose to such a height that the people used to call for them, whether they were provided or not¹⁴. The person who directed and superintended these ceremonies was called *Designator*¹⁵, and all the assistants wore black¹⁶. Thus Horace, Epist. i. vii. 5. describes the dog-days as making work for the undertakers and his men.

—dum ficus prima calorque

Designatorem decorat licitoribus atris.

¹ See Kirchm. iv. 4. *Silicernius* is applied to old people ready to drop into the grave. Fulgentius de pñico ferm.

² Hercules says, he expected to find *Death* feasting at the tomb of Alceftis, where he lay in wait and seized him. Alceft. 855. 1152. Tzetzes on Lycophron, l. 10.

³ Athenæus x. 7. 427. tells us, that all that fell under the table was supposed to belong to them. Festus explains *Culina*, the place where such victuals was dressed. It seems to have been laid on the funeral pile with the dead to be stolen by the poor, hunger-bitten, half-starved wretches wanting a meal. Catul. l. 60. Tibull. l. 6. 17. Terent. Eun. l. iii. 7. Plautus Pseud. III. 2. 38. calls them *Bustirapi*.

⁴ Varro Meleagris, "Funus exequiati cum lauro ad sepulcrum antiquo more Silicernium conficiuntur id est *παρασηνιον*, quo pransi discendentes dicimus aliis alii Vale." Kirchm. p. 512. Plaut. Aulul. II. iv. 45. Pseud. III. 2. 5. speaks of cooks who went about to prepare it.

⁵ Pro Flacco, prope finem. "Sepulchrum L. Catilinæ floribus ornatum hominum audacissimorum et domesticorum hostium conventu epulifq. celebratum est."

⁶ Q. Maximus, at the funeral of his father Africanus, Cic. pro Muræna. Paustus, at that of his father Sylla, Plut. Sylla. Julius Cæsar, at that of his daughter, Suet. Jul. 26. Flavius, at that of his mother, gave a *visperatio*, as Livy calls it, viii. 22; and Flaminius, at that of his father, ib. xii. 28. See also xxxix. 46. Archelaus, for his father Herod; Josephus, B. J. II. The Prætor Culleo gave wine to all who followed the funeral of Scipio at the Capenian gate, Livy, xxxviii. 55. We find allusions to these mortuary feasts in the apocryphal writers, Baruch vi. 31. Tobit iv. 17. Ecclesi. xxx. 17. and also in Ezekiel, chap. xxiv. 17. Socrates compares the life of a miser to such a supper, because he had every thing without the pleasure of enjoying it, *πρωτα γαρ εχων τα επιρροδιστοιματα ου εχον*. Stobæus. Priam gave *εραυδια δαψα*, after Hector's funeral, Il. Q. 802. and Achilles, after that of Patroclus, Il. Q. and the Argonauts, for Idmon. *ταφης λαμβανουσας*, Apoll. Rhod. II. 839.

⁷ Augustin, Civ. Dei, ix. c. ult.

⁸ Beans, on whose flower Festus, in v. says, *lulus literæ* appear. This must be an L. or Ar. *Parley*, Plin. xx. 2. *Lettuce*, Eubulus in Athenæus, II. 28. *Bread*, Catullus, l. 60. *Eggs*, Juvenal. v. 84. *Lentiles* and *Salt*. Plut. Cræso, or as Appian, Parthie. ed. Tollii, p. 227. *dough* *μαζα*.

⁹ Obba, *αμβέξ* εν ο τοις νεκροις σπονδωσιν, Glossar.

¹⁰ Cicero in Vatinius.

¹¹ Serv. in Æn. x. 519.

¹² De Spectac. c. de munere.

¹³ Val. Max. II. 4. Liv. Epit. xvi. See instances in Kirchman, iv. 8.

¹⁴ Suet. Tib. 37. ¹⁵ Tertullian. de Spectac. Donat. in Adelph. Act. i. Sc. 2. 7. Plaut. Pœnuli. prol. 18, 19. ¹⁶ Dio lv. 8. Lampridius. Commod. 16.

Lights were hung up on monuments'; at that of the daughter of Mycerinus king of Egypt all day incense was burnt, and all night a lamp¹. The will of Mævia gives to her two female slaves their liberty on condition of their lighting a lamp at her monument every month alternately, and keep her anniversary, *ut monumento meo alternis mensibus lucernam accendant et solemnia mortis peragant*². At the parentalia of Mægabaz were many lights³. Vigilantius in Jerom ridicules the introduction of this practice among Christians.

Lamps have been found in the tombs of the first Christians, inscribed A. and Ω. and with the figure of the Good Shepherd⁴. In the tomb of Charlemagne were various vases with perfumes, and a book of the Gospels written in letters of gold: and in that of Chilperic, who died A. D. 720. a lamp and a crucifix of copper⁵.

Marks of mourning were laying aside the ensigns of magistracy⁶, changing gold rings for iron ones⁷; the senatorial for the equestrian habit⁸. Women laid aside their ornaments⁹, and put on mourning garments¹⁰, whose colour was black from the earliest antiquity¹¹.

Cutting off the hair was an expression of general mourning in a kingdom or family¹². The empress Irene cut off her hair when the emperor Alexius died¹³. Mr. Joddrell has collected another expression of general mourning, which was, prohibiting the use of musical instruments¹⁴.

Among the Jews the term for mourning was six to a month¹⁵, or thirty days¹⁶: among the Lacedæmonians to eleven days¹⁷. Numa forbade it for children under three years of age, and permitted it to as many months as others were years old¹⁸. Paul the civilian prescribes it a year for children above six years old; for those under that age a month; for a husband ten months; for near relations eight¹⁹. Romulus fixed a widow's mourning to

¹ Dio, lvi. 9.

² Herodot. II. 138.

³ Modestinus vel Mævia D. De manumissis testam.

⁴ Sueton, Aug. c. 91.

⁵ Bartoli de lucernis sepulc. p. 16. Bosii Roma subter. I. 562.

⁶ Mabilion in Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, II.

⁷ Tacit. III. 4.

⁸ Suet. Aug. c. 101.

⁹ Dio xl. 46.

¹⁰ Terent. Heautont. Act. II. Sc. III. 45. Livy, xxxiv. 7. Dion. Hal. vi. 96. Ovid. Met. viii. 447.

¹¹ Mortuaria, Nævius. *Lugubria*, Ovid, Met. xi. 669. Trist. iv. 2. 73.

¹² Servius in Pn. x. 287. derives it from the Egyptians. See Plut. de Iside et Os. II. 336. Juv. Sat. x. 243—245. Propert. iv. vii. 28. Macrobi. Sat. II. 11. 111. 15. Dion. Hal. V. 73. viii. 62. Varro de vit. pop. Rom. III. Curtius x. 14. Festus voc. *Ricinium*, which was a garment of a square cut worn by them before the funeral, but afterwards black habits. Ovid, Met. vi. 288, 289. 507, 568. viii. 452. IX. 48. Tibullus III. 11. 18. Homer. II. II. 94. Euripides, Orest. 457. Phœn. 334, 385. Iph. in Aul. 1439, 1449. Helena, 1094. 1202. Æschylus, Choeph. 10. Euripides, Alcestis, 214, 432, 933, where, 853, death is expressively called the black veiled king of the dead, *Ἀνάκτορος μαυροῦντος βασιλέως*. The Satyrs put on black for mourning. Bion's epitaphion, 25. Admetus' servants were put in mourning, Alcest. 829. Plutarch, in his Roman Questions, represents women mourning in white garments and veils at Rome and Argos: but under the Constantinopolitan emperors they wore black. Anna Comnena, xv. 505.

¹³ Tearing the clothes was rather an expression of grief at the moment than any part of the funeral ceremony. So Æn. xii. 609. Sil. It. xii. 387. &c. Statius, Sylvar. II. 1. 170. V. i. 20. &c. ap. Kirchm. 211.

¹⁴ Euripides, Alcest. 430, 431. Orest. 963. Hippol. 1426. Od. Δ. 198. Herodot. 1. 82. Among the Scythians, Herodot. IV. 71. Among the Jews, Jerem. vii. 29. Ezek. xxvii. 31. Job i. 20. Mithras, Herodot. vi. 21. Egyptians, Ib. II. 66.

¹⁵ Instances of persons introduced to shorn for the stage see in Alcestis, 198—202.

¹⁶ Alexias, I. 15. 505.

¹⁷ Euripides, Alcest. 435. Alexander in his army on the death of Hephæstion, Plutarch, Alex.

¹⁸ Deut. xxi. 15.

¹⁹ Joseph. Antiq. iv. 8.

²⁰ Plut. Lycurg.

²¹ Id. Numa.

²² Apud Cujacium Observat. xxi. 12.

ten months¹, which was the length of his year². The imperial code prescribed a year's mourning to a wife, and declared her infamous if she married again within that time³. The general mournings for Brutus, Publicola⁴, Menenius Agrippa⁵, Coriolanus⁶, and Augustus⁷, lasted that term. On these occasions the administration of justice ceased⁸, the consuls sat on stools⁹, places of public resort were shut up¹⁰, and public feasts were neglected¹¹. Exceptions were the times of public vows¹², the Megalensian and other games¹³.

The last stage of funeral honours was the Apotheosis or Deification. The honours paid to the foundress of Lampsacus were at first only as to a heroine¹⁴, but these were changed into sacrifices as to a Deity¹⁵. Aratus¹⁶, Brasidas¹⁷, and Hephæstion¹⁸ had the same honours paid them; the Greeks paid them to Titus Flaminius their deliverer¹⁹. Romulus had several holidays in the Roman calendar. Cicero, in the excess of his grief for his daughter, says²⁰, that he will consecrate a statue to her memory in the same manner as the ancients had done; and Plutarch²¹, after Varro, observes, that this was a respect paid by children to their parents. Founders of states, or special benefactors, had divine honours paid to them, and on this account Romulus obtained his. But under the Emperors Deification became common. Augustus paid this extravagant compliment to Julius Cæsar, and it was in the breast of the Senate to bestow or withhold it. Claudius conferred it on Livia²². The medals of Augustus shew it was paid to his hopeful daughter Julia, and those of Faustina that she enjoyed it. The ceremony of Apotheosis, so admirably and minutely described by Herodian²³, was subsequent to the funeral, and even to the general mourning²⁴. It was confined to those emperors who left the succession uninterrupted to sons or other successors. A figure of the deceased made of wax was placed on a lofty ivory bed in the porch of the palace, and attended by the senate in black, sitting on the left hand, and on the right the ladies whose husbands had held offices in the

¹ Ovid. Fast. l. 33. iii. 133. Cic. pro Cluent. Seneca, Conf. ad Helviam, c. 15.

² Macrob. Sat. ii. 12.

³ Lex 2 cod. de sec. nupt. Albin. eleg. in mortem Drusi, 185, 186. Juvenal. iii. 213.

⁴ Liv. ii. 7. 16.

⁵ Dionys. Hal. ix. 27.

⁶ Dionys. Hal. viii. 62.

⁷ Dio lvi. 42. The men in this instance mourned not many days, but the women a whole year.

⁸ Tac. Ann. II. 82. Lucan. ii. 16—19. This was called *Justitium*. Capitol. Ant. Phil. c. 7.

⁹ Dio lvi. 31. Tac. Ann. iv. 8.

¹⁰ On the death of Constantine, baths, markets, and spectacles. Euseb. vit. Const. iv.

¹¹ Cic. ad Attic. xii. 13. on the death of his daughter.

¹² *Vota publica*. Spartian. Adu. 23. et El. Vero. 4.

¹³ Tacit. Ann. iiii. 7. Capitol. M. Ant. 21. Livy xxii. 56. says, the annual feast of Ceres was omitted on account of the general mourning for the defeat at Cannæ; but Valerius Maximus l. i. says, the mourning was limited to thirty days, that the feast might not be omitted.

¹⁴ *Hephestion*.

¹⁵ Plut. mul. præcl. factis.

¹⁶ Plut. in Arato.

¹⁷ Thucyd. ubi sup.

¹⁸ Plut. in Alex.

¹⁹ Plut. in Flaminio.

²⁰ Confolat. ap. Lactant. I. 15. He was extremely desirous of erecting a temple to her; Epist. ad Attic. xii. 19 and 36, and to perpetuate her memory by every memorial: "Profecto illam consecrabo omni genere monumentorum ab omnium ingenii scriptorum et Græcorum et Latinorum," lb. ep. 18.

²¹ Quæst. Rom.

²² Dio lxx. 5. Suet. Cl. ii.

²³ IV.

²⁴ Capitol. Ant. Phil. 18. The Romans did not mourn for him at all, because they persuaded themselves he was gone to heaven.

Schœpflin in his "Tractatus Historicus de Apotheosis sive Consecratione Imp. Rom. Argentorati, 1730," 4to. gives a list of them without interruptions.

state clothed in white. This continued seven days, during which the physicians came in as if to enquire after the Emperor's health, till they pronounce his case desperate, and he appears to be dead. The youth of fenatorial and equestrian rank bore the bed with the figure along the Via Sacra into the old forum, where the magistrates used to resign their office. On both sides were erected benches, whereon sat noble and patrician children and women of rank, singing the praises of the dead in lamentable strains. The bed was thence carried into the most open part of the Campus Martius, where was erected a square building, in form of a tent, entirely of wood, filled with dry faggots, and decorated with cloth of gold, ivory statues and various paintings. Above this was a second story, smaller, decorated in like manner, and having open doors: then a third and fourth, and others diminishing upwards, like a pharos. The bed was lodged in the second story, and a vast quantity of spices and fragrant articles heaped on it, presented by the different nations and states. A procession of the whole equestrian order, in regular measure, followed by chariots with drivers dressed in purple, and carrying the images of the Roman generals and governors paraded round the building, after which the successor to the empire first, and then all the by-standers, put torches to it, and one immense blaze was presently formed. An eagle was let loose from the summit, and rising with the flame, was believed to convey the soul of the deceased to heaven¹. The structure appears on the coins of many emperors, with the eagle alone, or the emperor or empress mounted on his back, and the inscription *CONSECRATIO*, and sometimes the empress is on a peacock². This was immediately followed by the institution of temples, altars, priests, and every form of divine worship: which was paid to Augustus in his life:

"Præsentî tibi maturos largimur honores,

"Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras³.

Lesser honours to the illustrious dead were, the inscribing their names in the song of the Salii⁴, which Varro considered as a record of antient memorial⁵, as the primitive church inscribed her emperors and popes in the roll of saints and martyrs.

¹ An eagle was employed at the funeral of Augustus. Dio LVI. 42.

² The one the bird of Jupiter, the other that of Juno, whose names the parties sometimes assume on coins and inscriptions.

³ Horace Ep. II. i. 15. On their coins the name of *Diuus* and *Dius* is given to the emperors and empresses; sometimes to the latter that of some goddess. Statues of colossal proportion were erected to deified emperors, and the badges of divinity, a stat, thunder, rays, nimbus, veil, *baſſa pura*, shield, and pillars. Societies or colleges of persons of both sexes were established in their honour; games celebrated in their honour, and called after their names, at which their statues were carried about in carriages, called *carpentum* and *thensa*, in Festus's exposition of which latter one may trace the origin of the Christian shrine: "*Thensa est vehiculum argenteum in quo exuvia deorum ludis Circensibus in circum ad pulvinar vehebantur; fuit et ex ebor.*"

They swore by the name of these deified personages, and composed hymns in their praise. The winged figure on the base of the column of Antoninus found in Monte Citorio is the soul of the emperor ascending up to his deified parents, with the emblem of eternity, an olive surrounded by a serpent on his truncheon. The figure sitting opposite to that of Rome exhibits eternity with a pillar or obelisk in her left hand.

⁴ Germanicus. Tac. An. II. 83. Verus son of Antoninus Philosopher. Capit. Ant. Phil. c. 21.

⁵ Salii qui cantant *Manurium Veturium* significant *veterem memoriam*. Varro, Ling. Lat. v.

The best idea of a Roman private funeral may be formed from the directions given by Propertius to his Cynthia¹, comprehending the principal particulars detailed above:

Quandocunque igitur nostros mors claudet ocellos
 Accipe quæ serves funeris acta mei.
 Nec mea tunc longa spatietur imagine pompa,
 Nec tuba sit fati vana querela mei:
 Nec mihi tum fulcro sternetur lectus eburno,
 Nec sit in Attalicæ mors mea nixa toro.
 Desit odoriferis ordo mihi lancibus; adsint
 Plebei parvæ funeris exequiæ:
 Sat sit magna mei si tres sint pompa libelli,
 Quos ego Persephone maxima dona feram.
 Tu vero nudum pectus lacerata sequare,
 Nec fueris nomen lassæ vocare meum;
 Osculaque in gelidis pones suprema labellis
 Quum dabitur Syrio munere plenus onyx.
 Deinde ubi suppositus cinerem me fecerit ardor
 Accipiat manes parvula testæ meos.
 Et sit in exiguo laurus superaddita busto
 Quæ tegat extincti funeris umbra locum;
 Et duo sint versus, "Qui nunc jacet horrida pulvis
 Unius hic quondam servus amoris erat."

The primitive Christians exposed their dead three days, watching them, and repeating various prayers; and when they carried them out to be buried they sung psalms and hymns, offering the sacrifice of the mass to implore the divine mercy, and giving the poor a dole, called *Agape*, and other alms. Such was the general practice, though the ceremonies varied in different countries.

The bell of the parish church was tolled, to give notice that the sick man was in the agonies of death, that the faithful might pray to God for his soul. When he had breathed his last, the devotion of the survivors consisted in repeating the prayers prescribed by the church, and ordering the suffrages to be said for the deceased. Notice was given to the parish of the death of a parishioner. His eyes and mouth were closed, according to the ancient custom, and the body was laid out. His hands were to be crossed on his breast, with a cross in them. At his feet was set a vessel of holy water, with a sprinkler, for the use of the assistants. Lastly, the clergy came to the house, and carried the body to the parish church, to have the burial office performed according to the Roman ritual².

¹ Eleg. x. 17—36.

² Aldovera, p. 59, 60.

It is the observation of the editor of Mr. Duby's Posthumous works on the baronial coins of France, in two volumes, 4to, Paris, 1790, that in all kind of treatises it is almost impossible to exhaust the subject; something is always omitted, additions will never cease to succeed each other, and the best book, after being frequently retouched by new hands, remains still susceptible of a new supplement.*

The pursuit of the subject of the present work through another century has furnished so much additional matter, that it seemed not adviseable to offer it to the reader in the meagre form of additions and corrections, which the few readers who took the pains to note the errata in their copy before they begin to read would be deterred from transcribing; but in a continued recapitulation of the several articles before the continuation was entered upon.

History derives such a decided authority from the simplest and rudest existing monuments, that every reader of the father of history will recur with pleasure to the barrow of Alyattes, second of that name, king of Lydia, father of Croesus, raised 2358 years ago, in Lydia, and seen by Dr. Chandler in 1764, five miles from Sart, the antient Sardis. The mould washt down conceals the basement, within which a considerable treasure might be discovered on opening†. It was raised by the joint exertions of the merchants, the labourers, and the prostitutes, was six furlongs, or three quarters of a mile, and two plethra in circumference, thirteen plethra broad, and terminated by a piece of water, called the Gygean Lake‡, and still remaining. Suidas defines *plethrum* one hundred feet, and *stadium* one hundred English paces, or one eighth of a circle§; so that this barrow would be a mile round and one thousand three hundred feet broad. I leave it to modern calculators to determine the time to be employed in raising it, and to apportion that time between the gentlemen, the poor men, and the ladies. The joint labours of a nation in the Champ de Mars will render this narrative digestible to the philosophy of history, and establish the veracity of Herodotus in one instance at least. This barrow was surrounded by others of various sizes; the smaller made perhaps for children, or the younger branches of the royal family. All of them are covered with turf, and retain their conical form, without any sinking in of the top.

This barrow is exceeded in time by that of Achilles, which is six hundred and twenty years older, and in a more distinguished situation, yet now less noticed, or it may be confounded with such artificial monuments on innumerable headlands all over the globe. But though every Barbarian nation had their Trojan war, they had not the happiness of a Homer to commemorate it. A French traveller has, it is true, not only ascertained the principal barrows mentioned by Homer in the Plain of Troy; but by digging into that of his hero has found, or fancied he found, the very urn of gold made by Vulcan and given by Thetis to his son; and his translator adds, that an urn of brass, in the language of poetry, might be an urn of gold. Quintus Calaber calls it a silver urn inlaid or overcast with gold, and every account of it is positive to its being of the noblest metal, and different from brás. Abbé Barthelemy doubted the conformity of workmanship with the Homeric time, which Mr. Chevalier gets over by supposing it made by some foreign artist¶.

* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 263.

† Herodotus, I. 93. Mr. Beloe's excellent translation, I. 101.

‡ Arbuthnot on Ancient Weights and Measures.

§ Chevalier's description of the Plain of Troy, translated by Mr. Dalziel, 1792, 4to.

The barrow thrown up by Germanicus and his army over the unfortunate remains of Varus's legions six years after the defeat, is the most celebrated in the Roman history. It being impossible to distinguish whether the bodies belonged to Romans or enemies they buried them all together as relations and kindred, inspired with sentiments of grief mingled with resentment, the latter passion heightened by every circumstance of the 'uncertainty'. Germanicus laid the first turf, and was followed by his soldiers; thus expressing his affectionate concern for the deceased¹ and the interest he took in the mournful solemnity².

Such tumuli were also seamarks, as that of Achilles himself. *Od. Ω. 36.* that of Æsytas, *Il. B. 793.* See also Baieia, the *αἰπεῖα κολωνή* of Myrione on the plain before Troy. *Ib. 813, 814.*

A piece of durable wood sided by two white stones is conjectured by Nestor to have served either as an antient sepulchral monument: *Η τευ σῆμα βροῖοιο παλαι καὶ ἀέθνευτος*³; or an antient goal for a course.

King Dercennus in Virgil⁴ had the "terreno ex aggere bustum opacaque ilice textum," and Æneas raised one over his nurse⁵.

The strict connection between the tomb and the altar in the wills and endowments of our ancestors is paralleled by Pagan practice in this line of Virgil⁶:

Et statuent tumulum, et tumulo solemnitas mittent.

And the cenotaph at the same time in the same poet⁷:

—— tumulum Rhetæo in litore inanem

Constitui ——

And Andromache, though in a Grecian city, sacrifices "Hecoreum ad tumulum⁸."

Achilles directs the tumulus of Patroclus to be,

Τυμβὸν ἔμμελον πολλόν ——

*Ἀλλὰ ἐπιεικέα τοῖον*⁹ ——.

for it was to be raised broader and higher by the Greeks after his own death:

—— *ἐπεῖτα ἴε καὶ τὸν Ἀχαιοὶ*

Εὐρεν θ' ὑψηλὸν τε τήβημεναι, *8c.*¹⁰

which was accordingly done, and the tomb made large and conspicuous, in which the ashes of Achilles and Patroclus united in the same urn¹¹, and those of Antilochus distinct, were deposited.

Ἀμφ' αὖτοισι δ' ἐπεῖτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμυμονα τυμβόν

Χευαμέν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς εὐχάτος ἀιχμητῶν.

Εὐ τῷ τοι κείναι λευκ' ὄσσεα, Φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεύ,

Μιγδᾶ δὲ Πάριον Μενόϊαδάο θανόντος,

*Χωρὶς δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο*¹².

¹ "Nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, mortui simul et infensi condebant." *Ann. I. 62.* This is one of Tacitus's fine pictures.

² "Gratissimum munere in defunctos et præsentibus doloris socius," *Ann. I. 62.*

³ *Æn. xi. 851.*

⁴ *Æn. vii. 6.*

⁵ *Il. Ξ. 331.*

⁶ *Æn. vi. 380.*

⁷ *Ib. 505.*

⁸ *Ib. iii. 304.*

⁹ *Il. Ξ. 245, 246.*

¹⁰ *Odyf. Ω. 80.*

¹¹ Mr. Watkins has confirmed the doubts concerning this urn hinted p. xxiv. When he was at Constantinople, 1788, he dined with M. de Choiseul-Goiffier, who shewed him the model of Achilles's tomb, &c. He did not however see those most wonderful antiques, the statue of Minerva in a chariot drawn by four horses, and the urn of bronze; but much suspected them to have been fabricated at Paris. Watkins's Travels, *Il. 247.* He describes the tomb of Achilles and Patroclus as a high mound of earth, formed like a cone or sugar loaf, *Ib. 201.*

¹² *Odyf. Ω. 76, 77, 78.*

The barrow of Patroclus was made of a circular form, and the foundations of it round the pile and heaping up the earth :

Τοργουσαῖο δὲ σημά, θημελίω τὴν περὶβαλόντη
 Ἀμφὶ πυρην· εὐδαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἔχουσιν
 Χευαῖες δὲ τὸ σημά παλιν κιον¹.

The bones were easily distinguished by their lying in the centre of the pile, and those of the men and horses at the extremity :

Ἐν μέσση γὰρ ἐκείῳ πυρὴ, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἀνεύθεν
 Ἐσχάτῃ καίον· ἐπιμύζ' ἵπποι ἴε καὶ ἀνδρες².

The ashes were enclosed in a golden urn, and a double envelope of fatten, and the urn covered with fine linen, as our pall deposited on the bier :

Ἀλλεγον ἐς χρυσεὴν φιάλην καὶ διπλακὰ ὄμων.
 Ἐν κλισίῃ δὲ θέτης ἐάνω λίξι καλυψάν³.

Hector's body was laid on the top of the pile, *ἐν πυρὴ ὑπάλῃ*⁴, and his ashes deposited in a golden case, *χρυσείαν ἐς λαρνακὰ*⁵, covered with soft purple :

Πορφύρεοις πεπλοισι καλυψάμεν μαλακοῖσι⁶,
 which they deposited in a cavity in the earth, and heaped over it a great pile of stones,⁷ and over all a tumulus of earth :

Αἰψὰ δ' ἄρ' ἐς κοίτην κατέπον θέσαν· ἀντάρ ὑπερθε
 Πυκνοῖσιν λαεσσι κατέγορεσαν μεγάλοισι.
 Ριμφα δὲ σὴμ' ἔχεαν. —————
 Χευαῖες δὲ τὸ σημά παλιν κιον —————⁸

After the funeral followed the feast, in Priam's palace⁹.

I proceed to give some instances of barrows in our own country, beginning with the Northern parts.

In *Innervic* parish, Haddingtonshire, are two beautiful tumuli, *on the top of which* have been burial places¹⁰. These cavities in the top of barrows occur in those round Stonehenge and elsewhere.

In *Croftmichael* parish are ten irregular heaps of loose stones, which antiquaries call *Pictish Cairns*, in each of which have been found some human bones in coffins considerably above the ordinary size¹¹.

A heap of stones, an hundred and twenty yards in circumference, gives the name of the *Cairn* to the farm where it lies in *Parton*, c. Kircudbright, and a smaller a mile distance was found to contain a kind of stone coffin with something like fragments of human bones¹².

On *Wallbrae-hill* in *Covington* parish, Lanerkshire, is a cairn of stones one hundred and seven yards in circumference. Many lesser in an adjoining moor obtained a coarse coffin composed of flat stones¹³.

In *Dalmeny* parish is a cairn called *Earl Cairny*, five hundred feet in circumference, twenty-four feet high in the middle, formed of small stones of various sorts from the neighbouring grounds¹⁴.

¹ Il. Ψ. 255—257.

² Ib. 241, 243.

³ Ib. 253, 254.

⁴ Il. Ω. 787.

⁵ Ib. 795.

⁶ Ib. 796.

⁷ Ib. 797—801.

⁸ Ib. 802, 803.

⁹ Statistical account of Scotland, I. 124.

¹⁰ Ib. 182.

¹¹ Ib. 189.

¹² Ib. 192.

¹³ Ib. 238.

In *Sorbie* parish, Wigtonshire, a tumulus was opened in part by some road makers, and human bones found in it. Near it, close by Hunters or Rigg bay, were also found human bones, inclosed by three stones, on one of which seemed to be an inscription ¹.

About eight hundred paces West from several large druid circles in *Kiltarn* parish, Roxburghshire, is a circular cairn about thirty paces diameter containing in the centre a grave three feet and an half long, eighteen inches broad and fourteen deep, neatly lined with four flat stones, and covered with another. At the circumference are three graves of the same diameter on the East, South, and West but in a more ruinous condition than the central one. It is probable these were the sepulchres of a certain family or tribe, the chief whereof was buried in the centre, and his relatives or dependants at certain distances round him. But we shall be at a loss to account for the smallness of these graves, unless we suppose them to have contained only the ashes or bowels of the deceased. These it is likely were deposited in earthen pitchers or vases, as several vessels of that sort have been ploughed up in the neighbourhood of these cairns. There is also on the North side of the river Skiack, and nearly opposite to the village of Drummond, a grave of an oblong form, lined with stone, in the same manner as these above described; it is called the *Priest's sepulchre* ²; and is seven feet long, three feet broad, and about three and an half deep. It is evident from these remains, and many others of a similar nature, which abound in almost every part of the heights of Scotland, that it was the custom of our ancestors to cover their burying places with heaps of stones. "I'll add a stone to your cairn," was formerly a proverbial expression of friendship among the Highlanders ³.

"Urns with ashes of human bones have been found in *Houfoun* and *Killallan* parishes in Renfrewshire: one on the brow of a hill on the road side, others under cairns of small stones. These urns were probably Roman, this district being part of a Roman province, and within the line of Antoninus's wall or Graham's dyke. Dr. Henry observes, that the antient nations of South Britain burnt the bodies of the dead, according to the practice of the antient Gauls, from whom they were descended, and that this is evident from the great number of urns of British workmanship found in several places full of ashes and human bones half burnt; and these urns, with their various contents, were deposited in barrows, or tumuli, according to the prevailing custom of the country; but as the bones of men lying at full length, without any marks of burning, have been found in some of these barrows, it appears, that on some occasions the antient Britons of the South, both of Scotland and England, buried their dead without burning; and that the Caledonians always buried their dead in deep graves. About twenty years ago, when the country people were digging for stones to enclose their farms, they met with several chests or coffins of flagstones, set on their edges, sides, and ends, and covered with the same sort of stones, in which were many human bones of a large size, and several

¹ Statistical Account, I. 254.

² Statistical Account, I. 292.

³ Dr. Stukeley refers the *long* barrows to archdruids. Abury, p. 44.

skulls in some of them. In one were found many trinkets of a jet black substance, some round, others round and oblong, and others of a diamond shape, &c. all perforated. These were probably a necklace. There was a thin piece about two inches broad at one end, and perforated with many holes, but narrow at the other; the broad end full of holes seemed to be designed for suspending many trinkets as an ornament on the breast. The ground where these stone coffins were found was a little raised with a mixture of small stones and earth in the form of a barrow or tumulus. But whether these stone coffins were older than the Roman government in this country, or later, or on what occasion so many people were buried there in that manner, and several in one stone chest, is not known. It seems to have been the consequence of a battle or skirmish between two hostile parties, which was the case not two hundred years ago between families through most parts of Scotland, who often met their enemy with their vassals and dependants, and slaughtered one another. About half a mile South West of Houftoun mansion-house there is a mount composed of a vast number of small stones, in which was found one of the like stone coffins, and opposite to it, directly North, another, composed of earth and small stones, in a circular form. These may have been the ground of two opposing camps of warriors fighting near the place where the stone coffins were found ¹.

At the West end of the town of *Biggar* is a tumulus, which appears never to have been opened, and three circular camps at different places in the neighbourhood ².

A row of sepulchral cairns runs from the East end of *Dunure*, on the edge of a moor towards Linton. In one of them was found a body in a large coffin of several unwrought stones; in another a small urn ³.

In *Kettle* parish, c. Fife, on the Knock of Clatt, was found a regular coffin of six stones, containing human bones, several trinkets, and a brass spear head. Of eight barrows three are called, Pandler's Know, Lowrie's Know, and Liquorich Stone: in the rest bones have been found ⁴.

In *Dunnichen* parish, c. Forfar, are a few antient tumuli, containing human bones and rough stone coffins and pots of coarse earth, but neither coins nor arms ⁵.

On *Tortborwold*-moor, c. Dumfries, is a cairn and a circle of small stones ⁶.

In *Gallston* parish, Ayrshire, are several small hills, called *Laws*, on which are cairns of stones ⁷.

In *Nielstone* parish, Renfrewshire, on the Faraneze hills, are two cairns, one of considerable size, with foundations of a wall round it, from which stones have been moved, and bones found. Urns containing bones have been found inclosed with square freestone, in different parts of the parish ⁸.

¹ Statistical Account, I. 330, 331.

² II. 11.

³ Ib. 74.

⁴ Ib. 336.

⁵ Ib. 148.

⁶ Ib. 340.

⁷ Ib. 381.

⁸ Ib. 429.

In the centre of *Hamilton* parish in Lanarkshire is a large Roman tumulus, one side of which was broken into about twenty years ago, and a good many urns of baked earth found, some plain, others decorated with mouldings, probably to distinguish the quality of the deceased, containing the ashes of human bones, some of them accompanied with the tooth of an horse ¹.

Urn containing a kind of unctuous earthy substance have been found in *Blantyre* parish in the same county, in chests of square stones, under heaps of stones, and some remains of bones were scattered round them. Strong impressions of fire were also evident on some of the stones ².

On removing the stones from a cairn in a corner of the field where uninterrupted tradition says the battle of *Largs*, in Ayrshire, was fought, 1263, they found three long, broad, flat, unhewn stones, which were the covers of three deep stone coffins. Nothing was found in them but a broken brown earthen urn and a mouldering piece of bone. The earth and small stones at the bottom on the ground were calcined ³.

In *Collesie* parish, c. Fife, near a large, high, artificial mount, was found an urn containing burnt bones. In the centre of a fortification, called *Maiden castle*, are two stones fixed in the ground, and supposed to cover human bones ⁴.

At *Clagg hill Andreas*, or a cemetery of Andrew's disciple, in *Blair Athol* parish, Argyleshire, the river Tilt has left part of a circle, many of the bones in which are intire, but crumbled to pieces when touched. The coffins are composed of five flags each. East of the cemetery are remains of a large druidical cairn; but the small ones have been mostly carried away ⁵. The custom remained till of late, not only of raising heaps where one was buried, but even where one died, though buried elsewhere. Into these heaps it was reckoned a duty in persons to throw a stone. Hence the proverb, "Were I dead you would not throw a stone into my cairn;" i. e. you have not so much friendship for me ⁶.

In *Kinnell* parish, c. Angus, a mound of earth was opened, and several large human bones found in it, with an urn of ornamented clay containing burnt human bones and charcoal ⁷.

In *Kirkden* parish, in the same county, in a green hillock of gravel and sand were found some graves, containing botes of ordinary sizes. An obelisk in the plain between the rivers Finny and Lunan is supposed to mark the defeat of the Danes by Malcolm II. Many urns with bones in them have been dug up ⁸.

A cairn marks the burial place of a Douglas slain in a battle in *Mid Marr* parish, Aberdeenshire ⁹. A great number of small cairns are scattered over *Kinmuck* moor, in *Keith-ball* and *Kinkell*, united parishes in the same county, said to have been a field of battle between the Scots and Danes ¹⁰.

¹ Statist. Account, II. 208.

² Ib. 418.

³ Ib. 513.

⁴ Ib. 473.

⁵ Ib. 519.

⁶ Ib. 221.

⁷ Ib. 476.

⁸ Ib. 543.

⁹ Ib. 365.

¹⁰ Ib. 493.

In a large cairn fourteen feet high and sixty broad, in *Fordice* parish, *Rampfshire*, between Glasgow and the sea, immediately above the bay of Sand end, formed of stones, which seem to have been brought from the sea, covered with earth or turf, on opening the top was found a stone coffin of flat stones, and in it the bones of a chieftain lying in their natural order, and a deer's horn. Another smaller barrow, one hundred paces from the first, had a trench round it. Another at *Kilullock*, in Findlater, was intirely a cairn of stones, inclosing an urn and a stone coffin with a skeleton, which the tenant carefully reinterred in a place marked in the inclosure. Another broken up contained an urn hard and well baked with ashes. The *King's Cairn*, in lord Findlater's plantation, a little West of Cullen house, is supposed to cover the remains of Indulphus, slain in repulsing the Danes¹.

By the side of a large mound called the *Chester hill*, at the West end of *Anstruther Wester*, c. Fife, in digging the foundation of a house were found two skeletons, in the most perfect preservation, at a small distance from each other, inclosed in a kind of coffin, consisting of a large stone at each end and side².

In two cairns of stones in *Loudoun* and *Galston* parishes, *Ayrshire*, were found burnt human bones; also in an urn about six inches diameter at the mouth; and a stone coffin four feet ten inches by about nineteen inches, the top free-stone, the sides whinestone, was found full of human bones³.

In *Dyce* parish, *Aberdeenshire*, is a druid temple, twenty-four feet diameter, and several cairns, with particular names, as also lesser, scattered on the tops and sides of the hills, supposed to contain the slain in some battle. A long stone about nine feet high, called the *Gouch stone*, is reported to have been erected over a general of that name there slain⁴.

In *Inch* parish, *Wigtonshire*, the cairns of *Cairnarran* are nine in a Scotch mile; six of them very near each other, and within less than an English mile. The quantity of stones, and the distance whence brought, make them remarkable. Urns containing ashes and burnt bones have been found in them⁵.

In *Monie* parish, *Aberdeenshire*, are several vestiges of antient battles, distinguished by cairns of stones, with a large stone placed erect, and a larger lying along at the foot⁶.

In *Dun* parish, *Forfarshire*, were two tumuli of earth, covered with stones, and under them figured urns, containing ashes and burnt bones.. A larger tumulus farther N. W. contained the like⁷.

A number of large cairns round the town of *Kildonan*, in *Sutherlandshire*, are supposed to mark the field of battle between two Danish chieftains, of which see "*Torfæi Orcades*," c. 23. 26⁸.

¹ Stat. Account. III. 57, 58.

² Ib. 83.

³ Ib. 104.

⁷ Ib. 362.

⁸ Ib. 409.

⁴ Ib. 131.

⁵ Ib. 137.

⁶ Ib. 274.

In the foundation of the West gabel of *Dalziel* church, rebuilt 1718, was found a handsome stone coffin, large enough to contain the body of a full-grown man, but empty, and seeming as if nothing had ever been in it. In the inside the upper part is hollowed, to suit the shape of the head and neck, and on the hewn stone cover for the face was carved a star or cinquefoil¹.

In *Kinellar* parish, Aberdeenshire, are three large cairns, and several lesser; at bottom of one of the latter have been found three concentric circles of stone, and within the innermost some bones, still perfect, but white, as if calcined on the surface, and black within².

At *Melnoß*, in *Tongue*, c. *Sutherland*, a ruined building, called *Dun Bbuid-bouße*, or the Yellow Heap, and supposed to have been erected by Dornadilla king of the Scots, were found two human skeletons (one seven feet long), which mouldered into dust in the air³.

In *Cleish* parish, Kinrosshire, a mile North from Drumflow hill, in a fort supposed one of a chain of Roman ones from East to West, were found, 1791, several urns of coarse materials, the outside glazed, and ornamented with dotted lines, containing human bones mixed with ashes and pieces of charcoal: four under a large stone, and others among a heap of small stones⁴.

In *Aberlemno* parish, Forfarshire, have been found urns containing a small quantity of black earth, with some bones almost consumed, in tumuli⁵.

In two sandy hillocks in *Tealing* parish, c. Forfar, were found stone coffins, containing a skull and bones, and earthen urns with ashes⁶.

On a moor said to have been a field of battle, in *Kirkhill* parish, Invernesshire, are several small tumuli of earth and stone⁷. Two tumuli, one with an urn containing ashes, in *Duirinisb* parish, in the same shire⁸.

In *Kirkinner* parish, c. Wigton, were found in a cairn of stones, in an oblong space formed of stones set on edge, and covered with a flat stone, a collection of human bones half burnt, and in an oblong cavity, and another smaller and square, an earthen urn with bones⁹.

Near the manse at *Crieck*, c. Fife, were found two urns bottom upwards, a broad stone laid over them, containing human bones, much consumed, yet joints were discernible¹⁰.

Many tumuli in *Barrie* parish, c. Forfar, traces of a camp in their immediate neighbourhood, the name of a farm adjoining *Carnoußie*, or the cairn of Heroes, commemorate the defeat of the Danes under Camus by Malcolm II. near Panbride¹¹.

Graves lined with stone, after the same construction with those in many other parts of Scotland, supposed Danish, are found on the coast of *Kingsbarns* parish, Forfarshire¹².

¹ Stat. Account, III. 459. ² Ib. 504. ³ Ib. 520. ⁴ Ib. 561. ⁵ Ib. IV. 50.
⁶ Ib. 92. ⁷ Ib. 120. ⁸ Ib. 136. ⁹ Ib. 145. ¹⁰ Ib. 230.
¹¹ Ib. 243. ¹² Ib. 257.

Not far from *Aberdour*, c. Fife, on a flat, on the top of a hill, is a cairn of stones, in clearing which the farmer on whose farm it is situated, discovered a stone coffin, in which was a skeleton, and a brass spear head, with rivets of the same metal to fix it on the shaft; and a piece of a clear substance, like amber, supposed an amulet. The coffin remains with great part of the tumulus which had been conical, the coffin exactly in the centre of the base, from which to the circumference it measured twenty paces. In the same cairn have been found several earthen vessels, flat, narrow at bottom, the top containing human bones and without any covering. The farmer digging in the same field in another place found such a quantity of human bones that he was obliged to desist¹.

In the ridge of Airhills, in *Monikie* parish, Forfarshire, have been found several stone coffins and urns covered with broad stones, and containing ashes².

In *Row* parish, Dumbartonshire, have been found at different places four stones set on edge, with a large flag covering them, the opening about four feet and an half by two and a quarter, in which human bones have been deposited³.

In *Coldstream* parish, c. Berwick, are two tumuli on the top of a steep bank of the Tweed, said to cover bodies of borderers slain in battle⁴.

In a stone building covered with stones under a tumulus at *Glenholm*, in Peebles, was the skeleton of a man with bracelets on his arms, and near him an urn. In another tumulus the remains of a body greatly consumed⁵.

In *Bancbary Davinick* parish, Aberdeenshire, are several large cairns, and a number of smaller scattered over a moor. Between the two outermost of three concentric circles of stones, on the East side was a stone chest sunk in the earth, about three feet by one and a half, which being accidentally uncovered by a countryman was found to contain nothing but a little dust or ashes⁶.

In *Easter Loggie*, in Rossshire, on each side the Aultran burn, are several cairns, said to cover the slain in battle between the Scots and Danes; in one was found human bones and an ax⁷.

In *Fordoun* parish, Kincardineshire, was found an urn with ashes in the centre of four large stones, with a flat stone on the top. From the vestiges of a Roman camp in the neighbourhood the urn was ascribed to that people⁸.

In a stone coffin found under a cairn in *Largo* parish, c. Fife, the legs and arms had been carefully severed from the trunk, and laid diagonally across it⁹.

In *Stracbur* parish, Argyleshire, is an obelisk ten feet high tapering from twenty-two to ten inches square, surrounded by a circle of irregular stones, and some old people remember two stones of the same appearance, one of them much larger than the other, all within three or four hundred yards of

¹ Statist. Account, IV. 334.

² Ib. 419.

³ Ib. 478.

⁴ Ib. 425.

⁵ Ib. 498.

⁶ Ib. 347.

⁷ Ib. 456.

⁸ Ib. 538.

⁹ Ib. 409.

each other, and thrown down by ploughing and digging. There is a little round hill, called *Tom-a chorachaisib*, or the "hillock of the man whose legs are of unequal length," said to cover a Danish prince of great stature slain here¹.

These instances may suffice, from many more, that will probably occur in the progress of that useful work, "The Statistical Account of SCOTLAND," of which I have as yet seen only four volumes.

In *Peebles*, 1261, was found a magnificent and venerable cross, supposed to have been hidden in Maximian's persecution, or shortly after, and about four paces from the spot, an urn (coffin, *urna lapidea*), of stone, containing the ashes and bones of a human body, which seemed to have been dismembered limb by limb. A certain person affirmed these to be the bones of the person whose name was found inscribed on the stone on which the cross was discovered; for on the outside of the stone was inscribed 'the place of St. Nicholas the bishop'.² King Alexander erected a church and convent of Red friars on the spot. In the front wall of that church between the third window from the West and the door on the East, has plainly been an aperture and arch formed at the first building of the church. It is a particular construction, four feet wide and two and an half high on the outside, but increasing to between six and seven feet in width, and eight in height on the inside, with decorations of freestone projecting beyond the line of the wall not done in any other part of the church, which makes it probable that the urn containing the reliques of St. Nicholas, and the cross found near them were deposited therein, the head and transverse beam of the cross within the church when the niche or opening in the wall was made to widen for their reception, and the foot of the cross, and of the stone containing it, projected without the wall on the outside, or at least was visible there. Thus pious persons might offer up their prayers, contemplating those holy reliques, both within and without the church³.

The tomb of *Galgacus*, or, as he is called in the country, *Galdus*, is in a little farm called *Cairn Holy*, from a cromlech near Kirkdale house, the feat of Sir Samuel Hanney, in Galloway, resembling one of those in Borlase's History of Cornwall, Pl. XXI. but infinitely more curious. The flat stone which rests upon three supporters is seven feet three inches long, by seven feet broad, and about seven inches thick. One supporter at the foot is two feet and an half long, the other end lies on three different stones, one above another. At the North end are three stones set on end, one of them seven feet high. It is called *King's Galdron*, or the Old King's Cromlech. Under it is a very rude vault, in which were found many years ago human bones; but it is now used to keep potatoes in. About four hundred and sixty yards from this Cromlech is a grave seven feet long and eight wide, with a large flat stone set on

¹ Statist. Account, IV. 562.

² Grose's Scotland, 220, 221. Q. If for *locus* we should not read *loculus*, the coffin or sepulchre of St. Nicholas.

³ Fordun, p. 767. ed. Hearne.

edge on each side, and one at the head and another at the feet, which once all stood erect, as some still do, while others lean considerably; the two longest are seven feet high. These stones form a cross, with a grave, and at the same time a circle of a mile. There is a tradition, that this small segment of a circle was once complete, and that the stones have been carried away to build houses with. The universal tradition of Galloway is, that Galdus here received a mortal wound in a battle fought by the Galwegians against the Romans¹. An old ballad says,

“ At Standing Stanes,
“ Lys Galdus banes.”

My friend Robert Riddell, Esq. of Friar's Carfe, Dumfries, to whose researches his country is so much indebted, has of late paid considerable attention to the antient sepulchral monuments in his part of it, and is in hopes to collect a very curious body of information on the subject. Mr. Coupland, surgeon in Dumfries, told him, that some years ago he saw a large tumulus opened in Galloway, in which was found a considerable quantity of ashes, burnt wood, and fragments of large bones, and a large iron frame shaped like a gridiron, on which he supposed the body had been placed when it was burnt. In a tumulus opened in Arnon's dale was found an urn and a number of iron rings.

I pass on to the oldest sepulchral monuments in IRELAND.

Carn Oliolla, or the Carn of Oliol, a monument erected near Lough Acrow, in the county of Sligo, to the memory of *Oliol* prince of Connaught, who died in the fourth century, is composed of larger stones than *Mirgan Mewe*, and is at present called *Heap Howm*. It is 170 feet in diameter, forty-six perpendicular height, and eighty-three slope, and from it five more smaller may be seen in various mountains round. *Mirgan Mewe* is the great cairn of queen Maud, wife of Olioll, on the summit of Knocknareagh mountain, four miles from Sligo, two hundred and ten feet diameter, 100 perpendicular height, sixty-seven slope, composed of small stones, much like that of New Grange.

On the sea-shore in the barony of Tyreragh, twenty-one miles from Sligo is Rois Lece Cuchullin's tomb, a circle of seventeen stones, besides smaller irregular ones round the base and across the top of a tumulus in Cuchullin's strand (*Te Trae Cuchullin*) twenty-seven and an half feet diameter, a quarter of a mile from Torrego, on the strand of Torrego bay. The sea beating on it for many ages, and carrying sand and stones to it has almost choakt up the monument.

The Giants' graves are a collection of seventeen circles of stones, one mile and an half West of Sligo, each composed of very large stones in the form of

¹ Letter to me from Robert Riddell, Esq. of Friar's Carfe, Dumfries, March 30, 1792, accompanied with a drawing, which I communicated to the Society of Antiquaries.

a circle; most, if not all, having a grave or graves in the centre. The first is fifty-two feet diameter, and composed of fifty-eight stones.

The 2d is 42 feet diameter, of 28 stones.

3	42	32
4	42	28
5	42	36
6	42	37
7	35	25
8	25	15
9	38	22
10	42	22
11	42	36
12	34	57
13	59	39
14	37	20
15	59	38
16	76	52
17	63	33

On the sea-shore in the demesnes of lord Altamont at Westport in the county of Mayo, is a circle of stones with a cromlech: some of the stones which compose the circle are from ten to twelve feet in girth, and from three to six high. The top stone of the cromlech is seven feet long, three and an half broad, and one and three quarters thick: the supporters could hardly be seen, being choaked up with sand and earth, till the top-stone was removed. In it were found the bones of a human body burnt, the jaw of an animal with tusks, supposed to be a dog, and with the skull was found a ball of white marble, very round, one inch and a quarter diameter, supposed to be the ball by which with a sling the party was killed; or some of his own weapons for the same purpose. No coffin or enclosure for the bones, only loose stones or pebbles, like paving stones, laid round them in a confused manner.

In the lands of Ballyhatton in the county of West Meath at a village called The High Roads, is a Cromlech, or Chamber, four feet high, and the upper point of the covering stone eight feet above ground, on the brow of a hill, surrounded by a circle of stones twenty-four yards diameter, of which but few remain. There appears to have been a double row, like an avenue from the circle to the cromlech leading to the back part of it; tradition says, an ancient judge used to sit on it. Close by it were remains of a Christian church, or chapel, near which skeletons and bones are often dug up; and a skeleton was found in the ground erect, with a pavement nicely formed round its neck, supposed to have been some great criminal buried alive, with his head above ground.

The Giant's Grave in Fouth barony, c. Wexford, is a burial place on the coast of St. George's chancel, near Castletown, composed of two small cairns of stone, ninety-two feet asunder, and a small hole nearly in the centre, called the navel.

At

At Ballynony, between Waterford and Kilkenny, is a single stone ten feet high by six, nine and an half thick, with two stones put on each side to support it, which appear to have been buried deep in the ground for that purpose; three yards distance from it is a heap of stones six feet high and twenty-three paces diameter, under which were nine sepulchral chambers, about a yard long, and one foot and an half broad; in some of them were urns with ashes and bones half consumed by fire.

On Tory hill, five miles from Waterford, near the high-road, lies a stone roughly chiseled, supported by three large ones, with an open square, thirty inches and an half by twenty-four inches deep and thirty high, and appears to be the head stone to a pass under ground, as it inclines to the ground on the upper side, but how far below the surface of the heap of stones, on which it stands, the supporters reach has not been determined. The heap is sixty paces in circumference; the altar not central, and the inscription on it scarce visible. There is a cave in the South-East side of the monument, called *Dun's Cave*, and this stone is called *Dun's Monument*, of a famous robber inhabiting these monuments.

At Killcluney, in the parish of Iniskill, and county of Donegal, is a cromlech of two square stones, forty-seven feet long, three feet broad, and five feet and an half wide, supporting two others, like pediments reversed; the entrance due East; length within sixteen feet, width seven feet; called *Clagh Firoul*, or the *Stone of the Stout Man*. Nine other stones, supported another set edgewise forming a roof. On the same lands is another called *Labeg Dermot in Granab*, or the *bed of Dermot of Granab*, of sixteen stones. Fifty-six feet South East is another, called the *Monument of Dermot's Greyhound*; the entrance North West, and both probably with more stones.

From this account of the Cromlechs, for which, with the other particulars, I am indebted to the politeness of the honourable William Burton Conyngham, F.R. & A.S.S. who put into my hands for some time his valuable collection of drawings by various masters of antiquities and buildings in Ireland, which I am not without hopes he will not long delay publishing, it should seem that the Cromlech was of a sepulchral as well as a religious use. The mount at New Grange^a is evidently a sepulchral cave, and perhaps those in Sligo might be found to contain similar chambers.

"In a garden at Calverston, near Kilculler, in Kildare, was found, 1788, a tomb formed of large flat stones, about five feet long, four deep and wide, containing a skeleton sitting facing the South, and by its side, near the head a rude baked light brown earthen urn, five inches and an half diameter at top, two at bottom, and four and one eighth deep, adorned with zig-zag work *en creux* and relief. Many such sepulchres have been opened in different parts of Ireland, containing urns with burnt bones and ashes, and skeletons extended

^a A Cromlech in Cork, called *Labally*, or the *Hog's bed*, and others.

^b See Camden's *Britannia*, III. 568. *Archæologia*, II. 238-270.

on their backs and heaps of bones in a confused and irregular form. If the above belonged to the Danes, the urn or vessel may have served for drinking; or a bowl of meal and water interred with the party, to subside him during his passage into the other world; part of the bran having adhered to the side of the vessel, and part flowed over¹.

In *Nemnet* parish, Somersetshire, on the borders of Butcomb, and at a small distance East from that church, is a large tumulus sixty yards long, twenty broad, and fifteen high, one hundred and fifty feet from North to South, seventy-five from East to West, covered on the top with ash trees, briars, and thick shrubs. On opening it, 1784, its composition throughout was found to be a mass of stones supported on each side lengthwise by a wall of thin stones. The distance between the two walls is about eight feet; and the intermediate space is filled up with two rows of cells; or cavities, formed by very large stones set edgewise. These cells, the entrance into which is at the South end, run in a direction from North to South, and are divided from each other by vast stones placed on their edges; and covered with others still larger by way of architrave. In one of them were found seven skulls, one quite perfect; in another a vast heap of small human bones and horses' teeth. All the cells are not yet opened; and as no coins, or any other reliques but the abovementioned have hitherto been discovered, it cannot be ascertained at what period this barrow was constructed. The field in which it stands has from time immemorial been called the *Fairy Field*, and the common people say strange noises have been heard under the hill, and visions portentous to children seen in the thickets upon it². The workmen began to open it at the South end, and soon came to a stone inclined considerably to the West, and probably serving as a door. Beyond it, on the left, (and probably there was one also on the right) appeared a wall built without mortar, and of thin irregular base freestone, less in dimensions but thicker than common Dutch chimney tile, about four feet high and fourteen inches thick. Thirteen feet North from the first stone was another, perforated, inclining to the North about thirty degrees, and shutting up the avenue of walls. Working round East appeared a cell four feet high, two feet three inches broad, and nine feet from South to North, wherein was found a perfect human skull, the teeth entire, sound, and of the most delicate whiteness: it lay against the perforated stone, the body having lain North and South. Several other pieces of skulls, vertebrae, arm-bones, &c. were found herein, and particularly what was deemed a thigh-bone of an ox and the tooth of some large animal. At the termination of the first sepulchre the horizontal stones on the top of the avenue were fallen down. By the light of a candle were discovered two other similar catacombs, one on each hand, containing several human skulls and bones. On cutting a lateral opening near the other end was discovered only a similar wall and avenue. This avenue is constructed of very

¹ Mr. Beauford in Transactions of the Irish Academy, vol. II.

² Mr. Collinson, Hist. of Somerset, II. 318.

large fragments of rock, consisting of three stones, two horizontal and one perpendicular. Three cells are here discernable, two on the West and one on the East side, containing human bones. The whole tumulus is formed of small whitish stone, of which the neighbourhood affords plenty, and the exterior appears to have been turfed, the stratum of grassy earth being still five or six inches deep. It was proposed to pursue the search by propping up the avenue with wooden posts, as in mines. It is not improbable this barrow, called the *Fairy Toole*, had a connection with the Druidical works at Stanton-Drew. Mr. Bore, who communicated the above description to the Gentleman's Magazine, is of this opinion, and pronounces it neither Danish, Roman, Belgic, nor Phœnician.

Another correspondent of Mr. Urban³, whose intimate acquaintance with these subjects is well known, justly objects to the erroneous measure given to the skeleton, to which the first found skull is supposed to have belonged. He also doubts if the ox bone did not fall from the facitious soil; he wished for a drawing of the non-descript tooth, and recommends great care in pursuing the research, which has not been continued.

In a hill half a mile to the North from West Camel were discovered, a few years ago, two catacombs, in which lay many bodies regularly arranged in rows, five feet beneath the surface, each in a small trench, the feet turned to the North, the intermediate space filled up with small stones⁴.

Mr. Bore⁵ distinguishes at least five different sorts of barrows in Great Britain. The first has a central elevation of one-third its length, or nearly so, and was probably originally made exactly so: it is oblong, somewhat higher at the head than the feet, and accurately ovated at both extremities. Such are still existing on the plains of Lacedæmon and Troy, and scattered over Egypt, where they are supposed to have been succeeded by the pyramids.

The second is an obtuse oval, having little central ascendancy, and found most frequently on eminences near or in view of the sea. These are ascribed to the Phœnicians.

The third is not a circle, but much more circular than the second, considerably elevated in the centre, most like a cone, whose base and height are equal, surrounded by a fosse, which is, sometimes exactly, generally near six cubits, the outside bank being twelve cubits. These are found in every province of the South, and not unfrequently in the North part of the kingdom, and contained blue glass beads, some amber ones, trinkets cased with gold or silver, military, mechanical, and domestic instruments of brass, and a compound metal nearly resembling pinchbeck. These are ascribed to the *Belgians*, or *Firbolgs*, who long before the Julian invasion crossed the narrow seas into Bri-

³ I. IX. 392.

⁴ Ib. p. 1082. 1181.

⁵ Ib. p. 605.

⁶ Collinson, Somerset, III. 190.

⁷ Gent. Mag. L. XII. 1083, 1084.

tain, bringing with them the Druidical institutions, and the use of metal instead of flint, for weapons.

The fourth kind is larger than the third, either a long oval or circular, some with a fosse, and some without. The former, wherein have been found beads, &c. are referred to the subjugated and Romanized Belgæ, the latter to the Romans, containing urns, coins, lamps, lacrymatories, and other evidences of a polished people.

The fifth are also oblong, but distinguished by a circle of rude erect stones. These by Wormius are unquestionably proved to be Danish. With the first description only agrees the Fairy Tootie¹. Mr. Bore supposed the two Kistvaens mentioned by Mr. Lhuyd at Kerig y Druidion, in Denbighshire², and Cairn Lechart and Mynnid Drummin, in Glamorganshire³, were of this kind. I rather think them *Cromlechs*, or stones piled up without a tumulus over them. Major Rooke and Mr. Douglas conceive them to be inclosures of the sepulchres of principal Druids⁴.

Mr. Douglas, who has exhausted the subject of barrows in Great Britain, inclines to give the highest antiquity to the smallest of them, from thirty-three to thirteen feet diameter, their original height proportionable to their diameter. The trench surrounding them he ascribes to funeral rites. He very properly observes, that, "on comparing the contents of the large ones explored in various parts of England, Scotland, and France, and the adjacent isles, the greatest analogy will be found; whether the rough stone sarcophagus, the urn of unbaked or baked clay, the cist on the native soil, which contained the bones of the body burned, the body interred with or without earthen vessels, arms, or other relics, the similarity will in these countries be very apparent⁵." "The many barrows of large magnitude which I have occasionally explored, containing urns with ashes, the body interred with and without earthen vessels, have afforded no more criterion to decide palpably on the owners, nor have I found any coins in them. The large barrows on Newmarket-heath and Needham-plains contained urns and burnt bones of undoubted higher antiquity than the Danish inroads, and similar to those found in all directions of Britain, and indiscriminately ascribed to Britons, Saxons, or Danes. Cæsar says the Gauls burnt their dead: the Belgæ were those Gauls; the Belgæ of Britain therefore burnt their dead. The barrows in Britain prove the fact. The large isolated barrows in waste lands contain urns and burnt bones; they also contain the bones in their natural state: the body buried without burning; the former perhaps were the Belgic Gauls; the latter the Celtic Britons, a more primitive people, who adopted the most early rites of burial⁶."

"The circumstance of coins of Anthemius, Clovis, and Justinian, found in barrows, will prove them to have existed after the departure of the Romans, and

¹ Gent. Mag. LXII. 1182.

² Nenia Brit. p. 165.

³ Ib. p. 191.

⁴ Camden's Britannia, III. 577.

⁵ Ib. p. 157.

⁶ Ib. 502.

on the consideration of their being Christian sepulchres, they may be placed at the period of St. Augustine's arrival in England, A. D. 582, to the period of admission of cemeteries within the walls and near to churches, A. D. 742. The larger, under different forms, will then have existed in this kingdom during this period of near 160 years, to be placed to the Saxon æra when Christianity was embraced, and the arms found in them give them to that people. Arms however have not been found in one out of twenty of these barrows. The first Saxons here were Pagans till 572, and probably burnt their dead ¹.

Instances of Roman tumuli are at Kingholme, Gloucestershire; Chesterford, Essex; Rochester and Canterbury ². On the continent, near Tongres ³. The use of brass arms was not uncommon among the antient Scythians and Belgæ, and to the latter people who past into the South of Britain about three hundred years before Christ are to be attributed those found in tumuli among us ⁴.

The small campaniform barrows in clusters, seldom found near towns of any importance at this period of their sepulchre, Mr. Douglas universally assigns to the Saxons ⁵. "The discovery of coins, the workmanship of the relics, arms, and nature of the burial places, either considered externally or internally, shew them to belong to a similar people, to a people in a state of peace, and in general possession of the country. Their situation near villages of Saxon names, their numbers proportioned to a small clan of people existing at a peculiar æra, afford the critical evidence of their owners. They are scattered all over Britain in places which the Saxons occupied, and are not discovered in the parts of Wales which they had not subdued.

"The relics compared with those discovered in the urns found at Walsingham, in Norfolk, the subject of the beautiful old treatise on urn-burial by Dr. Browne, shew the identity of people, and evince the funeral customs of the Saxons on their visiting this country to be that of burning as well as interring the dead, which certainly was more general. From their being scattered in such situations near places of Saxon names at a convenient distance for sepulture, and no remains of British sepulchres near them, inferences may be deduced that the Saxons had totally extirpated the Britons from the parts which they then occupied. The structure of the conic mound of earth thrown over the body proves this custom to have been of barbaric or pagan origin, and the various contents of the graves also prove Christians to have been interred in the same range. The Franks in the days of Pharamond buried under hillocks: the king himself was buried in this manner, A. D. 428. Forty-eight years after this period the Saxons entered Britain, and, on comparing the barrows of this description with the small ones in clusters, it may be presumed the Saxons adopted the same custom, and, perhaps, in some instances, burnt their bodies, urns having been found at the Chartham burial place in Kent, and also at Walsingham; but this circumstance is extremely rare, and will certainly be found so when future discoveries are made of these small barrows in clusters.

¹ Douglas, p. 127—129.

² *Ib.* p. 150, 151.

³ *Ib.* p. 132—140.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 122.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 140—149.

The discoveries in these barrows, and the conclusions already drawn, are sufficient to exclude the Danes from the claim; as the relics will also in many instances shew their affinity to the Roman, an intermixture can be thus ascertained, which history has sufficiently warranted. Sidonius Apollinaris¹, a writer in the year 486, says, the bodies of the Pagan Gauls were burnt, and those of the Christians interred. The size of the large barrows will ascertain the distinction between the Roman and the Saxon, and the contents will prove an unerring criterion to judge of their identity. These facts combined with the known laws of the Romans interdicting the erection of large piles of earth or stone over the dead will define the distinct nature of our British sepulchres: They will also concur to prove that the very large barrows preceded the Roman times; and as other facts have been established of a Roman road passing over the base of a large barrow², we have an additional proof for the criterion³. The coin of Clovis found in a barrow at Sibertswold supports the argument in favour of a Saxon and French intercourse⁴.

The late Rev. Bryant Fauffet of Heppington near Canterbury opened three hundred tumuli on Barham Downs, the bodies in which lay chiefly in an East and West direction. Mr. Douglas, plausibly enough, derives the names of these downs from the Saxon *byrgen*, from their sepulchral appendages, which were of prior date to Saxon times. He shews very good reasons against their having been memorials of Cæsar's second progress in our island, his encampment being on the banks of the Stour, and not on the high ground of these Downs; the ridge thrown up there being more probably of the time of king John or Henry III. These tumuli contain coins of the later empire. Near Sir Henry Oxenden's house at Broom, at a small distance from this groupe of barrows is a smaller one of about fifty, which Mr. Douglas could not obtain leave to open. That which he cites from Twine⁵, and brands with all the air of deception and exaggeration⁶, exactly corresponds with modern discoveries, due allowance being made for the amplification of ill-informed astonishment. The barrows on Sibertswold or Shepherd's-well down amount to near two hundred, and were all opened by Mr. Fauffet.

I confess I have great doubts concerning the application of "small barrows in clusters to the Christians of the 6th and perhaps beginning of the 7th century". The only funeral deposit adopted in early Christian sepulture in a more peculiar manner must be the *croûs*; but even that is admitted by Keyser to be a Gentile sign⁷. The zeal of the early Christians in burying their martyrs would hardly tempt them to mark the places of their interment by an elevation of earth, even without cities and towns, and before the establishment of cemeteries in England by archbishop Cuthbert, A. D. 742, which was considerably previous to the Danish conquests of this island, and their conversion. The range of barrows,

¹ B. III. ep. 12.

² Ib. p. 141.

³ Ib. p. 97.

⁴ Stukeley, Stonehenge.

⁵ De reb. Albion. II. p. 75.

⁶ Ib. p. 109.

⁷ Douglas, p. 177—179.

⁸ Nenia Brit. p. 38, n.

about thirty in number, near St. Margaret's on the cliff, between Deal and Dover, by their proximity to the village, shew their affinity to it, and produce a natural reason for concluding on their having been a sepulchral deposit antecedent to the annexing of cemeteries to churches¹. The large barrow rather at the extremity of the N. E. range contained the burnt bones of a young subject which had passed a very ardent fire, and were deposited exactly in the centre of the barrow, on the surface of the native soil, without any excavations whatever, the mound of earth raised simply over it. The bodies in the other graves were generally deposited in the direction of East and West, but others varied their positions, indicating, perhaps, that this cemetery was used both by Pagans and Christians, which the law of Charlemagne separating the one from the other proves was the practice. The discovery of a barrow where cremation had been used must either imply an earlier age in sepulture, a singular variation at the time, or a distinction of honour².

Mr. Douglas is of opinion that the *urns* found in tumuli with or without skeletons bespeak them Roman³. Of the latter case Mr. Hausted⁴ gives many instances in Crundal parish. One skeleton had three urns by the head, right shoulder, and left knee, in a grave of chalk; another urn was of the size of half a bushel. Mr. Douglas has given a sepulchre containing both skeletons and urns, with a Roman inscription, from Petavius, p. 141. Pl. XXIX. But these do not exclude the claim of the Northern nations and Britons to urn burial. The barrow between the fifth and sixth mile stone, between Bury and Newmarket, opened 1771, contained, with a number of bones and a skull, an urn of coarse pottery, slightly burnt, six feet from the top, and as many from the South side, with the mouth upwards and no cover; two feet high, at bottom only four inches in the clear, above one foot diameter in the widest part, and at the mouth ten or eleven inches, and containing mould and bits of bones. In the same barrow was a complete skeleton, with the *legs doubled up under the body*, and lumps of wood ashes. It was the conjecture of Mr. Ashby that as far as it was opened, it appeared to contain three skeletons and one urn; it might have covered an officer and his soldiers; and as the urn was found not in the centre with the skeletons lying round, but nearer to one side, more urns will hereafter be discovered in the centre, and towards other parts of the circumference; and that it gave name to the village of *Barrovo*, whose parish it parts from that of *Rishy*⁵. The barrow on Needham plains contained three urns and the body interred. Mr. Milner⁶ opened two barrows on Flower Barrow, near East Lullworth, a third called *Hanbury Toole*⁷, and found them to contain skeletons and urns, the urn in the latter instance on the breast of a skeleton. In a fourth were five distinct skeletons, three of them in a row, lying on their backs; two were of the common size, but that in the middle was a small one, probably of some young person; the two others were a few feet distance

¹ Douglas, lb. p. 119.

² Ib. p. 120.

³ P. 136—149.

⁴ Ill. 184.

⁵ Gent. Mag. LIV. 85.

⁶ Ib. LX. 897—900.

⁷ See before the *Fairy Toole*, p. xxxviii. A very strong fortification near Cleobury is called Castle rute. Gent. Mag. LX. 1191.

from these, the head of one lying on the breast of the other; each of them had an urn upon it, and under the head of one of three that lay in a row was a small earthen urn about the size of a wine glass. In another barrow about an hundred and ten feet in circumference, and ten feet perpendicular, was a kistvaen or vault, of unhewn stones, inclosing a coarse black urn, containing burnt human bones, covered with a thin flat stone. Mr. Milner ascribes all these barrows to Britons, Saxons, or Danes, and not to Romans. Mr. Douglas gives more instances, p. 155-163. These should be added to those already enumerated, *Introd. I. p. iv. v.* Skeletons apparently interred in coffins he considers as Saxon¹.

Where urns and bodies are found together in the same barrow Mr. Douglas inclines to suppose that the latter were added in a subsequent period. "On searches made into these large barrows I have evidently perceived the earth to have been disturbed for the admission of a subsequent deposit, and the fragments of urns have proved a prior sepulchral rite²." But why may not the urn have contained the bowels or heart of the body interred with it? Something like that may have been the case with the child in the urn which had no ashes in it found with a skeleton at Chidingfold³.

The urns attributed to the Northern nations discover the greatest analogy. A small urn formed of clay was found in a Saxon barrow, which proves that the custom of depositing unbaked urns with the dead was continued to the seventh century⁴.

Mr. Douglas refers the small barrows found in clusters to the descendants of the Celts, who Cæsar and Tacitus say first peopled Britain⁵. He distinguishes those of the Britons from those of the Romans by their arms⁶: "When a barrow contains an urn with burnt bones, it is an indication that it exceeded a few years the date of those with the body inhumated. As Christianity became more general so burning the dead was disused; or, indeed, about this period, as I suspect, the Pagans were also in common with the Christians, interdicted the use of burning the bodies of the dead⁷."

The large short swords and small bucklers with which Tacitus⁸ arms the Britons, and which are the arms of all barbarous nations, are found in their tumuli. The Romans, who fought in a compact body, used the short and cutting sword⁹.

Mr. Hanham of Dorchester opened one of the largest of the barrows near Bincomb mentioned *Introd. I. p. ix.* and in the middle, about three feet under the surface, found the bones of a man of large size, a woman, and child, covered with large stones. The skulls and many of the bones were very perfect. The child's teeth had hollow roots, as before shedding, and were very sound. Within the pelvis of the woman were the bones of a foetus. Near the skeletons lay a spearhead between five and six inches long. At twelve feet the

¹ P. 162.

² P. 156, n.

³ P. 27, n.

⁴ *Vit. Agric.* c. 36.

⁵ P. 162.

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ P. 158, n¹.

⁸ *Ib.*

⁹ *Nenia Brit.* p. 1.

workmen came to some larger stones disposed rounding like the top of an oven, and under them one very broad supported by two perpendicular at the sides, between which was placed an urn containing ashes¹.

The duke of Northumberland caused one to be opened on Ridgewayhill, which contained, at three feet from the top, a skeleton lying due East and West, the skull a little reclined to the West, the teeth perfect. A yard from it, but scarcely one foot and an half from the sloping surface, was an urn with bones and ashes; another with burnt bones and ashes, among which lay a small piece of copper or brass corroded. Near the urn a large flat stone of an irregular shape, the under side blackened by fire, covering a number of human bones laid in order on a bed of flints, which were black like the bones. Near the foundation were two urns inverted, as in the former; one situate near the centre of the tumulus contained only burnt bones and ashes; the other, a brass spear head flat and thin, which had been fastened to a handle by three wooden pegs one of which remained in the hole². At the bottom of the barrow was the front antler of a very large stag's horn.

That learned antiquary abbé Le Beuf, in a discussion on the tombs at Civaux before mentioned, Introduction, I. 31-35. gives a particular detail of the various barrows in France, or as they are called *tombees*³ and *tombels*, an obvious corruption of the original name of *tumulus*. Near the tower of Aufrille in Limohn are two hills of artificial earth, the larger ten or twelve toises in circumference and twenty-five high, distant from the other eight or ten toises. Two similar near the castle of Dognon, a league and an half from Droulles in the same province, and in waste tracts. One of the latter being levelled was found to contain several stories of hollow stones covered with other stones forming sepulchres, and containing urns of earth and glass and some small gold chains. Another hill on the road from Lyon to Vienne is still called *La Motte*. There are five or six in the diocese of Noyon, and there were two near Vermand, one on the East called *La Motte Poutru*, the other between the South and West called *La Motte Desfrille*. A third less, near the village of Voue, half a league from Coudrain. One near Noyon, and at the village of Neuf lieu, near Chauni, called *le Tombe*. In an old monastic rent-roll of the thirteenth century of the abbey of St. Eloy at Noyon is mentioned the *Tombel de Duri*, and the *Tombete de les le ville*. In the Liegeois and near Tongres are two tumuli within gun-shot of each other: another very considerable one on the road from France towards Namur, and on the same road five more near Aumal. Two near the walls of Tirlmont, and one in Condroz, on the road to France. There are two in the parish of Sublaine, four leagues from the Loire and three from Loches, one hundred and fifty paces asunder, called by the inhabitants *Dunges* or *Danges*, from the Celtic *dens*, from whence also the castle of *Dognon* beforementioned may be derived. These eminences, or *donjes*, or *monticules*, or *aiguilles*, as some call them, are not of Roman con-

¹ A. S. Min. 1784.

² See an instance of rivets of a spear-head, p. xv.

³ A small mound on the ground where the battle of Killcrankie began is called in Gaelic *Tomb Clavers* i. e. Mount Clavers; a number of human bones were found in digging into it for gravel. Statistical Account of Scotland, V. 71.

struction,

struction, like those in the cemetery mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris, *epist.* iii. 12. but raised by barbarians over their generals or captains, by their soldiers.

Guibert abbot of Nogent sous Couci, in the diocese of Laon, writing in the twelfth century concerning the events of his time, mentions, as an extraordinary thing, that in digging in the plain of Nogent to build, they found sepulchres ranged in a circular manner round a principal one, and in these tombs vessels unknown to Christian use¹; whence he concluded that they were the burial places of Pagans, or of the earlier Christians who adopted the Pagan mode. M. Lebeuf imagines there were tumuli over their sepulchres. Perhaps they might resemble those among us at Repton and Ashford, Introduction, I. p. xxvii. Count Marfigli, in his "Course of the Danube," Vol. II. 1726, mentions a number of these hillocks, which he calls *tumuli telluris, colles manufacti*, on the banks of that river, and in the plains of Mœsia and Thrace, of the height of thirty feet. He adds, that from Gegendà to the Passage of Trajan, they are from three to four or five hundred paces distant from each other, and that in digging and levelling several have been found urns, baked tiles, and medals².

I agree with Mr. Douglas, that barrows are not necessary proofs of a battle: for our ancestors may be presumed to have had cemeteries as well as ourselves. These collective modes of burying the dead are not peculiar to Christians, but have been annexed to temples in every age by every nation, except the Jews; among whom it would have been an act of the highest pollution. On the same principle the Chinese bury in mountains distant from towns and the monuments of the ancient inhabitants of Persia are found in such remote places³. The Mohammedan burial places are without the gates of their towns: though their great men have mosques, or sepulchral chapels over their tombs and priests appropriated thereto.

The seven hills, as they are called, on the road from Bury to Thetford, four miles from Farnham, are the only barrows that can be referred to the Flemings slain under Robert earl of Leicester, 19 Henry II. mentioned Introd. I. p. vi. and xi. and whether the remains of that people, or an older, are deposited under them must be left to some future opening. There are none in the village nor any nearer than the seven hills, which are at the distance of four miles. These and those before mentioned at Barrow are the only ones round Bury. May not these seven be, like those at Stevenage, boundaries, instead of burial places?

In the New World, as the inhabitants of Europe choose to call America, because they have not been acquainted with it quite four hundred years, barrows are the inseparable appendage to great settlements. They are represented of various proportions and forms, one hundred and fifty feet long, one hundred broad, and thirty-five high, square, oblong, octagonal, and spherical,

¹ "Non in modum nostrorum ordo disponitur sepulcrotum, sed circulatim in modum corule sepulcrum unius multa ambiunt, in quibus quædam reperiuntur vasa quorum causam nesciunt Christiana tempora. Non possumus aliud credere nisi quod fuerint Gentium, aut antiquissima Christianorum sed facta gentili more." Guibert, l. II. de vita sua, c. 1.

² Lebeuf, Dissertations, I. 229.

³ Le Bruyn, Niebuhr, and other travellers.

and some much larger, in general nearly spheroidal, fifteen or twenty feet diameter, and from one to ten high. These are called Indian graves, and Mr. Jefferson opened in Virginia one that contained the bones of near one hundred persons of all sizes. Mr. Filson¹ describes two intrenchments with a number of barrows near Lexington. Mr. Barton has engraved a square town accompanied with a burying ground, a mile above the junction of the rivers Mufkingham and Ohio, one hundred and sixty miles below Fort Pitt².

In the Kentucky country are a number of old forts, mostly circular, situate on strong well-chosen ground, contiguous to water. They are certainly very antient, as there is not the least visible difference in the age or size of the timber growing on or within them, and that which grows without; and the oldest natives have lost all tradition about them. They must have been the efforts of a people much more devoted to labour than our present race of Indians, and it is difficult to conceive how they could be constructed without the use of iron tools. At a convenient distance from these always stands a small mount of earth, thrown up in the form of a pyramid, and seeming in some measure proportioned to the size of its adjacent fortifications. On examination they have been found to contain a chalky substance, supposed to have been bones, and of the human kind³.

By the road side in Spain are seen wooden crosses, to mark the spot where some unhappy traveller lost his life⁴. The passengers think it a work of piety to cast a stone upon the monumental heap; according to some, as a mark of detestation and abhorrence of the murderer; or, as others think, to cover the ashes of the dead. This, in all ages, and by every nation, has been considered as a deed of mercy, because, to remain unburied, was regarded as the greatest misfortune and disgrace. The *inops, inhumataque turba*, was supposed to wander on the banks of the Styx, excluded from the Elysian fields, restless and miserable, one hundred years, unless their bones were previously covered⁵. Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it is general over Spain; and round most monumental crosses is seen a heap of stones⁶.

On the top of Blackdown, within the parish of East Buckland St. Mary, c. Somerset, by the side of the road from Neroche castle to Chard, are numerous quantities of flint stones lying in vast heaps, upwards of sixty yards in circumference, which are called *Robin Hood's Butts*, and are generally supposed to be the tombs of antient warriors who fell during the severe conflicts between the Danes and Saxons in these parts⁷.

¹ Account of the discovery, &c. of Kentucky.

² Observations on some parts of Natural History, part I. See Gent. Mag. LVII. 992.

³ Morie's American Gazetteer.

⁴ "This day we saw five monumental crosses, one coming out of a wood, one at a place where four ways meet, the rest on the summits of the hills, from whence the robbers could see every thing that was passing on the road, and knew which way to escape. We passed by three monumental crosses, all at the junction of four ways. In a country where few people travel, a thief has little chance of passengers, unless where two ways cross." Townsend's Travels, I. 237.

⁵ Virgil, *Æn.* vi. ver. 325.

⁶ Townsend, *ib.* p. 134.

⁷ Collinson's Hist. of Somerset, I. 20.

On the top of the hill strait before the village of Williton, in St. Decuman's parish, in the same county, about two miles distance, is an immense heap of stones covering about an acre, and rising to a great height, pretended to have been brought by the devil in his leathern apron,¹ but called *Symmons Borowb* or *Barrow*. About half a mile from this are five smaller barrows, said to have been brought by the devil in his glove. This parish includes the town of Watchet, antiently *Weced* and *Wecedport*, memorable for the defeat of the Danes, A. D. 918.² The field of battle lies between Williton and Watchet, and is markt by three large bartows, called *Grab barrows*, in which several cells composed of flat stones and containing human relics have been discovered.³

The expence of funerals and funeral monuments was restricted by Solon, and after him by the Romans, on principles of frugality, not to prevent too large an extent of ground being covered by the tumuli, as Mr. Douglas insinuates⁴, for Solon's law against putting on Hermæ conveys no such meaning.

That tumuli were not confined to the Northern kings is plain from that line in Lucan⁵:

Et regum cineres exstructo monte quiescunt;

which may, from the context, be understood of kings of Egypt or Macedon; and Propertius asks a private grave distant from the road side⁶:

Di faciant mea ne terra locet ossa frequenti

Qua facit assiduo tramite vulgus iter.

Post mortem tumuli sic infamantur amantum.

Me tegat arborea devia terra coma.

Aut humet ignotæ cumulus vallatus arenæ.

Non juvat in media nomen habere via.

Grant, gracious heaven, my bones may not be laid

Where with continual foot the vulgar tread;

Such graves to lovers would be dire disgrace:

But in some unknown thicket be my place.

Or o'er me some obscurer *heap* be thrown,

That my name be not in the highway known.

The practice of burning the bodies was introduced among the Danes by Odin, not long before the Christian æra. This age is called *Brúna Oldi*, or the age of burning, in which barrows were raised over the ashes as well as afterwards over the bodies themselves. In the succeeding period, called *Hoigold*, or *Hoelst tiid*, or the age of *heights* or conic hills⁷, the practice of burning was not left off, though it had ceased before their expedition into Britain, and sooner, as a general custom, though perhaps used in the burial of a particular hero⁸. Ringo caused the same funeral honour to be performed on the body of Harold, when, at the same period, the common people were interred in an entire state⁹.

¹ Chron. Sax. p. 105.

² Collinson, III. 487.

³ P. 136.

⁴ VIII. 695.

⁵ III. xiv. 26—31.

⁶ Bartholinus de contemptu mortis apud Danos ex Snorrone, &c. I. c. 8. p. 111—115.

⁷ Douglas ubi supra, p. 125.

⁸ Snorro Sturleson ap. eund. ib.

Snorrio Sturleson says, "the body of Odin was burnt in the most honorable manner, surrounded with the most elevated flames; and it was the belief in those times, that in proportion as the flames ascended the greater honour the dead received in the other world. The fragments of bones found in an urn in a large detached Kentish barrow were so few in number that they did not correspond but to a small proportion of the human body, a circumstance very common in urn burial, and which, corroborated by antient authors, proves by the pains taken to consume the bones, and reduce them into a small compass, the greater the honour to have been shewn to the remains of the dead."

This mode of raising hills is recorded of the Gærhi a Scythian people by Herodotus¹. Stones appear to have been set up as monuments in both periods². That burning which Wormius calls *Røjld* he confines to *kings*: *Hoigold* was when the bodies, both burnt and entire, were deposited, with their arms, under circular heaps of great stones, earth, and turf, piled up to some height, to supply the place of inscribed stones when materials were wanting. The slain in battle were laid under one common high hillock, called *Valkoster*. *Christendoms old* was the age of Christianity, when the Danes become Christians buried their dead³. This event took place among them in this island almost immediately after their conquest of it.

The barrows in Denmark differ in size, roundness, various and distinct rows of stones: the ruder sort are of earth only, or for generals and officers, with one circle of stones round the base. In the more improved ages they added larger stones on the top and sides, as well as round the bottom, and some of the former inscribed⁴. Those of an oblong shape and flatter, surrounded by large stones, the biggest at the end⁵, Wormius considered as receptacles of a whole family⁶. Some were overgrown with trees, after the country was deserted or depopulated⁷. And such might have been the case with that of Dercennus, before-mentioned.

Two brothers petty princes in Naumedal spent three years in making a single tumulus⁸. Harald Blaatund employed his whole army, and a number of oxen, to place an immense stone on the tumulus of his mother⁹. Hubba was buried under a very large barrow in Devonshire¹⁰, A. D. 487.

After the Danes were converted to Christianity they gradually departed from the rudeness of their ancestors in the art of sepulchral monuments, and united the cross with the Runic characters in Christian churches and cemeteries. Wormius's *Monumenta Danica* abounds with instances of the Runic characters obtaining after this period in Denmark, as we know they did in our own country¹¹. Wormius gives two stones inscribed with those characters round the ledge like the Christian gravestone¹². Others¹³ with rude figures of men and

¹ Douglas, *Ib.* p. 158.

² IV. 71.

³ Bartholinus, p. 119, 120.

⁴ Wormius, *Mon. Dan.* p. 33—36.

⁵ *Mon. Dan.* I. c. 7. p. 40—45.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 35.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 36.

⁸ *Ib.* 37. ex Saxone.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 39.

¹⁰ *Ib.* ex Saxone, lib. x.

¹¹ Brompton, p. 809.

¹² At Bridkirk, Beauchamp, and Ruthwell.

¹³ P. 180. 471. 492. 520.

¹⁴ P. 188.

beasts, like those on the rude crosses in Scotland and Wales¹, others on hillocks or tumuli². Three others forming a triangle³. Others cut in the face of a rock⁴, like that Roman one on the banks of the river Gelt, near Brampton, in Cumberland⁵. One appears to have stood in a tumulus, which it mentions by the name of *Kuml*, whence the Latin *cumulus*⁶. Some of these rude obelisks with inscriptions are in churchyards, as that of king Gormon and his wife Thirfa, at Jelling⁷; which is the more remarkable, as, like the font at Bridkirk, it commemorates the conversion of the Danes and Norwegians, after the conquest of their country by Harold; who was assassinated A. D. 980. and is adorned with figures of men and animals in scroll-work. Near it is a lesser, inscribed by Gormo for his wife. An instance of a wooden figure of a woman on the wooden floor of a church, with her epitaph inscribed in Runic characters on her gown, as part of bishop Roger's at Salisbury is on his pall, may be seen in Wormius, p. 58.

Mr. Douglas shews good reason why the tumuli in Greenwich park and Bartlow hills cannot be Danish tumuli⁸. He has not however paid attention to the barrows in Woodham Ferrars parish, on Burnham-river, and the greater probability that the battle between Canute and Edward Ironsides was fought at or near Aflingdon⁹. Though he seems inclined to admit, that the *Cromlech* was somehow a Danish monument, as at Wayland-Smith and Kit's-Coty-house in England, yet he observes Carnedhs, or heaps of stones, barrows of large dimensions in Kistvaens, or cromlechs and stone erections of various kinds, are found scattered in such directions over Europe as must preclude the Danes on their invasions to their conquest of the kingdom under Canute from being their general owners, and when their writers mention them as applicable to peculiar customs of the Northern people, these relations must be admitted with the same precaution as we read the writers of our nation on similar monuments in Great Britain: He inclines however to admit that the Dane Barrows, so called, at Chartham, belong to them¹⁰.

The general term *Low* applied to these barrows in the midland parts of England is derived by Dugdale¹¹, from the British *Lleban*, locare, to place, as *ilogal* answers to *loculus*, the place where the burnt corpses were laid, and the Saxon *logian* to lodge¹², as the Greek *λεγω*, *λεχος*, *λεγειον*, and Dutch *leggen*, *liggin*, *logian*, all from the same source. And this appears to me more natural than the correspondence between *les*, *lis*, and *loge*, synonymous with *φλοξ*, a flame, and *busium*, which Festus derives "*quasi bene usus*," and Servius defines the last stage after *pyra* and *rogus*. Gawin Douglas translates Dercennus's

¹ A piece of tapestry which Wormius had is adorned with the same figures of men and women fishing and fowling, and monsters, as some of the monuments in Scotland are represented, with Runic Characters. Ib. p. 473—478.

² P. 202.

³ P. 215.

⁴ P. 222.

⁵ Camden, Brit. III. 176. Pl. VIII. 10.

⁶ Wormius, p. 226. Another, p. 462.

⁷ Ib. P. 326—338.

⁸ Nenia, p. 179, 180.

⁹ Camden's Britannia, II. 53.

¹⁰ P. 108, 109.

¹¹ Warwickshire, p. 5.

¹² Mark. I. 19.

tumulus " under the montane *law* there stude fote hote;" and that of Caieta before mentioned

apoun the sepulture as custome was and gyle,
ane hepe of erd and litill moit gart uprays.

And the appearance of fire in Lavinia's hair, *Æn.* vii. 164.

Atque omnem ornatum flamma crepitante cremari;

he translates,

Und hir gay cleithing all with *lowis* light, &c. i. e. *fire's* light.

In the tumuli which Mr. Douglas opened in Chatham lines he found the skeleton in the meridian, the head to the South². Its accompaniments were weapons, offensive and defensive, fibulæ of metal or ivory³, a silver spoon gilt, wire rings with beads of glass, amber, and vitrified earth, crystal balls, iron knives, Roman coins of various metals, vessels of red earth, glass, and metal ornaments, silver rings, and broaches⁴, linen cloth, leather, bone ornaments, rings of bone and ivory, combs of the latter material, and mirrors, bow braces and arrow heads. No beads having been found with weapons, Mr. Douglas appropriates them to female interments, as he does also glass vessels⁵. These last, with the crystal balls⁶, he pronounces *magical*⁷. Objections may be raised to this appropriation, and particularly to that of the articles in Stilicho's daughter's tomb, where the plate inscribed with names of angels may be like the broche with those of the three kings of Cologne⁸. It is foreign to the design of this work to enter into discussions of the *use* of these articles. The same error pervades the application of the *spears*, Plate II. ii. 1, 2, 3, which I conceive to be *nippers*, Tumulus V. p. 21. like those Pl. XIII. 6. though of a different form, the first being more like *sugar tongs* of modern use.

"When jewels occur in tumuli, the small ones are only found in the proportion of one in seventy, and that in clusters that exceed an hundred in number; for it generally happens if the place of interment be extensive, and crowded with barrows that the contents are more curious and valuable⁹." Much of the antient dress, at least of the fastenings of it, may be learnt from the ornaments found in tumuli. The jewel, Pl. X. fig. 6, 7. of the *Nenia*, three inches and an half diameter, weight six ounces, five pennyweights, eighteen grains, and a quarter of an inch thick, found near the neck of a skeleton, is the most elegant sepulchral relic discovered in Britain. It was the custom from the remotest period of time to inter rich ornaments with the dead. The tomb of the daughter of Mycerinus, king of Egypt, was adorned externally, being only the wooden figure of a cow in which her body was deposited¹⁰. But in the tombs of the *Gerrhæ*¹¹, were interred cups of gold, the only metal except iron known to that people. The Scythian king Indathyrfus¹² rebuking the am-

² *Æn.* xi. 850.

³ *Nenia Brit.* p. 3.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 36.

⁵ See a beautiful one, Pl. x. fig. 5. illustrated by one on the bust of Ultragotha queen of Childbert on the old tower of St. Germain de Prez.

⁶ *Nenia Brit.* p. 11.

⁷ *Ib.* note 4.

⁸ P. 14, note 2.

⁹ Pennant's Tour in Scotland, I. 90.

¹⁰ *Nenia*, p. 41, n.

¹¹ Herodot. II. p. 138.

¹² *Ib.* IV. 244.

¹³ *Ib.* 262.

bition of Darius for invading his territories, and defying him by observing, that his subjects had nothing to lose, adds, "when you meet with our family tombs [ταφῆς πατρῴων], try to overthrow or dig them up, and then you shall see whether or not we will fight for them;" as if these were their only valuable property. This may be considered either as a defence of the treasures, or of the remains of their ancestors contained therein. The discoveries in the Tartarian sepulchres, however, warrants the former sense. The Romans adopting Solon's idea, by a law of the twelve tables, forbade interring rich ornaments with the dead¹. So Marcianus² says, "*pecunia sepeliri non potest*;" where Guichard³ takes *pecunia* for any treasure, jewels, or ornaments of value; and Kirchman⁴ understands it of apparel. This costly custom seems to have been retained by Christians⁵.

Mr. Douglas⁶ inclines to fix the date of these small barrows filled with rich ornaments, to the close of the fourth century, in which the Britons and Gauls became connected. In the laws of Pharamund, concerning the decorations of sepulchres, there is nothing relative to Christians, and no mention of burning the deceased, but only of inhumation. Pharamund himself was buried A. D. 428. "*Barbarico ritu*," at Rheims, out of the city towards Landau," in *monticulo* quem Latine *pyramis* dici potest⁷," which is an exact description of a barrow or tumulus; and the "*mode barbarisque*," is by the "*Genealogia Bruxellensis*"⁸, applied to the funerals of Pharamund, Clovis, Merove, and Childeric, who died Pagans,

Mr. Douglas has happily illustrated the glass or earthen vessels found in these barrows by similar vessels, which occur in Etruscan and other tombs, and were used for libations of wine, milk, blood, pulse of various kinds, honied cakes, &c. or funeral rites, in which were used water, gum, and oil⁹, or for lacrymatories¹⁰. "Though the antients are not explicit in the actual deposit of the vessels with the body they particularly express the nature of the *liquors*, *unguents*, *balsams*, and *viands*, which were used in the sepulchral ordinances, and it should be from these facts corroborated with the discovery of the vessels in their sepulchres that a decided opinion can be formed on any particular species of interments, and also by the forms of the vessels, to what uses they might be applied"¹¹. At this application of these vessels it seems to me we should stop, and not suppose them intended to contain provisions of any kind for the dead which is not warranted by any discovery that I recollect, though the *naulum Charontis*, or piece of money, is. And we are not at liberty to apply Indian or Chinese customs to the Greeks and Romans¹². Still less do I feel myself attached to a *magical* application of these vases, any more than the brass box to superstitious conceit about fecundity. The glass vessel, Pl. X. fig. 4. from a

¹ Cicero de Leg. II.

² L. Julia 4 D. ad Leg. Jul. pecul.

³ Funerailes des Græcs et des Romains, p. 91.

⁴ P. 448.

⁵ See the passage quoted by Mr. Douglas, p. 42, n.

⁶ P. 43, n.

⁷ Chifflet, p. 5, ex MS. cod. Bruxell. Palatii.

⁸ Ib. p. 81.

⁹ Wolfgangius Lazius, Comment. Urb. Rom.

¹⁰ Guichard, ubi sup. p. 82.

¹¹ Douglas, p. 44, n.

¹² See the authors cited by Mr. Douglas, p. 45, n.

Kentish tumulus containing a female skeleton, exactly resembles the wooden cup from the Wareham barrow. It is four inches and an half diameter, and two inches five-eighths deep, of a greenish colour, beautifully coated with the *armatura*, which it has acquired by lying a long time in the earth. Like the sepulchral vases and urns it is rounded at the bottom¹. See also a glass patella three inches seven tenths diameter, and two seven tenths deep². When I compare these with the gilded brass or mixed metal vessel, Pl. XI. fig. 1. five inches and an half diameter at the mouth, and two inches four tenths in depth, with three handles, ornamented with a circular piece of white metal, probably silver, and contained in a similar vessel of larger dimensions, being thirteen inches wide and four and an half deep, I cannot help thinking these were of a different destination than funeral, and added as ornaments or furniture of the deceased. Add to these the singular shaped glass vase found at Dinton, in Buckinghamshire³, six inches high, and six and an half diameter, which Mr. Douglas refers to a female, not being in the same spot with the spears. An earthen vessel engraved in the same plate, fig. 6. was found at the feet of the coffin, near which were placed in a heap the bones of a child, which Mr. Douglas imagines were interred after the mother. Metal vessels of a foot diameter and upwards, as in Pl. XII. fig. 11. can only have been kettles for the purpose of heating water. Accordingly Mr. Douglas⁴ speaks of the Roman *exuvie* being found near their *culinae*, which might be considered as belonging to their annual sacrifices and libations performed at their *inferiæ*. The scales, weights, and touchstone connected with these vessels in the same plate XII. were surely rather memorials of the profession of the party interred, than applicable to any other use, and these Mr. Douglas does not pretend to apply to magical pomp. That the *pateræ* were libatory and sacrificial can hardly be doubted.

The most positive proof that the bodies in these tumuli were buried in a garment of linen, woollen, and silk of different textures and fineness, either funeral or such as they usually wore when alive is the discovery in one of fifty barrows in Greenwich Park opened by Mr. Douglas, 1784, where he found the coverings of cloth, both woollen and linen, of different fineness, some woven in the herring bone, others in the usual, pattern. With them was a braid of human hair. Few bodies, for the interment of which any time was allowed, we may presume were deposited in the earth absolutely naked. The body at Stowborough was wrapt or dressed in leather. But whether the body in the Irish peat mofs⁵ was buried after death or during life, like that in Derbyshire, may admit of a doubt; consequently proves nothing in this question.

Mr. Douglas observes, that the spear and sword, and almost always the shield, is methodically arranged. He has never found any *bundles* of spears or other weapons⁶. Will it be thought an ill-founded conjecture that what are commonly called *knives* in barrows may have been *daggers*?

¹ Douglas, p. 39, 40.

² Ib. Pl. XII. p. 31.

³ P. 69, n. Pl. XVI. 5. Archæol. X. p. 169. Pl. XVIII.

⁴ P. 50. n. Archæol. VII. 90—110.

⁵ P. 57, n.

Various have been the forms, material, and use, of the *armilla*, or bracelet; Mr. Douglas has assigned a new, and, I think, unsupported one, that it served to "collect the loose plaits or folds of the *stola*, or upper garment, when the flowing parts became troublesome, and which were lowered only for the purpose of appearance and parade. Antient marbles will prove the truth of this remark¹." It is not easy to conceive how this effect can be produced by a bare ring without a fibula, or something fastened to it; and one regrets that an instance of the kind among the antient statues had not been pointed out.

Mr. Douglas² is of opinion, that every article of glass found in these barrows was imported by the Romans. This may tend to fix a period; and it is true that Strabo³ enumerates *υαλα σκευη* among the imports from Rome. I have been informed, by Mr. Townley, that glass urns are common in Italy. But though it may amount to proof that the Britons knew not how to manufacture glass, or did not apply themselves to it, it can never decide that they had no glass imported by the Phœnicians, who carried on a trade with them long before the Romans. We may allow at least a few beads to have been brought in from Tyre and Sidon, if not the vessels sometimes found in barrows. And it is remarkable that from the earliest periods of commerce such trinkets as beads of every material have been found an essential interchange. Ornament and finery were the application of such things by a savage, and a magical appropriation never entered into his thoughts. There is scarce an instance of a savage nation which does not wear bracelets round the arms and legs, and in the noses, ears, lips, and cheeks, and load those bracelets with as many extraneous trinkets as they can collect for shew or jingle. Even the *lunar* shaped armilla, PL. XIV. 6. which has so puzzled the Irish antiquaries, in whose country it abounds, though sometimes found in Britain, has no other use.

"In some places of interment the chief part of the graves are in an East and West direction, as on Chartham-downs near Canterbury, Kingston, on Barham downs, Sibert's-would near a seat of Lord North's, in Kent, where two hundred and more have been explored⁴." Though this is the Christian position, Mr. Douglas is of opinion, that many relics interred in these small tumuli would lead an antiquary to consider them with an eye to Pagan ceremony; but as many Christian rites are founded in the Gentile, and in the early ages of Christianity seem in a variety of instances to be blended together, it will be difficult, at first glance, to say whether the people interred here were Pagans or Christians. It is evident, that as Christians gained ground the Pagan custom of burning the dead was by degrees abolished. This period may be fixed to the time of the Emperor Theodosius; see Macrobius, Saturnalia, VII. c. 7. p. 514. from which we learn a curious circumstance in the burning of the dead, that at the time when this practice was thought a piece of respect, when even a number of bodies were to be burned together, the rule with the performers of this ceremony was to add one female body to ten male ones, "*denis virorum corporibus adjicere singula muliebria*;" for which this ridiculous reason is assigned

¹ P. 59, n.
Vol. II.

² P. 60, 61, n.

³ P. 307.

⁴ P. 63, n.

⁵ Ib.

that the latter being of a hotter temperament, and more combustible, might help to burn the rest; "unius adjutu, quasi natura flammæ et ideo celeriter ardentis, cætera flagrant." But these tumuli are of a considerably lower date¹.

Mr. Douglas² controverts the use of *lacrymatorie*, glass vessels so called, having, notwithstanding Mr. Whitaker's positive affirmation that one was found *half filled with tears* at Castlefield, 1765³, found no evidence of it in the antients, or in Kirchman de Funeribus Romanorum, or Gruter. He therefore inclines to suppose the little vessels which pass under that name to have been filled with lustral water, oil, gums, and balsamics, which last is the opinion of Bartoli⁴.

The brass pins, generally called *fyli*, when found in tumuli, Mr. Douglas not improbably refers to the headdress, the hair being twisted round them⁵. A striking instance of a pin in a lady's Gothic headdress appears in the figure of Margaret Holland, at Canterbury, Pl. XLII. p. 127. of this volume.

I do not think there have been a sufficient number of deer's horns found in English barrows, to establish the custom of Ossian's heroes. Those near the *Culina*, or burial ground, at Chartham, were rather culinary than funeral relics⁶.

Mr. Douglas⁷ gives several instances of Roman coins in barrows, which he conceives to have been the *naulum Charontis*. When there was more than one in a tumulus this application may be doubted, or perhaps if the one was, as we have seen before, Vol. I. Intro. p. lxviii. put into the mouth, there would be stronger proof of the application.

Abbé Winckelman⁸ brings the piece of money put into the mouth of the Egyptian mummies as a proof of the Egyptian coinage before the time of Alexander. Count Caylus⁹ pretends that no money was ever found under the tongue of the mummies, and that he never met with any person who had seen it. Breves¹⁰ affirms that he had seen under the tongue of a mummy a piece of gold worth about two piastres. Burattini, in his letter cited by Kircher¹¹, says, that this money is worth at most one or two *migliari*, and is shaped like a small gold plate resembling a leaf of heath, and has been since found in the bandages of a mummy by Count Caylus himself, who describes it from abbé Barthelemy¹².

Sir William Stirling¹³ told Mr. Pennant he had an urn with ashes and part of a scull and a piece of *money*, found near the Roman camp at Ardoch¹⁴. Among

¹ Douglas, p. 63, n.

² P. 70, n.

³ Hist. of Manchester, p. 22. 4to. "the cork stopple being nearly consumed, and the liquid retaining a considerable degree of saltness."

⁴ Antichità d'Aquileia, p. 277.

⁵ P. 74, n.

⁶ P. 78, n.

⁷ P. 80, n.

⁸ Hist. de l'Art. I. 192. Par. 1790.

⁹ Dissertation on the Egyptian embalment, Acad. des Ins. Hist. xxiii. 138.

¹⁰ Hist. Univ. I. ii. c. 3. p. 393, n.

¹¹ Oedip. Egypt. iii. synt. 13. c. 4. p. 400.

¹² Recueil d'Antiq. II. pl. iv. p. 18—22.

¹³ Pl. Lxviii.

¹⁴ Tour, 1772, p. 103.

a number of skeletons found in digging in Goodman's fields on the estate of Mr. Hawkins, Oct. 1787, was found a scull having in its palate a copper coin of Trajan; reverse a winged figure, COS. II. TR. POT. This scull and coin are in the possession of my friend Mr. T. F. Forster, jun, merchant in Thread-needle-street. Houel mentions coins found in urns at Lilybeum¹.

The emperor Otto III. opened the tomb of Charlemagne, and took away the gold crofs hanging from his neck and part of his garments².

The treasures in the tomb of Nitocris queen of Babylon were intended as a trap for future avarice³.

Josephus talks much of the treasure taken out of the sepulchre of David by Hyrcanus and Herod. But these are justly doubted⁴.

Instances of *mirrors*, or *specula*, found in tumuli, are not unfrequent. See one at Saludy, Archæol. VIII. p. 381, 382. But to the *magical* application of them I cannot yield my assent: any more than I can believe a long metal haft turned up at the end like an anchor, or one turned up like a hook to hold open a casement, was a *calamistrum*, or curling iron, which Servius expressly defines a large needle, *acus major*. I should sooner take the instrument miscalled a *stylus*⁵ for it.

Under the class of amulets there is no end of the vagaries of ingenious men. An amulet with them cuts every Gordian knot, when, in my humble opinion, there is not a Gordian knot in the whole system of barrow-burial. The random ornaments of a button or buckle need not the construction of a *Herculean knot*; nor are smaller vessels less *lacrymatories*, because they cannot have transmitted Roman tears shed centuries ago, when even the most generous Roman wine has only come down to us in *feces*, the Roman sinuel in Herculaneum retained its form only till the admission of air, and Roman wheat was reduced to an impalpable ash. Such investigators of antiquity ask too much and prove too little. Mr. Douglas's engravings speak for themselves, are most beautifully and justly executed; but a *magical* system founded on them is the baseless fabric of a vision: for I cannot conceive it had any footing before the introduction of the Abraxas, a mixture of Pagan superstition with Christian faith too absurd to disgrace human credulity.

The great similitude which the relics found in these barrows have to the decorations of Eastern apparel is accounted for by a very plausible conjecture that the colony of Greek Christians sent into Britain A. D. 668, and followed by Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, brought them over, and scattered them in the Kentish barrows; though it should be observed, they are not so confined to that part of the island as Mr. Douglas represents⁶.

From the stone chests of various construction under barrows, pass we to those of more regular form.

¹ Voyage Pittoresque de Sicile, I. 21. Pl. xiv.

² Cruſii Ann. p. ii. l. vi. c. 8. p. 169.

³ Herodot. I. 87.

⁴ See Univ. Hist. X. p. 337. note F. and p. 458.

⁵ Douglas, p. 82, 83, Pl. XX. fig. 5. 12.

⁶ P. 130.

Dr. Pegge¹ deduced stone coffins after the introduction of Christianity from the Saxons, continued to the reign of Henry III. and in some instances to that of Henry VIII. as in the instance of bishop Smith at Lincoln, who died 1513².

In digging the foundation of a house in Chaillot they found coffins of brick and small stones³. These I suppose were like those at Balfham, *Introd. I. p. xxxvii.*

There is great difference in the cut even of these plain stone chests. The round heads of the Christchurch coffins⁴ are paralleled by some from Chesterford, and one in Wareham church: all these are single stones. One at Beverley tends to a semicircle at the head. One in the churchyard of Thorn church, Yorkshire, is sloped off at the upper edges. Those of Robert de Toden and his wife at Belvoir-priory are of this latter shape.

In a solid rock near the churchyard at Heytham, about six miles from Lancaster, were the ruins, as supposed, of some chapel; a few yards distant were found five sepulchres hewn in the rock about eleven inches deep, the breadth and depth of the longest much the same as a common coffin, the others in proportion. Three of them have the form of the head distinct, the fourth less so, and the fifth is rounded at the upper end. Over the two first and the last were rude lines about five inches deep, but so much defaced that no judgement could be formed of their use⁵.

In the South aisle of Beverley minster I measured a stone-coffin of the following shape and dimensions:

Length	six feet seven inches.
Breadth at the head	two feet two inches and an half.
Breadth at the feet	ten inches and an half.
Depth without	one foot three inches.
Depth within at the hollow for the head	seven inches.
Width of head	four inches and an half.
Thickness	two inches three quarters.

One which covers a stream out of Fossegate, York, is seven feet long, twenty-one inches wide at head, five inches thick, and ten deep. Two in the cloister, near the chapter-house, six feet four inches, inscribed with crosses, the lids half a yard above them; the coffins long ago opened, and plundered of their contents.

In putting down some posts before the door of Mr. Townsend's house on the North side of Crouch street, opposite Malden lane, Colchester, was found, two feet below the surface, a stone coffin, the cover three inches thick, three feet wide, and near eight feet long, projecting a few inches every way over the coffin, and not fastened to it. Within was a quantity of fine dark coloured

¹ *Gent. Mag.* XXIX. 66.

² *Sauval.* II. 188. *Lebeuf.* II. 58.

³ *Gent. Mag.* LXI. p. 612.

⁴ *Willis.* Cath. II. 59.

⁵ *Archæol.* V. 224.

mould, and under it a thick coat of fine white lime, beneath which was a human skeleton wrapt and bedded in it, near six feet long, but the sutures of the skull wide open. All that could be sifted out of the mould after drying it were two small lumps of ferrugineous earth, and the rib-bones of some small animal. The body lay East and West. The coffin was of a soft friable stone,

feet.	inches.	feet.	inches.
7	2 long without.	6	3 within.
2	3 wide.	1	6
1	10 deep.	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

bottom 8 inches, ends 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, sides 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ thick.

It lay in ground made up of various materials, in which were fragments of a fine red antient jug or bottle of earth¹.

In clearing the ruins of the beautiful church at Howden, 1785, they laid open in the centre, before the high altar, a stone coffin six feet in the clear from head to feet, nineteen inches wide at the neck, eleven at the feet, filled with bones, which they buried elsewhere.

In repairing the family chapel at Mauvesyn Ridware, c. Stafford, 1785, they found two stone coffins, one with a skeleton of large proportion and strong bones, with very white fresh teeth; the other two contained a body done up in fear cloth and lead. These were supposed to have been Hugh de Mauvesyn son of Henry, who came in with the Conqueror; and his greatgrandson Hugh².

Coffin fashioned stones were always covers to coffins of the same materials, and this answered the double purpose of receptacle and memorial. The greater number were adorned with crosses of various patterns. Some with letters, as in the remarkable instance of William Furnivall, at Rufford, before mentioned, I. 181, 182. He was the last of the family enumerated by Dugdale, and died 6 Richard II³. It was dug out of the ruined chapel on the South side of the collegiate church, which was probably that dedicated to our Lady, in which so many of that family were deposited. Another coffin six feet by one, dug up with it, had a cover of black marble, with an inscription, which was sold for three guineas to a gentleman in the town, who made use of it for a hearth; but I could not find it, and, indeed, it is probable the inscription was rubbed out. Several figures from altar-tombs of the Furnivalls and Lovetofts lay neglected within the remains of the church as before described. In the rhyming pedigree of the family in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, II. 926. these coffins are called *trough-bones*, i. e. according to the present pronunciation of the country *trough-bone*.

Out of the stone coffin taken up in the abbey-church at St. Albans, 1782, p. xxix. were taken part of a chalice and patten, the nose bone, a piece of the upper jaw and four large sound teeth, which had been laid in sand or dust. They broke off the feet of another stone coffin, which they did not disturb, and discovered the feet of a skeleton bedded in dry sand or mould.

¹ Dr. Griffith, in A. S. Min. Mar. 1, 1781.

² Gent. Mag. LV. 861.

³ Bar. I. 727.

In a village of Auxois, in Burgundy, named *Quarrées les tombes*, and in Latin *Parochia de quadratis sc. lapidibus*, have been found from time immemorial, and are still continually discovered, a great number of coffins. M. Moreau de Mautour, who gave an account of them to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres¹, says, that this village is situate on the border of the little territory of Morvant, two leagues from the city of Avalon; and that the space of ground wherein these tombs are found is about six hundred and sixty paces by about one hundred and sixty; yet if one may believe the tradition of the country, above two thousand have already been discovered. These tombs are of a greyish stone, about five or six feet long; many of them have been broken in pieces to build the new church of the place; some have been beat into lime, and some kept for a show, and left in the churchyard. It is remarkable that there are no marks of Christianity on them, or any other figure, except on one a cross carved, and on another an escutcheon, which could not be decyphered. In digging the foundations of the sacristy they took up two, in which were two ear rings: in another taken out of a cellar some bones with two more ear rings, and in some others spurs. Except these the rest discover no sign of having been applied to the purposes for which they were intended. M. Mautour affirms there is but one quarry out of which the stones employed about these coffins could be taken. It is in a place called *Champ Rotard*, six leagues from the village; and skilful masons who have examined the quality and colour of the stone in this quarry, so perfectly like that of the tombs, agree in this fact. It is not easy to conjecture how so many coffins come in a place of so little celebrity. It is well known that it was antiently the custom to bury the dead out of the town, and by the high roads, and that this custom was observed both at Paris and all over Gaul, in the first ages of Christianity, and continued late under the third race of our kings, whence we must conclude, either that there was some considerable town in the neighbourhood of Quarrées, or that this village had been a magazine of tombs to supply the neighbouring town. Both these conjectures are liable to difficulties. The nearest cities are Avalon, Saulieu, and l'Orme. Of the two last one is too inconsiderable and the other too distant. Avalon is indeed but two leagues off; but besides that no such tombs have been found there this city is nearer the quarry than the village of Quarrees, so that it not likely they would go four leagues to fetch what was within half the distance.

Mr. Mautour therefore is for referring them to the remains of the Saracens, who, after the defeat and death of their general Abderhaman, joined with the Vandals, Alans, and Ostrogoths, to ravage Burgundy, and made themselves masters of Maçon, Chalons, Dijon, Auxerre, Autun, and many other cities. Now Avalon lying between Autun and Auxerre might also have felt their ravages. Or we may refer them to the soldiers who died during the three months siege of this city by Robert king of France nephew of Henry I. duke of Burgundy, who recovered the dominions of his uncle, which, on his death without issue, had been seized on by Landri count de Nevers.

¹ Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscr. II. p. 413. 12mo.

The emptiness of these tombs may be accounted for by some property in the stone, like that described by Pliny in the neighbourhood of Assus, which reduced a corpse to dust in forty days. That there is some peculiar property in this stone appears from a circumstance that M. Mautour learnt from a credible gentleman of Burgundy, that almost all the horses died that drank out of one of these tombs used as a watering trough; whereas the same water given to others in a wooden trough had no ill effect. After all, he rather inclines to think, that this place was a magazine or place of sale of stone coffins brought ready made from the quarries of champ Rotard, and therefore they had no characters or figures cut on them. In an old MS in Mr. Savigny's library he finds that in the 13th century there were in and about Quarrees a considerable number of stone tombs that had never been used, and were not wanted after the custom of burying in churches was introduced.

The abbe Lebeuf seems to have accounted for the tombs at Civaux, that the place was the site of a stone-cutter's yard, whose principal employ was making of tombs¹. Among the many stone coffins are many pairs of stone seats, backs, copings of walls, lintels of gates, &c. There is even the sign or effigy of the stone-cutter himself represented at his work in high relief on a stone six feet long, the back of which being rude and convex, has occasioned it to be mistaken for the lid of a coffin. Many of these tombs are ranged in a semicircle, contrary to the practice of Christian interment. The same thing may be seen at St. Emilian, near Autun. Round the church of St. Gervase at Civaux are several coffins which have been removed from the general storehouse, and being placed East and West, have served for the burial of Christians. Behind this church, at the height of about a toise and a half, is a stone with this inscription in Roman characters:

<p>ATERNVM</p> <p>VIVATISINXPO.</p>

by which it appears that the church of this place is of the 11th century*.

In Poitou, as in other provinces, antiently parishes were not so thick set, and it was necessary to carry the dead two or three leagues to bury them. Civaux may therefore have received the dead of its neighbourhood, particularly the poor, because it was easier to carry the body to the coffin than to bring the coffin to the body. Something like this has been the case at Quarrees near Avalon in Burgundy. Both places have availed themselves of the coffins in a quarry, with this difference, that the quarry being at Civaux, the coffins were filled as fast as they could be got out of the quarry; whereas Quarrees being only an intermediate stage for those who could not reach the quarry at Champ Rotard, the coffins almost all remained empty because not drawn near enough

¹ *un atelier de tailleur de pierre.*

² Hist. de l'Acad. des Inf. XII. 120. 217—220.

to the cemetery, and the village was too distant and difficult of access to bring the dead to it from the neighbouring villages. The village of Ifangi adjoins the quarry of Champ Rotard, which furnished a thousand years ago coffins to the environs of Avalon and beyond. Accordingly in this village are found many coffins just as cut from the quarry¹, and more would appear above ground if the building of houses had not concealed or destroyed them. The same would have happened at Civaux if the peasants had removed their houses to the spot where the tombs are. These two or three villages are not the only ones which retain traces of the ancient usage. There are many in Poitou, Anjou, and Burgundy which retain the name of *Serqueux* or *Sarquex*, a name not very remote from *Sarcophagi*, and very probably derived from the coffins there sold or used to preserve bodies².

In the cemetery of St. Peter l'Etrier, half a league out of the city of Autun, and the first Christian cemetery, are an infinity of stone tombs made like troughs and all covered over, containing, without doubt, the bodies of as many holy persons. Among them two early bishops of Autun, each under a kind of little chapel, as described by Gregory of Tours³. Mr. Breval⁴ says, at half a league distance from the town there is a churchyard seemingly of the primitive Christian times, filled with an infinite number of old sarcophagi or stone-coffins, open and empty for the most part; a consequence probably of the zeal for relics on the first dawns of Popery; some of these that contained the bones of bishops or martyr, have been removed out of the way of casualties into a little adjoining chapel. In the *Cimetière d'Aliscamp* at Arles, a corruption from the *Elysii Campi*, Mr. Breval⁵ observed what he calls the never-failing marks of a Roman town, abundance of those stone-coffins, called in Italian *Arche*, and in Latin *Sarcophagi*. Many of them appear to have been repositories for Christians, and the adjoining cloister of the Minims contains great numbers of these. Mr. Thicknesse⁶ calls them Christian and Pagan coffins, and says some are unopened.

The following Account of stone coffins discovered at Chesterford was communicated by Thomas Walford, Esq. F. A. S. 1787.

"The stone coffins represented in the plate were discovered 1785, without the walls of the ancient Roman city *Camboritum*, now Great Chesterford, in Essex; they were found only two feet below the surface by some labourers digging gravel in the garden belonging to the mill house; they are roughly hewn out of a solid stone four inches thick, six feet eight inches long, two feet six inches wide at the head, and one foot six inches at the feet; the outside, exclusive of the lid, is one foot nine inches deep, the inside one foot two inches deep: the lid or cover is seven inches thick, and extends six or seven inches beyond the coffin on each side: the under side hollowed probably for the better containing a sufficient quantity of the composition which covered the bodies, and resembled the plaster of Paris; they were all encrusted with the same; a piece of it was sent me, with some of the teeth intire.

¹ *du grain de la carrière.*

² Le Beuf, *Diff. sur l'histoire ecclési. et civile de Paris*, I. 219—283.

³ *Voy. lit. de deux Bénédictins*, I. 162.

⁴ *Travels*, II. 121.

⁵ *Ib.* 174.

⁶ *Travels*, II. 25.





"A piece of lead two feet by one foot three inches [see Pl. I. fig. 3.] was found on one of the coffins, but no inscription of any kind. There were three coffins taken up, two circular at the head, and square at the feet [see fig. 1.] and one square at the head, and circular at the feet [see fig. 2.]; fig. 3. is the inside of the lid to fig. 1.

"I have examined several authors, and particularly the introduction to the Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain, but find no mention of stone coffins being found square at one end, and circular at the other. Was it to distinguish the sex? or was it the caprice of the stone cutter? From the situation they were found in I conclude they were Roman, for the "Romans (says Mr. Strutt)" were forbid by the law of the Twelve Tables² to bury in their cities or camps.

"These coffins were found at the same mill as the curious Roman urn³ mentioned by Mr. Morant in the History of Essex, p. 553. and were drawn by Mr. William Robinson."

From the same gentleman I received the following particulars of urns and skeletons discovered in the same county.

"The Roman military way from Malden to Haverhill castle, Salmon tells us, was formerly through the village of Birdbrooke. He says⁴ the military way from Colchester to *Camboritum*⁵ makes thirty miles. It leads through Fordstreet, Colne, Halsted, and at Castle Hedingham returns into the Ikening-street, to Malden, then by Bridgewell, *Batbome End*, (which is a part of Birdbrooke,) Stummers, to Haverhill; thence by a broad and direct way, crossing the road from Newmarket to Bourn Bridge, goes upon the hill towards Gogmagog. He likewise repeats it again, p. 135. We frequently find Roman urns, lachrymatories, skeletons, &c. Anno 1779, in a field called Oxley, belonging to Chadwell farm, one rod from the hedge (which divides it from the glebe land), and seven rod from the road, a labourer stubbing gravel found two skeletons. They lay only seven inches below the surface, in a very singular manner, their bodies forming a cross, with two urns, one placed between them a little below their shoulders, and another between their hip-bones; the latter in taking up was broke; the former was taken out whole (see Pl. I. fig. 4.); it is of clay slightly baked, seven inches high and two inches wide. It was carried home by the surveyor of the turnpike, and presented to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Raymond, of Walter Belchamp, in whose possession it now is. The head of one lay three inches lower than the other, I imagine occasioned by the soil being looser, and consequently the ground sinking more there than under the other. It is probable, by the manner they were interred, they were relations or very intimate friends, as all that were found near them lay single.

"Most of the urns have been taken up nearer the present turnpike-road, which I believe has been made for a considerable way on the original military road. About forty rod from the above, before the road was made turnpike, there were evident traces of the military way near Honneck's Chase; and within the Chase may bodies have been found.

"Likewise on the glebe land which joins Oxley many bodies, but no urns, have been dug up.

¹ Strutt's Antiq. Vol. I. p. 63.

² Cicero de Leg. II. 23.

³ Engraved in Camden's Britannia, Essex, II. Pl. I. fig. 18.

⁴ Salmon, Survey of England, p. 143.

⁵ Which he places on Gogmagog hills.

"In a field in the adjoining parish of Steeple Bumpstead, divided from this by a branch from the river Stour, many skeletons and urns have been discovered. Some labourers stubbing gravel for George Gent, Esq. found ten bodies arranged side by side; likewise some urns and lacrymatories, most of them broke by the pickax; those which were worth preserving were given by the above gentleman to a friend for Mr. Thomas, of Salisbury square, Fleetstreet, who, I believe, is now in the possession of them. This field and Oxley in Bird-brooke are close to the spot where Bumpstead Tower formerly stood¹. The urn and lacrymatory, of the same size as engraved fig. 6. and 7. were found about 1773, in a field called Stulps, adjoining Watloe bridge, in the same parish of Steeple Bumpstead, with several other Roman antiquities. I hear of but one coin being found, and that imperfect: many have been found at Ridgewell, which are now at St. John's college, Cambridge.

"The Roman vessel, fig. 8. and the fragment, fig. 9. were found on Goddard's farm, in Thaxted parish."

In digging the canal through the site of Godstow nunnery a few years ago, the labourers turned up several stone coffins: one, which was entire, deep on the outside, 2½ inches thick, has on its lid, which is 3½ inches thick, a cross on steps, the transverse and top finished with shields, and on the middle of the shaft a shield reversed. Within was a large skull well preserved and having most of the teeth in the jaws, and some pieces of the tibiae, all bedded in a light blue mould. The whole is carefully preserved in the museum of Mr. Fletcher in Broad Street, Oxford, and engraved from a drawing by Mr. Carter. Pl. I. fig. 10.

Mr. Erwood, surveyor and auctioneer of Edmonton, bought at the sale of a stone mason's stock in London a number of new stone and marble coffins with lids which had been imported from Italy: each of the marble ones was valued at £.50. and Mr. Erwood having offered to sell them at £. 5. 5s. apiece found it most to his advantage to cut them up for slabs and chimney pieces.

Humphrey Morris, esq. who died at Naples, 1785, was buried at a great depth in the churchyard of Sta. Maria alla Reina, in a coffin of cast iron, fastened with two locks, of which his executors in England have the key.

A lady is buried in a vault in the church of Hayes in Kent, in a coffin of solid lead, which required sixteen men to carry it. It had been prepared before her death, and her husband intends to have such another. Mr. Jones of Stepney, loving room in his lifetime, was put, dressed in silk stockings, laced waistcoat, &c. &c. into an oak coffin of such large dimensions that his body was shaken about in moving.

In 1259 the bones of Odda founder of the abbey of Perfhore were found in the chapel of St. Mary, at Perfhore, where they had been deposited in a chest of lead (*cista plumbea*) after the second burning of that church, 1223. Within was this inscription on lead:

"Odda dux quondam priscis temporibus Aedwinus vocatus in baptismo, cultor Dei, monachus effectus fuit ante mortem suam, his requiescit.
"Sit ei gaudium in pace cum Christo Deo. Amen."

Near them were also found, at the same time, the bones of Foldrith first abbot, in another leaden case*.

* See Morant's Essex, II. p. 348.

† Hist. per monachum Evesham vel Perfore, in Leland's Collectanea, I. 286, 287.

In a chapel or aisle, called Trinity aisle, on the North side of the parish church of Mavefyn-Ridware in Staffordshire, amongst other antient tombs is one under an ornamented niche in the North wall to the memory of Sir Henry Mauvesyn, Knight, lord of Ridware Mauvesyn. His effigy in stone lies on it armed cap-a-pie in mail, excepting the plates on his knees; his head rests on two cushions, and his surcot flows to his ancles; three bendlets are cut upon the shield which covers his left arm, the belt of it passing over his right shoulder; his legs are crossed, the right leg being uppermost; his feet rest upon a lion, and he is in the action of drawing his sword. On the edge of the stone, under the effigy, and at the upper end of it, are carved five small pointed shields, with no less than twenty others along the front of the stone, on one of which the bendlets are faintly visible, and on several there is an appearance of different bearings, now scarcely to be made out distinctly. The repeated coats of white-wash being removed with the point of a knife, it appeared that the mail armour was once painted a dirty olive green; the uppermost cushion had been chequered with scarlet and light green, the surcot red, lined with the same green, and a little red was visible on the shield. On Friday, Sept. 2, 1785, the above-mentioned effigy being removed, a grave appeared underneath, lined regularly on the four sides with two courses of free-stone, this masonry joining to, but forming no part of, the chapel-walls; it was filled up with chippings and other rubbish of stone, which being cleared away, on the bare moist gravel at the depth of two feet three inches from the surface lay the leaden coffin, apparently surrounded with a small quantity of blackish soil, which might be the remains of an outer wooden coffin. After it had been exposed to the air, and the outside of the coffin was become dry, the whitish remains of linen cloth became visible upon the surface of the lead, the very threads being curiously and distinctly traced all over it wherever the spade had not scraped it off. By the shape it should seem that the corpse had been laid upon a large sheet of pretty strong lead, which was then beaten to and closed over the body, and finally foldered along the ridge of the coffin from head to foot.

	Feet.	Inches.
Greatest length	6	4
Girth at the shoulders	3	3½
Girth at the middle where most prominent	3	2
Girth across the ancles	2	2



On opening the coffin the bones were found, but moist, the bottom of the coffin being much decayed by the moisture of the ground; no other remains appeared except some fragments of very thin cerecloth, and a few pieces of a brown, soft, elastic, leather-like substance about the middle of the coffin, which soon grew dry, hard, and brittle.

	Inches.
Length of the right arm bone . . .	13 $\frac{1}{8}$
Ditto below the elbow . . .	10
Ditto of one of the ribs . . .	10
Length of the right thigh bone . . .	19
Ditto of the right leg bone . . .	15 $\frac{1}{4}$

	Feet.	Inches.
Length of the grave . . .	6	6
Depth of it . . .	2	3
Width at the head . . .	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
— at the feet . . .	1	6

The above named Sir Henry Mauvesyn was the first of the family who used the bendlets on his seal, as appears by the different seals now remaining affixed to the Ridware deeds. He was the eldest son and heir of Sir Robert Mauvesyn, knight, lord of Ridware Mauvesyn, who died about 1256, by dame Alicia (Dufre or Dunston, it seems) his wife. In the reign of Edward I. sans date, this Sir Henry granted, for his own soul, the soul of dame Katherine (his wife) and his ancestors, a certain rent-charge to the *fraternity of Jerusalem*. Query, was he a knight *Hospitaler*? It appears he died about the year 1318; for he himself grants by deed in 1317, and his son Robert grants in 1319.

In Windmill field near the West end of the town at Colchester was found, 1749-50, a leaden coffin, not lying due East and West, but N.E. and S.W. In it was a quantity of dust, and only some very small remains of the back bone and the skull in two pieces. There lay near the head two bracelets of jet, one plain, the other scalloped, and a very small and slender one of brass wrought, and four bodkins of jet. The coffin was cast or wrought all over with lozenges, in each of which was an escallop shell, but no date. Near it was found an urn holding about a pint, in which were two coins of large brass, one of Antoninus Pius, the other of Alexander Severus¹.

¹ Morant's Colchester, p. 183.

In the foundations of Dowdeswell house, Gloucestershire, when rebuilt in this century, were found near the surface, leaden coffins, supposed of the Romans, after the introduction of Christianity¹.

Mr. T. White communicated the following account of discoveries in Danbury church to the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*².

"On the 16th of October, 1779, as some workmen were digging a grave for the interment of Mrs. Frances Ffytche, in the north aisle³ of the parish-church of Danbury, Essex, just beneath a niche in the North wall, wherein is placed the effigy of a man in armour carved in wood, in a cumbent posture, and cross-legged⁴, they discovered, about thirty inches from the surface of the pavement, beneath a very massy stone⁵, a leaden coffin without any inscription thereon, or marks where any had been affixed. Judging that this coffin enclosed the body of the Knight Templar represented by the effigy, I communicated my opinion to the late Rev. Mr. De L'Angle, the then very worthy rector, and Lewis Disney Ffytche, Esq. of Danbury place, churchwarden, who concurring in the same idea, resolved to open the coffin, but deferred it a day or two, to avail themselves of the company and information of the late Rev. Dr. Gower, of Chelmsford, an eminent physician and antiquary, who was requested to attend on the Monday following.

¹ Bigland's Collections.

² LIX. 337, 338.

³ The Eastern part of this aisle is enclosed by a partition apparently as old as any part of the church, and seems to have been appropriated solely to the use of the owners of St. Clere's hall, or Danbury place, as a chapel, chantry, or burial-place. There are two arches in the North wall of this enclosed part, in each of which lies the effigy of a Knight Templar, in armour, curiously carved in wood, and still in fine preservation. A similar arch, enclosing another effigy of a Knight Templar, was in the wall of the fourth aisle of this church till the year 1776, when the whole aisle was taken down and rebuilt; since which the effigy usually lies on the floor of the North aisle. These effigies are all cross-legged; the feet of each are supported by a lion; but every lion and every man are in a different position. One Knight is in a praying attitude, his hands being folded together, his sword sheathed; the lion which supports his feet seems to lie quite at his ease, with his face turned towards the Knight's face, that is, as I conceive it, towards home. Perhaps this is emblematic of the Knight having returned from the Crusades, and died at home in peace. Another of the Knights is in the act of drawing his sword; the lion at his feet appears less pacific than the former, and his head turned from the Knight's face: that this expresses the Crusader having died in the holy wars, seems (I think) very likely. The third Knight is represented as returning his sword into the scabbard, the lion in a position different from the other two, as he neither looks directly to nor from the face of the Knight, but straight forward, and seems journeying on: this, it is probable, represents the Crusader as having died in his passage from the wars. But these are the mere conjectures of a man who does not desire to impose them on the publick as of any weight, but wishes for better information on so curious a subject. It has been matter of great dispute amongst antiquaries, whether these figures represent the D'Arcies or the Sancto Claros. Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments*, says, they are the former; while the author of the *History of Essex* and many other persons contend that they are the Sancto Claros, or St. Cleres, urging, that the latter inhabited this parish from the reign of Stephen till Edward II.; whereas the first of the D'Arcy family did not reside here till the beginning of the 15th century, near 150 years after the conclusion of the Crusades. But the argument may, I think, be comprised in a nutshell, and Weever's error be instantly manifested; and it is matter of astonishment that this mode of reasoning has never before been thought of. The arches, which are exactly built for enclosing the effigies, are evidently coeval with the church. The church was built long before the D'Arcies had possessions in the parish, and very probably by the family of the St. Cleres, as their arms are emblazoned in several small compartments of the antique waincot ceiling of the chancel. If this be admitted, there can be no doubt but the figures represent the Sancto Claros: and if the effigy first above-mentioned belonged to the embalmed body which we found, that body must have lain there 500 years.

⁴ See it engraved Vol. I. Pl. VI. fig. 4.

⁵ This stone is now placed in the church-porch, over the burial-place appropriated to the family of the writer of this account.

"Some professional engagements deprived us of the Doctor's company and observations : however, the workmen proceeded to open the coffin. On raising the lead, there was discovered an elm coffin enclosed, about one fourth of an inch thick, very firm and entire. On removing the lid of this coffin, it was found to enclose a shell about three quarters of an inch thick, which was covered over with a thick cement of a dark olive colour, and of a resinous nature. The lid of this shell being carefully taken off, we were presented with a view of the body, laying in a liquor or pickle, somewhat resembling mushroom catchup, but of a paler complexion, and somewhat thicker consistence. As I never possessed the sense of smelling, and was willing to ascertain the flavour of the liquor, I tasted it, and found it to be aromatic, though not very pungent, partaking of the taste of catchup and of the pickle of Spanish olives. The body was tolerably perfect, no part appearing decayed but the throat and part of one arm. The flesh every where, except on the face and throat, appeared exceedingly white and firm ; the face was of a dark colour, approaching to black ; the throat, which was much lacerated, was of the same colour. The body was covered with a kind of short linen, not unlike Irish cloth of the fineness of what is now usually retailed at three shillings per yard ; a narrow rude antique lace was affixed to the bosom of the shirt, the stitches were very evident, and attached very strongly. The linen adhered rather closely to the body ; but on my raising it from the breast, to examine the state of the skin more minutely, a considerable piece was torn off, with part of the lace on it. This I have in my possession, for the inspection of the curious ; it is in good preservation, and of considerable strength.

"The coffin not being half full of the pickle, the face, breast, and belly, were of course not covered with it ; the inside of the body seemed to be filled with some substance which rendered it very hard. There was no hair on the head, nor do I remember any in the liquor, though feathers, flowers, and herbs in abundance were floating, the leaves and stalks of which appeared quite perfect, but totally discoloured. The appearance of the feathers helped us to discover the cause of the dark appearance of the face and throat. The coffin was not placed in a position exactly horizontal, the feet being at least three inches lower than the head, the greater part of the liquor consequently remained at the feet ; the pillow which supported the head, in process of time, decayed, and the head unsupported fell back, lacerating the throat and neck, which with the face appeared to have been discoloured from the decay of the cloth or substance that covered them. The jaws, when first discovered, were closed ; but, on being somewhat rudely touched, expanded, owing, as was supposed, to the breaking of some bandage that bound them together ; when the jaws were opened, they exhibited a set of teeth perfectly white, which was likewise the colour of the palate, and all the inside of the mouth.

"Whether the legs were crossed or not, must for ever remain a doubt, though I am strongly of opinion that they were ; for one of the gentlemen pushing a walking

walking-stick rather briskly from the knees to the ancles, the left foot separated from the leg somewhere about the ancle.

"The limbs were of excellent symmetry: the general appearance of the whole body conveyed the idea of hearty youth, not in the least emaciated by sickness. The whole length of the corpse very little exceeded five feet, though the shell which enclosed it was five feet six inches within.—After the above remarks were made, the church-doors were opened; and the parishioners and others having satisfied their curiosity, the shell and wooden coffin were fastened down, the leaden coffin was again folded, and the whole left, as near as circumstances would admit, *in statu quo*."

Richard Whittington, four times mayor of London, who died 1423 was buried in lead, in the church of St. Michael Royal, out of which the parson, in Edward the Sixth's time, took his body, in hope of treasure, and buried it. But queen Mary obliged the parishioners to replace it in lead¹.

In making a vault for Dr. Waterland, in Bray's chapel, in St. George's chapel at Windsor, 1742, they found a leaden coffin of ancient form, supposed to have been that of Sir Reginald Bray, who died 1503. By order of the dean it was directly arched over².

Mr. Crawford, speaking of lord Semple's monument and vault at Castle Semple, says his successors lie in leaden coffins, as if that was a rarity³.

In a chest (*caisse*) by the side of the altar at St. Paul in Paris were found human bones wrapt in red stuff, with a little staff shod with iron at bottom, and broken into three pieces, a leaden plate with these two words, *Quintiani abbatis*, and three instruments on parchment setting forth three different examinations of these relics, 1295. 1350. and 1377⁴.

Brunebaut queen of France put to a cruel death by order of Clotaire II. A. D. 614. was buried in the subterraneous chapel of our Lady in the church of St. Martin at Autun which she built. Her tomb removed thence into the church near the sacristy, under an arch of hewn stone, is of a coarse grey marble, in form of a trough, covered with a large slab of black marble speckled with white, six feet long, two feet wide, and one foot three inches high, on four marble pillars, with an epitaph in old French. This tomb being opened by the then abbot, 1632, in it was found a leaden box containing ashes, coals, and a spur rowel; which were all replaced, and the box shut up⁵.

Humphrey duke of Gloucester, at St. Alban's, lies in a wooden coffin shaped like the stone ones.

¹ Stowe's London, p. 257.

² Pote's Windsor Guide, 1783. p. 65.

³ History of Renfrewshire, p. 10.

⁴ Lebeuf, Dioc. de Paris, II. p. 526.

⁵ Voy. lit. de deux Bened. I. 158.

One of the late Roman Pontiffs, who died within the present century, Clement XII. or XIII. was buried in three coffins; one of cypress wood, the second of lead, and the third of oak; ten medals of gold were placed in the first, in the other ten of silver, and in the last ten of metal. The coffins were ornamented with the portrait of his holiness, and the actions which had passed during the ten years of his pontificate.

Mr. Kingston conjectured that the body found under Stowbarrow was that of Edward the Martyr, deposited there hastily by his attendants in the habit he wore when he fell from his horse stabbed and poisoned. The spot is not above two miles from Wareham, and they might have hollowed the first tree they met with, and putting him into it have raised the barrow over him. The wooden vessel he conceives to have been the cup wherein the poison was administered deposited with him, to shew posterity who it was, if he should chance to be disturbed. But when he adds, that it is begging the question to suppose his body was removed to Shaftsbury because a monument was erected to him in that monastery, he contradicts the whole chain of historic evidence. The Saxon Chronicle, p. 124, 125. A. D. 980. expressly says, he was removed from Wareham, where he had been buried two years before without the regal honours, to Shaftsbury, by St. Dunstan and Elfare the alderman with great honour. Portions of his body were removed afterwards to Leominster and Abingdon¹.

Peter de Lacy rector of Northfleet, in Kent, was found on removing the stone over him, wrapt up in leather, and his hair red².

At the South door, under the steps of Lichfield cathedral, was found, Nov. 1668, a corpse with his chalice and white staff [crozier] by him: his bones hanging together almost like an anatomy lapt up first in hair cloth, then in silk, and last in a russet coloured blanket³.

At the dissolution of Swinfield abbey George Holland with his elder brother and divers other gentlemen saw the body of Sir Ralph Holland their ancestor entombed there, on the right hand of the choir, by the high altar, as the chief founder of the house, who was there buried A° 1262. lye as wholly to the sight of the eyes as might be; but being touched with a little stone falling from the brink of the tomb, it wholly dissolved to dust⁴.

The body of St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, preserved in the cathedral of Auxerre, in his pontifical habit, in a great shrine of gilt wood, shews his bare head through a glass. St. Louis had one of the arms separated, to be shewn in a gold reliquary; but the flesh is black, whereas that of the body is

¹ Knighton, col. 2314. Higden, p. 269.

² Custom. Roff. p. 136.

³ Letter from Robert Field there to Francis Willughby, in Peck's Life of Milton, p. 82.

⁴ Pedigree of Holland by him, in Blomefield's Norfolk, I. 232.

very white. Matthew Paris says¹, the monks of Pontigny cut off the right arm, to prevent the concourse of people, particularly English, who, contrary to the Cistercian rule, were permitted to visit his shrine, and now women in general, and gives the reason of the change of colour, that when this limb was separated from the body, the religious, fearing it might corrupt, embalmed it; and that, in punishment of their want of faith, the arm became immediately quite black. The good Benedictine monk, who saw it in the beginning of the present century, is of opinion that the miracle still continues, it being impossible that embalming should preserve this flesh near five hundred years. In the treasury is preserved St. Edmund's chalice and paten, which had been interred with him².

At St. Germain's at Auxerre the tomb of St. Germain is in the middle, and round him the greater part of the bishops his successors, whose bodies are still preserved entire in their tombs. They were opened by bishop Segurier, and some of the bodies found in their hair-cloth and monastic habits³.

On new paving the nave of Gloucester cathedral, 1787, the workmen uncovered a stone coffin, which lay so near the surface that it had no other covering but the old pavement. It contained a body in a robe or gown, as of serge, and leathern boots; the leather still retaining a degree of firmness, nor had it totally lost its elastic quality. The robe was decayed, and though it had in some places the appearance of folds, on touching it turned to dust. The bones were not injured. In the hand of the deceased was a crozier neatly adorned with silver which had been gilt and burnished; it was chiefly of wood, and the staff perfectly hard and sound. The cavity of the coffin, which was of one stone, measured six feet and an half in length. It had been opened in 1741, but replaced by bishop Benson. This is generally supposed to have been the body of John Wigmore, prior, who was made abbot 1327, and dying 1337, was buried on the South side, near the entrance of the choir which he inclosed⁴.

Guthlac's coffin being opened six months after his interment, his body was found whole as when living, and his limbs so flexible as to look more like a person asleep than dead, the garments in which he was wrapt not only unfaded, but resplendent with antique novelty and pristine whiteness⁵. His sister Pega wrapt it in the linen, which Egbert the hermit had sent for that purpose to him in his life-time, and she did not deposit the sarcophagus in the earth; but in a certain *memorial*⁶ erected by king Ethelbald in a very ornamented style, where the body still rests⁷.

¹ P. 778.

² Voy. de deux relig. Benedict. I. 58.

³ Ib. 56.

⁴ Archaeol. IX. 10—12.

⁵ antiqua novitate et pristino candore splendebant.

⁶ memoriale.

⁷ Life of St. Guthlac, at the end of the Hist. of Croyland; Bibl. Top. Brit. N° XL. p. 151.

The new paving the cathedral church at Lincoln, which, after being completed in the body, had last year advanced to the South aisle of the choir, suggested a most favourable opportunity for investigating into the intention of a projection of stone-work in form of a bafe and steps from the middle of the wall which inclosed the South side of the chancel¹. The remains of a span of arch-work from the top of the pannel of raised arch-work in which these stood, with the springs of a canopy apparently knocked down at the Reformation, with a stone seat or altar, under which a little of a stone-coffin, marked * in Plate II. appeared, as well as a similar projection at the sides of the larger member of the bafe, presented an appearance of a tomb or shrine forming a canopy and pillars something like that represented in Pl. XXIX. of Dr. Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*, Vol. I. from a drawing in Lord Hatton's library, which the Doctor in his plate calls "The shrine of St. Hugh the Burgundian, bishop of Lincoln, in the *South isle* of the cathedral there behind the choir," though in p. 86 he had said, "St. Hugh the Burgundian built the *East end* of St. Mary's Chapel, where he had a shrine." This draught Mr. Lethieullier considered as intended for the shrine in the *South aisle of the choir*, to whomsoever that shrine belonged. His penetration led him to see that the same saint, even though the patron or founder of the building, never had *two* shrines in it. Consequently there must have been two saints of the name of Hugh to whom this church had obligation. It immediately occurred to him, that the second St. Hugh was no less a person than a boy of eight years old crucified by the Jews in this city A. D. 1255, in derision of the crucifixion of our Blessed Saviour. The story is told at full length by Matthew Paris, who was a contemporary historian, and died within five years after the event. He adds, that after the body was discovered in a well in the house of one of the Jews, by John de Lexington, the canons of this church begged it, and having obtained it, after the fullest view by numbers of people, interred it honourably in the cathedral, as the body of a precious martyr. No less than eighteen wealthy Jews in Lincoln, and upwards of twenty-three in London, suffered public execution on this occasion. The public records cited by Mr. Lethieullier confirm the fact², and young Hugh of Lincoln maintained his credit as a saint

to

¹ See it drawn by Mr. Grimm, in Pl. II. fig. 1; and at fig. 2. the situation of the stone coffin at its first appearance after the stone chair was taken away and the screen partly undiscovered. Fig. 3. is the stone coffin uncovered, and exhibiting the leaden one; fig. 4. is the latter after its cover was taken off.

² In an ancient MS. of the Dean and Chapter, containing copies of the deeds and charters relative to the chantry founded in this church by John Welbourn its treasurer 40 Edward III. is the following curious deed, which conveys the house that belonged to Elye (Elias) the son of James the Jew, who was hanged at Lincoln on account of a boy said to have been crucified at Lincoln: and lands of another Jew outlawed on account of the said boy:

"Henricus, Dei gratia, rex Angli, Dominus Hiberni, Dux Normani, Acquit, & comes Andegavi, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiis, vicecomitibus, praepositis, ministris, & omnibus ballivis & fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos, per sine qua Thomae de Bellofago & Jolies Longus, cives Lincoln, fecerunt nobiscum, dedisse, concessisse, & hac carta nostra confirmasse, pro nobis & heredibus nostris, eidem Thomae & Jolies, domum quam fuit Elye filius Jacobi Judaei suspensus pro puero ut dicebatur crucifixus apud Lincoln, quam dictus Elias tenuit in pocius Sancti Cuthberti, inter terram pocius filii Bndei Judaei versus austrum, & terram pocius versus aquilonem, quam etiam domus est de feodo regimine de Merton; & omnes terras, domus, et redditus, quae fuerunt pocius magni Judaei Lincoln utlag pro praedicti puero; scilicet, quandam domum quam fuit ipse pocius juxta terram Bndei de London Judaei, quam est de feodo prioris de Okeleyton, & unam domum quam fuit ipse pocius de feodo abbatis de Colchester, et unam domum quam fuit ipse pocius de feodo Urscil filii Manfell elici; quae tres domus sunt sitae in pocius Sancti Martini,

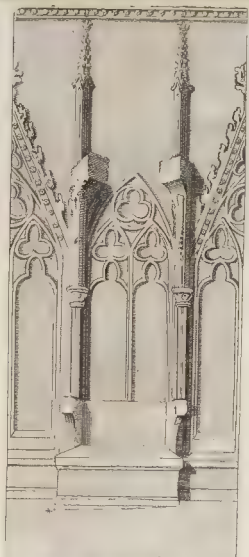


Fig. 1

Fig. 2



Fig. 3

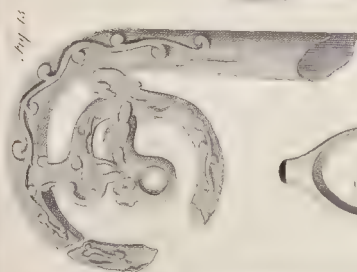


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

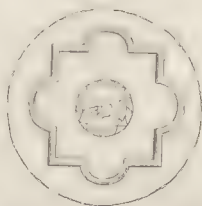


Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

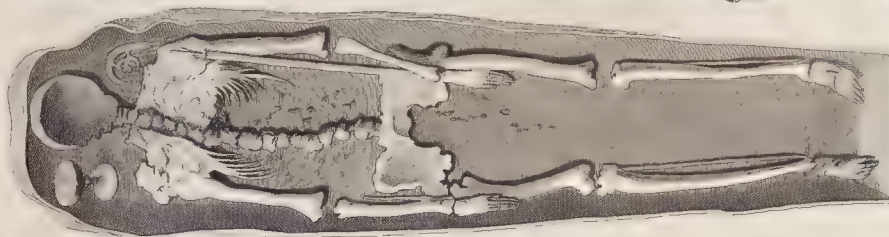


Fig. 12

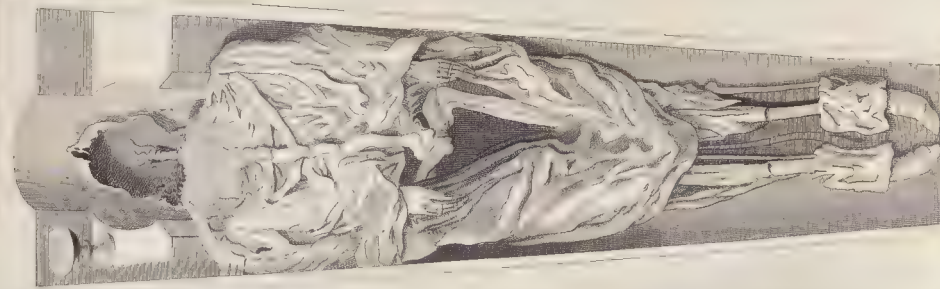


Fig. 13

to the days of Chaucer. The opinion of one of the minor canons confirmed Mr. Lethieullier's, and the verger shewed him a statue of a boy, about twenty inches high, made of freestone and painted, which tradition affirmed to have been removed from the tomb or shrine, a sketch of which was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, and is engraved in the Introduction to the first volume of this work, p. lii. The marks of crucifixion are observable in the hands and feet, and the wound in the right side from which blood was painted streaming'. The left hand is on the breast, but the right held up with the two fingers extended in the usual posture of benediction, which attitude Mr. Lethieullier apprehended denoted his being a saint, as the wounds his being a martyr. The head was broken off, probably at the time when the statues in this church shared the same fate. This figure was set in a by-place just behind the high altar, where Mr. Lethieullier found it covered with dust and obscurity. It was probably removed from thence when the present altar-piece was erected from a design of the late Mr. Essex, and has never been thought of since. Mr. Willis readily concurred in opinion with Mr. Lethieullier.

The Annals of Burton say the Dean and Canons buried the boy near the tomb of the most holy father Robert bishop of this see'. This is bishop Robert Grosseteste, whose tomb is generally believed to have been at the South end of the upper South transept; and as he was accounted a Saint, no wonder little Hugh was enshrined so near him as only the distance of the length of the transept.

The late Mr. Bradley had adopted another conjecture concerning this monument, that it was the place of an image of the Virgin Mary, before which lay a large marble slab uninscribed, which the Dean and Chapter granted to Chancellor Maffingberd, 1533, for his own use. Are we at liberty to conjecture that the image of the Virgin stood over the shrine?

The workmen having reported; that on removing the old pavement they had discovered something like a stone coffin, the present occasion offered by the new pavement was properly improved for prosecuting the search; and the late Precentor, whose spirit of investigation into these matters cannot be enough commended, availed himself of the arrival of the Dean, and the concurrence of the Chancellor, to carry this design into execution. On Thursday, Aug. 25,

Martini, int' terrā dñi Bndei de London' vers'us aquilonem, terrā quæ fuit Manfell elici vers'us austrum, & quand' domum quam dictus Pict' tenuit in Brauncegate in dict' pochia int' terram Adæ pistoris vers'us orientem, & terram Joſei de Colecheſter vers'us occidentem de feod' monialium de Sempringham, et dimidium marcam annui red' de terrā quæ fuit Ric' de Wiberne in poch' Scti Edm' in Lincoln' quæ Jacobus filius Leonis solebat recipere; Habend' & tenend' prædict' Thomæ & Johi, & eor' hæred' & assign' de nobis & nris hæred' in perpetuum, faciend' inde capital' dñis feodor' servitia inde debita & consueta: Quare volumus & firm' p'cipimus, faciend' inde capital' dñis feodor' servitia inde debita & consueta: Quare volumus & firm' p'cipimus, faciend' inde capital' dñis feodor' servitia inde debita & consueta, sicut prædictum est. Hiis test', Willmo de Chabenays, Henr. de Bathon', Magro Simone de Watton, Willmo de Grey, Arcaldo de Scto Romano, Nicho de Turry, Willmo Bouquer, Barthoe de Bygot, Phō de Bekelond, & aliis. Dat p manum nram apud Westm', decimo die Octob', anno regni nri quadragesimo."

¹ The Annals of Burton represent the whole transaction as a very bloody business. They pierced him with their knives till his body was all over blood. Knighton, p. 2444, is very brief about it.

² P. 348.

being

being all assembled on the spot, the bates and step were removed, not without some labour, and presented a covering stone adapted to the proportion of the body presumed to be concealed under it. No sooner was the covering lifted up than the expected stone coffin appeared lying level with the pavement. Its dimensions were found to be in length three feet nine inches and an half; in width at the East end fifteen inches and an half; at the West twenty-one. At the depth of two inches and an half below the edge was a sheet of thin lead, which being taken off disclosed in a lead coffin the complete skeleton of a boy three feet three inches long; the bones remarkably firm, particularly the vertebræ. The head was uncommonly large, a disproportion usual in infancy, and was visibly raised in the coffin; the under jaw was distorted, and fallen, and which was a circumstance peculiarly remarkable, the two front teeth next to the eye teeth on each side of the two fore-teeth, both in the upper and lower-jaw, had not grown half way out of the socket before the death of the lad, and were capable of being pushed up and down, as was proved by experiment in one of the upper set. The Annals of Burton relate a remarkable circumstance here, that the Jews cut off the child's nose and upper-lip, and broke his principal upper teeth'. The bones of the hands had separated, but those of the feet remained *in situ*, in the original wrapper, very small portions of which were existing and discoverable adhering to the scull. The vertebræ of the neck felt like the substance of a cork. There was no appearance of hair on the head, but very fine flaxen hair appeared upon the petrosal. No marks of violence appeared to have been inflicted on the bones. These were probably, as the Historian represents them, only flesh wounds, with the point of their *anelaces* or knives. N° 2. is a drawing of the body in the leaden coffin, taken on the spot by Mr. Grimm.

On lifting the coffin with its contents out of the stone-receptacle a hole was found in the bottom of the latter, not exactly in the centre of either diameter, but nearer the left side or Northern edge; into this hole all moisture was conveyed by five channels or ducts cut in the bottom, three of them issuing like rays from it, and two more parallel with the side of the coffin; thus,



which it is not improbable may have been intended to allude to the five wounds of Christ*. See it in Pl. II. fig. 5.

From the two last Dr. Gordon conjectured some communication subsisted with the vaults, which he has traced under the West end of the choir from the entrance to the brass lectern, and furnished an opportunity for the canons to distribute holy oil, or liquor, as emanating from the saint's remains; a miraculous

* *Principales dentium confringentes superiores*, p. 344.

* A reference to which was not unfrequent on tombstones; Bishop Saunderson gives one in the North aisle of this church, inscribed with this pentameter,

"Vulnera quinque Dei sunt medicina mea."

pretension, which, it is well known, was annexed to the tomb of Bishop Groffeste, who died 1253, only two years before the murder of this child. Perhaps they gave out that the little corpse exuded *blood* perpetually : as its foster-mother recovered her sight by the moisture from the body before it was buried¹.

The present discovery, important as it is on many accounts, is not less so from its being the only instance of a canonized body that has survived to this period of time from its first interment. The body of St. Guthbert, preserved inviolable and uncorrupt till the Dissolution, was, at that period, after several rude attempts to pull it in pieces, deposited by the prior and monks of Durham, by the King's command, "in the ground under the place where his shrine was exalted²." We have no authority for supposing that this was the case here : if it was, it is probable the decay of this body, and consumption of all its fleshy parts, was the effect of such second interment, and that the monks would rather have taken the proper measures for preserving it, as St. Guthbert's, whole and entire, "the skin and sinews holding the bones, so that they would not come asunder³." The body of that saint was lodged like that of Edward the Confessor, and that of Archbishop Becket, in a chest strongly bound with iron.⁴ Length of time, and the want of fostering care of the religious, had occasioned the royal body to fall into decay, and be reduced to a skeleton, in which state it is described to be in the year 1685. Stowe speaks of the burning of Becket's bones, after the Reformation ; as if no more of him remained.

The Rev. Mr. Carter of Lincoln, from the appearance of the coffin, and other circumstances, had formed the same opinion, that the decay of the child's body is accounted for from the supposition of a second interment. The stone-coffin was covered with a pretty thick coat of stucco, that might easily be peeled off, which had been painted or variegated ; the colours of green, blue, and red, were clearly discernible. This stucco was on the ends, and the side next the aisle, but not on that next the choir ; which clearly shews, that it must originally have been in a more exposed and elevated situation. For to what purpose could stucco have been put on a stone coffin that was to be covered with earth ? or, if it was to be put on, why not on *all* the sides ? On the West end of the coffin were two small black holes, by which it had been connected to some other adjoining wood or stone in its *former* situation, as there appeared to be no corresponding holes for rivets in the stone then placed next it. Another circumstance, which tends to confirm this opinion, was the lid of the coffin, which could never have been the original one. It was of a different kind of stone, unformed, and barely covered the inner edges, so as to lie upon it. It was exactly on a level with the old pavement ; for which situation it might be better adapted than the proper lid. In the present new pavement it is considerably raised above it. We may therefore fairly conjecture that this coffin had at first been placed in some form (perhaps like a table-monument) above ground,

¹ humore corporis cruentata. Ann. Burt. p. 347.

² Davis, Rites of Durham, p. 112—114.

which might gratify the worshippers with a closer contact with the body of the saint; and that, like St. Cuthbert's, it was deposited in the ground beneath, at the time when Henry in his commission gave injunctions to the Dean and others "to take down such monuments as might give any occasion of memory of "superstition and idolatry".

To this opinion there is but one objection—that in the return to Henry's commission, 1540¹, there is mention only of two shrines in the cathedral church of Lincoln, "the one of pure gold, called St. Hugh's shrine, standing in the backside of the high altar, near unto Dalison's tomb; the place is easily to be known by the irons yet fastened in the pavement stones there. The other called St. John of Dalderby his shrine, was of pure silver, standing in the South end of the great cross aisle, not far from the door where the Gallery court is used to be kept." In this description both the situation of the shrines and the persons to whom they belonged, two canonized bishops of Lincoln, are accurately defined. We must therefore suppose, either that the shrine in question was not sufficiently decorated with rich materials to be an object to the commissioners, or that it was removed before the issuing of this commission, which seems to have been of general extent, for in 1530 and in 1538 the shrines of St. Wolstan and St. Oswald were taken down, and their bones, together with those of bishop de Constantii, were wrapt in lead, and buried at the North end of the high altar in Worcester cathedral².

Whether the child was actually *crucified*, it is now impossible to ascertain: that it was murdered in some very cruel manner, we have every traditional and historical evidence to believe. For we cannot suppose, even in times when the laws were not so well defined, and the administration of justice was more arbitrary, that so many would have been found guilty and have suffered for a crime, if there had been no foundation for the accusation. The *ut dicebatur*, if not words of form in such grants³, do not imply any doubt of the murder, but the manner of it. It is true no marks of violence could be discovered on the skeleton. But one circumstance seemed curious. On examining the body in the vestry, whither it was removed in the leaden *envelope* after its disinterment, one of the *metatarsal* bones appeared to have its outward coat or enamel scraped off pretty deep into the *earthy table*. Whether this might have been forced off by the driving of a nail through the foot, or whether it had been

¹ Dugdale, Mon. Ang. Vol. III. p. 286.

² Ib. 287.

³ Nash's Worcesterhire, II. Append. p. 97.

⁴ Twenty-nine years after this, a namesake, probably a son, of one of the persons to whom the Jews' houses were granted, was mayor of the city.

"Richard de Bellofago, mayor of Lincoln in 1284.

"Hugh Robertson and William Hunwin, bailiffs.

"Roger Alanfon, governor of the castle and coroner of the city." MS. penes Mr. Fardell.

A fine upon a Jew's house in Lincoln is still paid into the Exchequer by the Sheriffs of Lincoln. The following is a copy of the charge, which is regularly sent down every year.

"Of the Sheriffs of Lincoln for that } XI s.

"house in Lincoln, which was Benner's the } and XX s.

"Jew, which Robert had in Lincoln, } and X d.

This blank might be the name of one concerned in this murder; and some clerk probably not being able to read it, might occasion the blank to be left originally, as it is now continued to be copied.

a quicker decay of the bone in that part, cannot be determined; but it certainly exhibited an appearance very different to the other bones of the same part, as the Dean and other gentlemen who were present thought. No dust appearing in the chest or abdomen corroborates the account about embowelling the body. Some gentlemen of the faculty declared it to be a *male* child, from the future of the scull, and other characteristic marks. After the curiosity of the inhabitants in viewing the body was satisfied, it was re-interred on the Saturday morning, in the presence of the Dean; and every thing placed in the same situation as before.

If after this discovery further proof were wanting to ascertain the skeleton in question, it might be derived from the records of the church, which would inform us if there were a chapel, or chantry, mass, or service, observed on his festival, Aug. 27ⁱ, on the eve or day preceding which in the year 1792 it is remarkable he was disinterred. Before the new pavement was laid there was a singular cavity scraped in a blue stone somewhat East of this monument, but close to the choir wall, by the feet of the worshippers. A similar one appears before the North-West end of the Lady-chapel at the East end of the church.

The first instance of this practice of crucifying a Christian child by the Jews that occurs in our history is A. D. 1135, 9 Stephen. Brompton, in his Chronicle, p. 1043, barely mentions the fact, and the boy's name, which was William. The author of the Saxon Chronicle, who is supposed to have lived about A. D. 1144, p. 240, sub anno 1137 enlarges on it by saying, that "the Jews of Norwich bought a Christian child before Easter, and tormented him with the same tortures as our Lord suffered, and on Good Friday fastened him to a cross for our Lord's sake, and afterwards buried him. They supposed that it would be concealed: but our Lord declared him a holy martyr, and the monks took and buried him honourably in the monastery, or minster, and he, through our Lord, wrought wonders and manifold miracles, and he is named St. William." The day of his passion is kept March 24. Cotton, the monk of Norwich, says, that he was removed from the cathedral church yard into the chapter-house. The new Legend published at London 1516, fol. 309, contains a life of St. William the boy and martyr, and adds, that the body was buried in Thorp wood, near Norwich, where a chapel was afterwards built, and divine service observed till the Reformation, but it was discovered by some person who observed the Jews carrying it thither, and though bribed by them to keep the secret, disclosed it on his death-bed. A monk of Monmouth wrote his life in seven books, and his miracles in an eighth. The perpetrators of this atrocious deed seem to have compounded by paying a large sum of money to the king².

Brompton, p. 1050, and Knighton, p. 2394, tell us, a boy was crucified by the Jews at Gloucester, A. D. 1160. Gervase in his Chronicle, p. 1458, says,

¹ The child was seized by the Jews on the eve of St. Peter *ad vincula*, which falls on Aug. 1. and kept fasting 26 days, till he could hardly speak. Ann. Burt. p. 345. M. Paris says, they fastened him with milk for ten days.

² Matt. Westm. Higden, Grafton, Holinshed.

a boy named Robert was crucified by the Jews at Easter, at St. Edmundsbury, 1172, and honourably buried in the adjoining church of St. Edmund, where he became famous for his miracles.

Matthew Paris¹ tells a wonderful story of a boy whose body was dug up in St. Benet's church-yard at London, covered with Hebrew inscriptions, from which the converted Jews with difficulty made out the Christian names of the child's parents, and that he had been sold to the Jews; but to whom, or for what purpose, they could not find; and most probably had weighty reasons for declining the discovery, as it was strongly suspected that the child had been crucified by the Jews, and, notwithstanding the *marks* of the *five wounds* did not appear on the body, the canons of St. Paul's carried it off², and buried it in their church, not far from the high-altar; having found out that the Jews sometimes perpetrated such deeds, and that the bodies so crucified had been received into churches with solemnity, and distinguished by working miracles.

A. D. 1235, seven Jews stole a boy, and kept him concealed for a year, and then circumcised him, intending to crucify him at Easter: but being convicted of this crime, escaped capital punishment by a voluntary confession³. They did not come off so well for a similar intention, 1240; for falling into the hands of the bishop of Norwich, four of them were drawn and hanged⁴.

The transaction at Lincoln has been transmitted to posterity in the fullest detail by our most exact and particular historian; and has received the fullest authenticity by the discovery here related. There is one later upon record. The Jews at Northampton crucified a Christian boy on Good Friday, 1279; for which fact, though the boy was not completely killed, many Jews at London were, after Easter, drawn at horses' tails, and hanged⁵.

It is scarcely possible henceforth to doubt the truth of such acts, or to suppose them the practice of the times to extort money⁶ from a body of men on other accounts sufficiently obnoxious. It appears, indeed, that in the first of the instances here recited the crime was commuted for by a large sum of money: in that at Lincoln, death and confiscation kept pace with each other; but in the others no mention is made of any fine.

To the account of discoveries made in the same church already published in the Introduction to the former volume from Dr. Gordon's letters, I have been enabled to add the following, to which, as well as the opening of St. Hugh's tomb, I was witness in 1792.

In the upper South transept of Lincoln cathedral was a large blue slab inlaid with a figure, under a canopy of brass, and ledges of the same metal round it; all long since torn off. The slab measured twelve feet by three feet seven inches; and at the head of it lay a blue stone considerably wider than it, ~~12000~~ the West, with the inscription here given, which is universally assigned by Dr. Willis and Bishop Sanderfon to Richard Gravescend bishop of Lincoln from 1258 to 1279.

¹ P. 624. A. D. 1244.

² *rapuerunt.*

³ M. Paris, p. 409.

⁴ Ib. p. 532.

⁵ Stowe, Annals, p. 200. A similar tragedy was acted in the city of Trent, where the Jews stole a boy, and after putting him to death by cruel torments on Easter eve threw the body into the river, where it was discovered by a miraculous interposition. The account of it was printed at Rome, by Barth. Goldenbeck de Sultz, 1475, in 12mo.

⁶ As Dr. Tovey docs.

On new paving this transept, 1791, the slab was removed, by the permission of the same members of the chapter, and in the presence of the precentor. After it had been taken up by piecemeal, being, as well as the stone whereon the inscription was cut, of a very friable nature, at the distance of about four feet and an half from the West end of it, one foot and a quarter from the North and East ends, was discovered a stone coffin, seven feet by two feet three inches at the breast, and one foot four inches at the feet, measured externally, and two inches and an half thick, fitted to the head and shoulders, wherein was fitted a thin coffin of lead covered with a lid of the same, but of an oblong shape, in which over the face was a round hole as if cut or broken by accident. Within this leaden coffin lay a skeleton of large proportion, measuring, after allowing for the thickness of the lead, near seven feet, and appearing to have been stretched to the full extent of the coffin. The leg, thigh, and arm bones, with the vertebræ and bones of the hips and shoulders, remained *in situ*, of large proportion: the smaller bones of the hands and feet, and the ribs, were fallen asunder, the face damaged, the skull broken, and the under jaw fallen, and several of its teeth gone; those which remained were tolerably perfect. At the right shoulder, within the coffin, stood a beautiful chalice of the form represented in the plate of chalices in the first volume of this work, fig. 8. and another in Drake's Eboracum, p. 480, gilt and covered with a patten of the same metal and also gilt, whereon was engraved, in a starred quatrefoil, a hand in the posture of benediction, as on the pattens above referred to. This bore marks of having been covered with a cloth, or perhaps wrapt in the robe or shroud of the deceased. Over the left shoulder and crossing the legs lay a crozier, the handle of black or brown wood of the size and thickness of a walking cane, mostly rotted away; the head of wood also, or, as Mr. Carter and Mr. Grimm thought, of ivory or bone, carved and gilt in foliage, which crumbled much on coming into the air, and was fitted on the staff by a socket round which appeared to have been twisted some leather in form of a ring or circle, which lay in the coffin about the belly or ribs. A small piece of wood found by the left shoulder seemed calculated for no other use more obvious than that of a fibula to fasten the robe or shroud through an oblong hole in it. The ring set with a black stone and measuring in the inside about an inch and an half, rather thin and broad, was discovered under the head after a careful and diligent search by the dean and vergers. The chalice, patten, and crozier, are now in the custody of the dean. Fig. 9. exhibits the situation of the stone coffin under the grave-stone, lying, not in the middle, but along the North side. Fig. 10. represents the body as it lay, from a drawing made by Mr. Grimm on the spot. Fig. 11. exhibits the chalice; fig. 12. the patten; fig. 13. the crozier; and fig. 14. the ring.

On the preceding evening the workmen removing a stone in the form of a coffin-lid broken into four or five parts, to the head of which was joined a stone inscribed with this imperfect inscription in Saxon capitals,

[*Hic jacet magiſter ſimon de*
[Bar]tona
[qu]ondam
[arc]hidiaconu
[s]to[w]
et ſa
[cer]dos.

discovered a stone coffin six feet three inches long in the clear, two feet three inches at the head, nine inches at feet, and three inches thick. In it lay a body completely wrapt up in a mantle or robe, across the breast of which was drawn a cross or Y on a kind of embroidered ribbon or fillet, the shaft of it reaching to the feet, which were covered with leather slippers. The material of this garment was supposed to be silk woven in a pattern and fringed at the bottom. The face was beaten in by the accidental fall of the first stone in removing; but the bones of the arms and legs might be felt firm and strait through the drapery. On the raised part of the coffin intended as a place for the head stood, at the right side of the head, a very fair chalice of latén, the inside perfectly clean and bright, covered by a patten of the same metal, which bore marks of having been covered by a thin wrapper, as in the preceding instance. There was no leaden coffin within the stone one. After this corpse had been attentively examined by the Dean, Precentor, and other members of the church, it was carefully closed up again. Fig. 6. Plate II. is Mr. Grimm's drawing of this body as it lay; fig. 7. the chalice; fig. 8. the patten.

This may be presumed the tomb and body of Simon de Barton, archdeacon of Stowe; and the inscription is thus given in a MS copy of Bishop Sanderfon's Collections for this church.

"At the head of a marble, in Saxon characters,

Hic jacet magiſter Simon de Barton,
quondam archidiaconus Stow et ſacerdos."

Mr. Willis says he was archdeacon from 1260 to his death 1280.

Dr. Gordon informed me that these discoveries have since been followed by others. In opening a grave between what, in consequence of discoveries made at the same time in the foundations, may now be called the *old* and the *new church*, was found a very finished stone coffin, with a raised cavity for the head to rest in; the lower jaw of the person interred was fallen, and the body habited in a robe with a border and ferreting, a good deal like that on the archdeacon of Stowe; a plain chalice of common metal was found by it.

Under a blue marble slab inscribed with illegible uncial letters; which it had been conjectured might perhaps be assigned to Henry archdeacon of Huntingdon the historian, just at entering the great South door of the presbytery, was discovered a stone coffin, not so neatly finished as the first, having no raised part for the head, and containing a wooden one. The head remained almost as entire as at the first interment; the robe, though there had plainly been one, was almost entirely decayed; nor was any chalice met with.

In extending the pavement up the South aisle no traces have been found of the Roman wall; but the foundation of the East end of Remigius's church has been discovered a very little below the old pavement.

This proves to be very different from Mr. Effex's conjecture of its ending with a tribune; for it runs off in straight lines from the corner of one of the old chapels in the second transept, up to the termination of the modern choir where the ancient East wall appears to have crossed from the South to the North aisle. There appear to have been several circular or semicircular chapels attached to the church here. One of fifteen feet diameter, between the transept and the East end; another of ten feet at the South East angle; and a third of the same diameter at the North East angle. A fourth was expected to be found annexed to the outside of the transverse wall, cutting the North aisle towards the corner at the division of the transept.

All the measures have been taken, and a regular plan will be formed by Mr. Lumby, who has already favoured the publick with his ingenious remarks on the West end, which makes Pl. X & XI. of Vol. III. of the *Vetusta Monumenta* of the Society of Antiquaries.

In the North chapel of Dis church, in Norfolk, under a stone coffin, was found an entire skeleton; by its head was a silver chalice. This, in all probability, was some priest. It was buried again in the coffin¹.

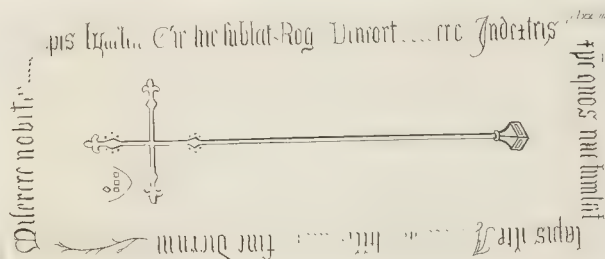
The body of John Eastney abbot of Westminster, who died 1498, was found, 1706, lying in a large coffin lined with lead in a chest quilted with yellow fatten. He had on a gown of crimson silk girded to him with a black girdle, on his legs were white silk stockings, and over his face a clean napkin doubled up and laid corner wise: the legs and other parts of the body seen plainly; see p. 335.

The coffin of Robert de Toden founder of Belvoir priory, who died 1088, was discovered in clearing the site of the priory church, 1792. It is of brown stone, six feet and a half by two and a half tapering to sixteen inches, and eight inches thick. It had been before seen by Dr. Stukeley, and the inscription faithfully copied from the Northern edge of the lid, which is rounded towards the middle into a bold high ridge running within a foot of the bottom: the ends of the lid and coffin are slightly rounded. In the coffin were contained bones, and in the recess for the head lay the skull. At the right hand of this

¹ Blomefield, I. 14.

coffin lies another of the same materials, and in all respects exactly similar, except that it has no inscription. This contained the remains of Albini I. or Brito, eldest son of the founder. They were both uncovered a second time the same year, for the satisfaction of the accurate historian of Leicestershire, when myself and others of his friends were on the spot. Both these coffins in the former searches had been filled with dirt, and much water had risen into them, and the North side of Robert's was broken. It was said that pieces of wood were taken out of the second; but these could hardly have belonged to any coffin.

At the head of these two, and in the same line, two or three yards to the West lay a flat white free stone seven feet by three, with an inscription, somewhat worn out, partly from its original situation near the chapter house, and partly by the weight of carts passing over it with stones from the ruins, which had prest it off the coffin, of which it was the lid, and in the dirt fallen into which we found an entire scull and two tibiae. We could make out thus much of the inscription, implying the juxtaposition of Symon Ropesley and Oliver Deyncourt, both benefactors to this priory, and, with the founder, entitled to burial in its chapter house. In the centre of this slab was a cross fleurie on a base, and on one side of its top a shield with the arms of Deyncourt.



Among the abbots who were interred in the old chancel was William Hall, who occurs in 1452, and whose slab of white freestone was found entire with this inscription on a scroll well cut;

Will'm Halle qu'd prior istius eccl'ie;

not a foot under which his skeleton and scull with the teeth very perfect were visible, the bones mixed with dust, but no appearance of a coffin.

The body of Waltheof, who was beheaded by the Conqueror, was found after the fire which destroyed Croyland abbey, 1091, entire and uncorrupt, and the head joined to it, and something like a scarlet thread round the neck. Ingulphus crept to it, kissed it, and handled it, and declares that he perceived a most fragrant smell issue from it*, which might have proceeded from the gums used in embalming it.

* See Mr. Nichols's Leicestershire, I. p. 79.

* Hist. of Croyland, p. 37.

Roger I. king of Sicily, who died 1154, and was buried in the cathedral at Palermo, has a monument there: a sepulchral chest of porphyry supported by two groupes of four figures each, of white marble, under a canopy of six pillars of white marble with Corinthian capitals. But whether this was contemporary with the king, Daniel, the historiographer, who published views of the royal monuments at Palermo, 1784, could not determine¹. When this tomb was opened in the present century the skeleton appeared, consisting of a few of the principal bones, and with it rubies, and little stones among many ashes, long rags of a yellow veil, many of them knotted, and others fringed with gold, part of the royal mantle of a yellowish hue with a hem embroidered with rude figures of men on horseback and animals. M. Daniel supposes that when the emperor Henry VI. opened the tombs of Tancred and Roger II. and removed the bodies as usurpers², he opened this also.

The monument of Henry VI. who died 1197 and was buried in the same church, is a tomb of porphyry on brackets³. M. Daniel observes, that he finds mention of but *four* urns of *porphyry*. One in the sepulchre of the Domitian family⁴, and three others, in which were buried Septimius Severus⁵, Julian⁶ and Constantine the Great⁷. Three more now exist in Rome. One found in the church of St. Constantia, published by Bosio⁸, Ciampini⁹ and Bottari¹⁰. A second, now in the Vatican, said to have contained the ashes of Helena¹¹. A third removed from the portico of the Pantheon to St. John de Lateran for pope Clement XII. To which must be added, the great one built up in the wall of St. Apollonia's church at Ravenna, in which it is pretended the emperor Theodoric was interred¹². Whereas there are five such in Sicily, of Roger I. [1102]. William I. [1167]. Henry VI. [1197]. Constance the Norman [1198]. and Frederic II. [1250]. besides a sixth, carried into Spain for Peter I. of Arragon, 1286. Of these three have all their ornaments of porphyry. Under the Normans and Suevi porphyry was plentiful, taken perhaps from the antient Grecian temples and other buildings in Sicily. The antient art of cutting and polishing it was lost till the time of Alberti and Taddo, in the 15th century in Italy. When the tomb of Henry VI. was opened his body was found whole, except the right hand and the legs from the knees, which had lost their vigour¹³, on which knees it stood very well¹⁴, when it was lifted up and supported; the chest was prominent, covered with a dry skin, which gave a little sound when prest by the finger; part of the beard was preserved on the chin, and some long red hair hung from the forehead. The countenance still retained an aspect fierce and ugly, characteristic of his fierceness and cruelty. The right arm was suspended towards the head, and the left lay on the belly. Both the

¹ P. 21, 22.² Hoveden, p. 746.³ Dio, LXXVI. p. 284.⁴ Iconi.⁵ Sueton. Nero, c. 50.⁶ Ib. p. 296.⁷ Cedrenus, Hist. Compend. I. 308.⁸ Roma Sotteran. III. c. 48.⁹ De Sacr. edif. Const. M. c. 20.¹⁰ Scult. c. Pitt. Sacre, vol. III. pl. 132.¹¹ Ciampini, Ib. pl. 31. Winkelman, Hist. de l'Art. II. 12. 3.¹² Raspon. Ravenna liberata da Goti, c. 13. p. 40. Pl. VIII.¹³ *fraccate dal paio*.¹⁴ *si reggea benissimo*.

hands were covered with gloves, and the right was found near the feet. The body was covered as far as could be distinguished with a cloth of a yellowish colour, having a crimson hem embroidered with eagles, stags, and foliage of gold, as beautiful as any now made. He had a belt of silk, loose, and at intervals tied with many knots which from behind¹ confined a linen winding sheet, before it was knotted, and a twist unravelled at the extremities, a *spiga* of silk of carnation colour, yellowish². From each side of this belt hung many little cords of silk of two colours, green and crimson, alternately succeeding each other at intervals, and passing through as many button holes of the bracelets, were fastened to the belt. The thighs and legs were covered with cloth forming one stocking and breeches, according to the Northern fashion; on the feet were fine shoes whose upper part was of cloth of gold, embroidered with small pearls, and the sole was of cork, covered with the same cloth³. These shoes reached to the ankle, and were fastened with a little button instead of a buckle. The glove was of silk, and handsomely embroidered⁴. The crown was of yellow silk stuff⁵, and had all round a hem interwoven with gold with devices, as beautiful as Raphael's, with round plates engraven with Cufic characters, expressing *wealth, prosperity, and power*⁶; and behind hung down two leathern straps embroidered in like manner by a different hand. No sword or weapon of any kind was found; but there were scattered about many tufts of hair of different colours, some leaves of laurel, and pieces of torn paper written with modern characters, all which are supposed to have been scattered when this tomb was opened, with that of the empress Constance, under the viceroy Avigna, in the presence of the archbishops of Palermo and Messina, the senate and barons, 1491; and more would have been opened, had not the citizens objected⁷. The account of this in the city register in the Sicilian dialect, as given by father Amato⁸, is too curious to be omitted: "Fu apertu unu di li supra ditti monumenti di porfidu, lu quali è "a manu sinistra comu si trasi pri la porta di ferru; in lu quali chi fu truvatu "un corpu mortu (*gran mercè!*) tuttu integru salvi di li ginocchi in jusu, in testa "di lu quali chi era una birittà di zindadu biancu, frixiata di oru, cum dui pizzi "ad modum dimitra, cu dui pinnaculi darrerri, cussì cornu fu piti l'Imperatoru in "la ecclesia di Muntiriali; et nixuna altra joya, nè oru chi fu truvatu."

¹ e di tratto in tratto a piu nodi legata, che di dietro stringea un pannolino avvolto.

² giallognola e torbida sfucate all' estremità.

³ Such was the robe of Henry VII. the wretched son of Frederick II. who died in confinement in the castle of Martorano, and was buried in the cathedral at Conzenza, where, on the demolition of the royal sepulchre by archbishop Andrea Matteo, was found *inter ossa quadam vestis serica fere dilacerata coloris leonati auro intexta cum emblemate referente duas alas aquile auro intextas et catena simul et clavus confixatas ex eodem auro.*

⁴ The soles of Bernard king of Italy, who died three centuries before Henry, were of wood, as Puricelli relates, on the discovery of his body in his time. Ambros. basil. Monumentorum. descript. in Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. tom. IV. p. 43.

⁵ droppe di seta.

⁶ The engraving of it resembles that of our Henry VI. Antiq. Repert.

⁷ divinita, et felix eventus, et prerogativa.

⁸ Se non che lamenti tali levaronsi nella città.

The monument of Henry's wife *CONSTANCE*, who died 1198, is constructed in a similar form, of white marble, with the roof over it supported by pillars, and ornamented with Mosaic of coloured glass, as that of Roger I. On opening this chest the principal bones were hardly distinguishable; but there were found two gloves of cloth, many shreds of a veil of yellowish colour, and another long shred, which seemed to have been of a girdle. The legs were clothed with cloth, and on the feet were cloth shoes fastened on with leather straps tied in knots, and in the upper part of them were two openings wrought with embroidery, which shewed they had been once adorned with jewels, as Eginhard describes Charlemagne wearing shoes set with jewels on festivals. The smallness of these remains led to conclude that this tomb had been opened before.

CONSTANTIA II. or of Arragon, who died 1222, and was the first wife of the emperor Frederic, son of Henry VI. by *Constantia I.* was buried in the same church with the preceding, in an antique urn, or chest, of white marble, with a cover of the same, but inferior; the summit neatly adorned with wavings and scales, and this inscription cut in front:

OBITU

CATANIE. SICANIE. REGINA. FVI. CONSTANTIA. CONIVNX.
M^o CCXXII. AVGVSTA. HIC. HABITO. NVNC. FEDERICE. TVA.

On the face of the urn is carved a hunting match^a.

On opening this tomb the skeleton was found in a wooden case fastened with iron, the skull covered with a coif, to which, as the head decayed, adhered long white hair; the whole body had been wrapt in a torn garment of crimson cloth, adorned at the extremity with certain trimmings, embroidered and woven with little pearls, and thin spangles of gold of beautiful design and execution. Near the feet was a little wooden box bound with a cord containing a diadem formed of cloth set all round with innumerable pearls and stones in gold intermixed with spangles of gold enamelled with various colours, green, blue, and red, all rough and unpolished¹, except one larger granite cut in faces, another engraved with a dolphin; and a third inscribed with Cufic characters, which Mr. Tychsen explained to signify, *God, Jesus, my hope, Mirjam!* i. e. Maria. This diadem appears to have covered the head when this tomb was opened, 1491; the extremity in front was adorned with a radiated crown set with like spangles, as might be seen under the new cloth, which on the former discovery had been fastened over the old. It had two fillets embroidered with gold, which were found in the box, together with five rings and a jewel meanly wrought with Arabesque foliage and animals, with many rough stones badly fastened in their sockets with little hooks on every side. These jewels probably adorned

¹ Vit. Car. M. p. 112.

^a Two others in Sicily have the same subject: one at Mazzara, Houel Voy. pit. de Sicile, another at Girgenti, D'Oville Sicula, c. 20. p. 99. both referred to the death of Melager. Daniel refers that on the Palermo urn to the hunting match of Dido and Encas: as if a common chase was not worthy to be represented, unless dignified by great personages.

her breast, and the rings her fingers, before the former opening of this tomb'. Lastly, there was found a round silver plate (mis-called *brass* by Fazello, Inveges and the decree of the senate); with the following inscription in the mixt Roman and Lombardic characters :

✠
HOC : EST : CORPVS : b'NE
C'OS'T'HCIE : JNV'STRIS : ROMT :
NOV : IMPERATRIS : SE'P . AVGV
STE : ET : REGINA : SICIL' : VXORIS :
b'NI : IPATORIS : FREb'ERICI : 2 : FILIE :
REGIS : ARAGON' : OBIIT : AVT : ANNO
b'NICE : INCACNACIO'IS : MILLO : CC :
XXII' : XXIII' : IVNII : X : I : Nbl : T :
IN : CIVITATE : CATANIE :

"Hoc est corpus Domine Constantie illustris Romanorum imperatricis femper Auguste et regine Sicilie uxoris Domini Imperatoris Frederici et filie regis Arragonum: obiit autem anno dominicæ incarnationis millo cccxii, xxiii Junii x Indic. in civitate Catanie."

The account in the register of the senate is as follows :

"Die 18 Octobris, x Indiæ. MCCCC LXXXI. fu apertu lu monumentu di marmora chi è in lu locu unni stauu li quattu monumenti di porfidu, in lu quali fu truvatu unu scignu firtatu, intra lu quali chi fu truvata una patena di ramu supra unu pannue di oru, subtu la quali chi era un corpu mortu, in la quali patena lu epitaphiu. *Hoc est corpus*, etc. In testa di lu quali corpu chi fu truvata una coppula tutta guarnuta di petri preciusi, perni grossi et minuti et piagi di oru maffizzu et un cullaru di oru cum petri preciusi, li quali joyi foru livati et purtati in lu thesauru di la majuri Panurmitana ecclesia.— Et exinde supradicta jocalia inventa in sepulchro reginæ Constantiæ fuerunt reddita ad ipsum sepulchrum et sunt clausa prout primitus erant."

All this was done by the same order as before.

The last monument described, with its contents, in this work of M. Daniel, is that of **FREDERIC II.** son of Frederic and Constance, before mentioned who succeeded his father, and died of the St. Anthony's fire¹ and dysentery, 1250, and was buried at Palermo, in one of the two porphyry chests, which he had caused to be brought from Cefalu; and in the other of which was deposited his father Frederic². It is all of the same material. Within the chest were discovered at first two bodies, and under them a third. That on the right hand was dressed in a royal mantle, and all sewed up in a sack, at the head of which was an embroidery of small pearls, representing eagles, formed into a

¹ Such are the stones on the globe among the Imperial ensigns at Nuremberg. See "Vera delineatio atque descriptio globi Imperialis. Francf. 1730," fol. Among the rest is a Sapphire with a monogram.

² This disorder was then called *Lupus vel sacer ignis*. M. Paris ad an. 1249. p. 665. which is one among the many customs that the ancient writers deemed the effect of *poison*.

³ Vafari says Jacobo Logo, a celebrated Dutch artist, was sent for to execute a mausoleum for Frederic; but it was never done.

crown : by the side was a sword : all which circumstances led to suppose it was the body of king Peter II. of Arragon, who died 1342. The body, or rather skeleton, supposed of a woman, on the left side, had the right arm under the other ; whence it was presumed to have been interred before it. It was wrapt in a worn cloth, in which were found two gold ear-rings with stones of no great value. These two bodies being removed, that of Frederic II. appeared in excellent preservation, together with the clothes. The head lay on a cushion, and by the left side a metal globe without the cross, and filled with earth. On the head was an open crown, the rays made of thin plates of silver gilt, adorned with little pearls and stones. The habits were the same in which he was consecrated emperor, three in number, the first of linen reaching to the feet like an albe, fastened round the hips by a thick cordon of linen gathered into a knot in the middle. Under the left shoulder was a cross embroidered in red silk, which M. Daniel inclines to think the cross wherewith he was signed, when he engaged to undertake a crusade, agreeable to the words of the "*Historia Hierosolymitana*," in "*Gesta Dei per Francos*," I. pp. 32. & 488. in which idea he would have been confirmed, had he recollected the cross on the left shoulder of the Templar's cloak in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, or other prints of religious orders. At the extremity of the neck and sleeves this albe was adorned with lace-work, and on both the sleeves was embroidered in gold a Cufic inscription, supposed of the oldest letter invented by Ebn Mokla, thus explained by M. Tychsen :

The German empire is mild.

This is a present for Otho IV.

a friend, generous, stout, illustrious, hospitable,
wife, excellent, faithful, great, vigilant,
illustrious, victorious, hospitable, protecting, just.

The three last words are repeated to fill up the space, and the letters differ in size, according as there was room for them. Mr. Tychsen conjectures this garment was a present to Otho IV. by the Moors, 1211, when, by their assistance, he reduced Apulia and Calabria, and was on the point of sailing into Sicily. The difficulty is, how it comes to be worn by his enemy Frederic, and that Christian princes, who obtained the empire by the papal influence, should wear at their coronation, as the emperors of Germany do to this day, garments made by Infidels, and marked with Arabic characters, explained by Tychsen ; which characters are also on the Imperial garters at Nuremberg ; and that these garments should be made at Palermo, A. D. 1133. and that the emperors should be buried in them ; unless we admit Mr. Daniel's supposition, that the articles of embroidery and dress were among arts and sciences possessed by the Mahometans in an eminent degree, the silk manufacture being introduced into Sicily by Roger I. after his victories in Greece. The second garment was of silk, of a bright red colour, without any work, made like a dalmatic with large sleeves terminated in a gold lace four fingers broad, fastened by a silk girdle embroidered with some roses of silver gilt. The last garment

was a mantle like a cope of silk of the same colour nobly wrought with eagles in embroidery, and other fanciful ornaments, and fastened over at the breast with an oval gold clasp having in the centre an amethyst set round with twenty small emeralds with four large pearls at the sides. The thighs and legs were drest in linen forming breeches and stockings in one. On the legs was also a silk buskin with a shoe, in the upper leather of which was embroidered a hind in a circle; he had also steel spurs fastened with a strap. From his left side hung a sword girded over the dalmatic, not very long, and rusty, but retaining part of the sheath, with its point of steel, the handle of wood wreathed close over with threads of the finest steel gilt and twisted, and all the rest of the ornaments of elegant workmanship of silver gilt. The belt was made of deep crimson silk lace woven in a pattern, to which was fastened a boss or stud of the same metal of fine work. The hands, without gloves, were folded on the belly, and on the middle finger of the right hand was a gold ring with a large emerald.

Mr. Daniel has interwoven many interesting events and disquisitions on the Sicilian history in his text and notes, and pays a just compliment to the *Peireſc* of Sicily, Airolti, archbishop of Heraclea, to whom the learned world is indebted for the publication of the correspondence of the Saracen Empire found in MS. at Palermo¹.

I have been the longer in these extracts as the book is not in every one's hands, and as they so happily illustrate similar sepulchral discoveries in our own country. More of the same kind may be found in the several histories of cities, towns, churches, or monasteries on the continent.

M. Houel's account of these monuments is, that he saw in a side chapel at the cathedral at Palermo, built by the count Roger, four Gothic tombs, the work of one and the same age. They had been originally sarcophagi preserved from the ruins of antiquity, but have been new wrought and spoilt, to deposit in them the remains of certain kings of Sicily. The beauty of the stone, which is fine red porphyry, is their only merit².

The emperor Maximilian father of Charles V. when dying at Wels in Austria directed that his body, after his death, should be decently bound round with a girdle³, and be shaved all over, and all his teeth drawn, and buried in a hole in the churchyard with burning coals; that his body should be first scourged and then wrapt up in three wrappers of sackcloth, linen, and white silk damask, with a mixture of chalk and ashes. He was then to be laid in a coffin which he had caused to be made, and carried about with him for that purpose five years and more, well secured within with strong iron fastenings; though one of his secretaries, not knowing for what use it was intended, and why fortified with so many iron bands, had made it serve to keep his papers during those years.

¹ See Gent. Mag. LIX. 138. 1030. LX. 1208.

² Voyage pittor. de Sicile, I. 64.

³ *Subligacula*.

Lastly, he directed that when he had breathed his last his body should be exposed a whole day publickly to all who came to see it, and then shut up in the coffin, and carried to Neustadt in Austria, and buried under the high altar of St. George's chapel in the castle, so that from the breast to the head should lie out in order that the priest celebrating mass might tread on his breast¹.

His son Charles celebrated his own exequies during his life; and if we may believe his historian, shortened his days "by the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which this image of death left on his mind²." The only epitaph on his tomb is this, more in the style of the 11th or 12th than the 16th century:

*Hic jacet intus
Carolus Quintus,
Ora pro eo his vel ter
Ave Maria aut Pater noster³.*

In a chapel of one of the transepts of the church of Batalha abbey in Portugal the body of John II. king of Portugal, who died 1405, is preserved in his coffin intire, and so fresh that the teeth, hair, and nails still remain, and the skin entire, though dry and shrivelled.

In a most beautiful chapel on the right hand at entering the nave from the West are two altar-tombs with the figures of the founder of this abbey John I. who died 1433; and his wife Philippa eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, who died 1415.⁴ These tombs are richly adorned with Gothic sculpture, and at one end their arms in the Garter. The figures are well executed in fine marble, with tabernacles over their heads. Without the octagon and in niches against the wall are elegant monuments to the four sons of that king, with the order of the Garter on one of them, and the history in painting on that of the infant Ferdinand, who, on the refusal of his father to ratify the surrender of Ceuta to the Moors, remained in captivity all his life at Fez. In another of these monuments is deposited the voyager Henry his brother. I forbear to enlarge on these monuments though intimately connected with our history, the architect of the whole beautiful fabric being an Englishman, Stephen Stephenson, as his epitaph in the nave of the church informs us, because the public are on the point of being gratified with a particular account and finished drawings of the whole—perhaps before this acknowledgement of these instances can announce them. It is however a tribute justly due to the talents of Mr. Murphy, who spent fifteen weeks in the convent, making the drawings, as well as to the taste of the honourable William Burton Cunningham, who pointed out and patronized the undertaking.

¹ Cuspinian, p. 490, 491. Slevozt. de sepulturis imperatorum, &c. Jense, 1722. p. 75.

² Robertson, Hist. of Charles V. IV. 316. abridged from Strada de Bello Belgico, Dec. I. lib. I.

³ Slevozt, p. 80. et aut. ibi cit.

⁴ Sandford, p. 256.

The body of queen Catharine Parr, who died 1548, and was buried in the chapel at Sudley castle, was found 1782, near the North wall, not more than a foot under the surface, in a leaden envelope. On opening it in two places the corpse was found wrapped in cerecloth. On removing what covered the face the features appeared in perfect preservation, particularly the eyes; but being hastily covered over with dirt, without closing up the cerecloth and lead, when it was opened a second time, in 1784, the air, rain, and dirt had entirely destroyed the face, and nothing was left but the bones. In this state Dr. Nash and his friends found it, 1786, the teeth found but fallen out of their sockets. They declined meddling with the body, but observing the left hand to be at a small distance from it, they took off the cerecloth, and found the hand and nails perfect, but of a brownish colour. The cerecloth consisted of many folds of coarse linen, dipped in wax, tar, and perhaps some gums, over which was wrapt a sheet fitted exactly close to the body, five feet four inches long. On the breast was the inscription engraved in *Archæologia*, IX. Pl. I.¹

Among other precious articles found in the marble urn of Maria wife of the emperor Honorius at Rome, 1544, were forty-eight rings. All that remained of the body were the teeth, hair, and two leg bones: the garment was interwoven with gold; on the head was a dress of leather and gold, which yielded four pounds of fine gold. Within the tomb was a silver box one foot and an half long and a palm high, broken in three or four pieces, containing vases and divers pieces of glass², great and small, to the number of thirty; among them two small cups, one round, the other oval, with beautiful figures in half concave³, and a glass snail⁴ shaped like a large sea shell twisted round with its point fitted⁵ to a candlestick with fine gold, which covered the mouth of the snail, leaving only a hole for the oil, by the side of which hole was fastened with a nail a moveable fly of gold, which covered and uncovered the hole: also of gold the point of a beak for the snuff long and sharp, and so fastened to the crystal that they seemed one mass, and equally well made was the upper cover. Also vases and several pieces of agate with certain small animals to the number of eight, and among them two very beautiful vases, one like a large flat glass bottle for oil, and wonderfully thin; the other shaped like one of those skimmers⁶ with a handle used at Rome to take water out of the benitoires⁷; and some supposed it a sacrificial vase. Near it were four small vessels of gold of an oval shape with covers set with jewels, a small gold heart serving as a pendant set with six small jewels, a gold clasp set with five jewels, and twenty-four similar ones, forty rings and little rods, two earrings of emerald or paste, with two jacinths, four little crosses with red and green stones, a pendant in form of a bunch of grapes made of *pietre paonazze*; eight other little gold pendants of various sorts with different stones; three other little crosses of gold set with emeralds; a piece of a little thin collar threaded with green

¹ *Archæol.* IX. 1—4.

² *crystallo.*

³ *mezzo cavo.*

⁴ *lumaca de crystallo.*

⁵ *accozia.*

⁶ *sciummarole.*

⁷ *bisttine.*

stones;

stones; another with nine sapphire beads cut like almonds¹; another of gold wire² broken in pieces; two little gold buttons; fourteen little gold nets³; three other little crosses with emeralds; and a round piece of gold like an Agnus Dei, circumscribed *STILICO VIVAT*; two gold handles set with green and red stones; two large pins, or styles, one of gold, near a palm's length, with these words written, *DOMINVS HONORIVS DOMINA MARIA*; the other of silver uninscribed. There were similar fragments of emeralds and other stones, silver nails, part plain, part relieved, fastening a silver cover on a casket; also a plate of gold inscribed in Greek characters, ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ, ΡΑΦΑΗΛ, ΤΡΙΗΛ⁴.

The tomb of the emperor Rodolph I's wife, at Basle, 1281, being opened by the canons, 1518, they found a silver gilt crown, and a necklace with a sapphire and other precious stones hanging from her neck⁵.

The arms of the Egyptian mummy, described in the Introduction to the former volume, p. lix. had been laid flat down by the sides of the chest, the *ulna* and *radius* bent upwards, and laid with the hands across the breast, the right hand being uppermost.

The position of the arms varies in different instances. Those of the skeletons at Cocherel in Evreux, two found at Paris in la rue de la Tiffanderie⁶, one at Langres⁷, and one in a tumulus in Chatham lines⁸ were placed by the sides. Of several found at Auxerre, 1730, some were crossed on the belly like the female ones at Langres; others joined on the breast; others had one arm hanging down, the other on the stomach. The Greeks of the 13th century object to the Latin church that its dead are buried with the hands not disposed in form of a cross, but hanging down⁹. M. Lebeuf was informed, that it was the custom in Lower Normandy for those who buried the dead not to cross the arms of all in general, but to leave those of Christians who had not been godfathers (*parains*) pendant down by the sides¹⁰. He saw one of the bodies found seven or eight feet under ground in the rue des Amandiers at Paris having the hands crossed the belly, and remains of shoes near the feet¹¹.

The figures on monuments in the cathedral at Aquileia have the hands crossed and hanging down, as a lady and a bishop; or crossed and elevated holding a cross as a canon of that church, exhibited by Bartoli, *Antichita di Aquileia*, p. 380. 382. 385. So are the hands on the brass of abbot Thomas at St. Albans¹².

We are not to conclude that the body was interred at the time the money found in its mouth or hand was dated¹³. The coin might be five or six centuries

¹ tagliati a mandorle.

² oro tira.

³ maglietti.

⁴ Fauno dell' Antich. di Roma, v. 10. p. 153, &c.

⁵ Crusii Ann. Suev. p. iii. l. iii. c. 6. p. 153.

⁶ Engraved in Petavii de Numismatibus.

⁷ Le Beuf, Dissert. ubi sup. l. 259. 284.

⁸ Nenia Brit. Pl. I.

⁹ "Mortuos sepeliunt manibus eorum nequaquam constitutis in modum crucis, sed deorsum missis circa inferiora instrumenta." Bibl. Patrum, Par. 1624. IV. 1303, crossed over the bottom of the belly, not as Lebeuf, (lb. 285.) hanging down by the sides to the thighs.

¹⁰ Ubi sup. p. 286.

¹¹ lb. p. 302.

¹² See it engraved in Mr. Carter's Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting, I. 29.

¹³ See before, p. liv. IV.

older, as in some countries the present¹ given by the bridegroom to his bride at the celebration of marriage is the oldest piece of coin he can procure. Petavius in his treatise on medals tells us that the skeletons found in the tombs in the rue de la Tiffanderie at Paris at the hotel d'Anjou, had, in their right hand, coins of Nero and Magnentius, with whom however they could not have been contemporary. Sauval² says, that in the neighbourhood of the church of Notre Dame at Paris they frequently found in tombs skeletons with a medal in their mouths. In a tumulus at Chatham were found coins of Valerian and Victorinus³. In an urn near a leaden coffin at Colchester two of Antoninus Pius and Alexander Severus⁴. Yet Mr. Douglas⁵ thinks the burials at Sibertswold contemporary with the time of Clovis, or A. D. 511. a coin of that king being found in one of the tumuli there⁶; and those at Ash with the reign of Justinian whose coin was found there. Coins of the higher empire appear to have been buried at the same time with those of the lower. Those of Claudius Cæsar and Carausius were taken out of the same grave near Canterbury by Mr. Faufllet⁷. In other coins of Nero and Magnentius⁸. This fact Mr. Douglas thinks "will admit of a question, whether the Romans did not mean by burying coins of this great distance of time between each reign to prove by the lowest coin the nearest date to the time of inhumation."

The discoveries about 1730 in the coffins in the suburbs of Auxerre prove that in general nothing was found with Christian skeletons. The only curious circumstance was a coffin on which were erected the antient circuit walls of the priory in the 12th century. Its cover supported a stone about one foot and an half square, with only one line graved,

HIC IACET PVNIAINV⁹ MI.

and lines marked out for cutting more. Within was the skeleton of a person about thirty years of age. As in building in the 12th century they had placed by the side of the deceased two little piles of hard stones set in masonry to strengthen the lid which was to support the cross-wall, the hands had been a little deranged. What was most extraordinary, they found the small bones of a bird mixt with the ribs of the deceased about the breast, and with wire. Near the middle of the body was found a copper buckle from his belt. By the size of the bones the bird seemed to be a hawk, and the wire may have been his cage, or the chain which fastened him to his master's hand¹⁰. M. Lebeuf reads the inscription, *Hic jacet Punilinus miles*; and is of opinion that his hawk was buried with him, agreeable to the custom of representing knights and lords on their tombs¹¹. His sword might have been taken from his side by the masons who built on his coffin¹².

¹ *treizain*.

² *Ant. of Paris*, II. 336.

³ Douglas, *Nenia*, p. 79.

⁴ Morant's *Colchester*, p. 182.

⁵ Douglas, *Ubi sup.* p. 96.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 131.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 134.

⁸ *Ib.*

⁹ In the *Memoirs de Trevoux*, Dec. 1734, it is said they took their hawks in their hands to battle, and let them go when they were on the point of being taken prisoners.

¹⁰ Le Beuf, *Dissertations*, I. 286—292.

¹¹ See before, Vol. I. *Introd.* p. lxix.

Joan of Arc desired Charles VII. king of France to get her an old sword buried behind the high altar of St. Catharine of Fierbois¹.

Edmund son of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, having occasioned the death of his brother king Duncan, and been condemned to perpetual imprisonment for it at his death, desired to be buried in his fetters².

The body of one of the Huntingfields was taken up in the reign of Henry VIII. in the Black-friers at Boston, with a leaden bull of pope Innocent about its neck³. Cecily duchess of York consort of Richard duke of York, who died 1459, had about her neck when taken up in the chancel at Fotheringay, in the reign of Elizabeth, a silver ribbon with a pardon from Rome penned in a very fine Roman hand, and as fair and fresh to be read as if it had been penned but yesterday⁴. Both she and her husband were buried in leaden coffins.

Human skeletons are found deposited in red clay, and covered over with thin slabs of stone in the site of Woodbridge priory, Suffolk, now the rector's garden; as I was informed by the late rector, the Rev. Thomas Carthew.

The bodies of Sir John Chidioc and lady in a chapel of the North transept at Christchurch in Hampshire, were found 1791, under their altar-tomb, in a grave five feet deep, in a layer of fine chocolate-coloured dust, which had been the coffin betwixt them and the earth. On comparing the bodies it appeared that those of the skeleton on the left side were the largest, and the teeth were perfect, two only missing. In the other skull there were no teeth, nor were the sockets perfect. The inference from hence seems to be, that the man died young, and the woman in more advanced life. But why the position of the bodies should be different from that of the effigies in the tomb, on which the man is placed on the right side, seems of difficult explanation, unless occasioned by accident⁵.

On examining the family vault of the Draxes at Charborough, Dorset, were found, two feet under the floor twenty-two pots of reddish earth, eleven inches by nine, like butter pots, all empty, and under them the bones of eleven skeletons⁶. May we suppose these were the receptacles of the bowels and hearts of the skeletons single lodged?

An earthen pot and six small urns were found on a leaden coffin at Humberston gate in Leicester⁷. Compare these with the little pots at Paris, Introd. I. p. xciii.

The corpse found in a sitting posture, Introd. I. p. xviii. may be paralleled with one found in a tomb of rude stones near Killcully, in the county of Kildare, 1788, and by the side of the head an earthen vessel or urn, which Mr. Beauford supposes held the meal and water intended for the deceased, *part of the bran* having adhered to the inside and part fallen over⁸.

¹ Frefnoy, p. 51.

² cum ip[s]is vinculis se tumulari mandavit. W. Malmesb. p. 158. Hailes' Annals, I. 46.

³ Leland, It. vi. 59. Dugdale, Bar. II. 8.

⁴ Fuller's Worthies; Peacham's Complete Gentleman, p. 199. Bib. Top. Brit. N° XL. p. 35. See p. 48. ⁵ Gent. Mag. LXI. 816. ⁶ Hutchins, Dorset, II. 185.

⁷ See Gent. Mag. LV. 763; and Nichols's Leicestershire Collections, p. 599.

⁸ Transactions of the Irish Academy, II.

The chalice, fig. 9. in the Introduction to Vol. I. exactly resembles one at Lanchester, said by Mr. Hutchinson to have been found near the Roman station, 1571; but it was more probably made and dated that year¹.

It is highly probable that the silver cover of a cup with an acorn knob, found on the breast of the body in Southwell-minster, 1717, was nothing more than a chalice, and the body supposed to be that of one of the family of Caux², and by Mr. Raftall's friend imagined to be an emblem of the *keeper of a forest*, as the head of that family, was³ one of the ecclesiastics of that church.

Mr. Blomefield⁴ mentions something like a *candlestick*, which he supposed a *crucifix*, found in the grave of Nicholas Beaufort at West Harling. This also is more likely to have been a chalice.

To the article of embalming and cereing, Vol. I. Introd. p. lvii. may be added the body of Edward IV. discovered at Windfor; see p. 278—280. and Elizabeth second daughter of Henry VII. p. 328.

Like precaution should seem not to have been taken with the body of Henry VIII. if it be true that some of the moisture ran through his coffin on his removal from London to Richmond in the way to Windsor⁵.

Sir Baffingburne Gaudy, Bart. of West Harling, who died 1723, was wrapt in cerecloth, and buried in a leaden coffin⁶.

Embowelling of eminent persons was in fashion at the end of the last century for archbishop Sterne, of York, who died 1683, desired to be buried without *exenteration*, lying in state, or funeral sermon⁷.

To the instances of Hearts and Bowels interred separately add the following:

The heart of Eleanor, mother of Edward I. was deposited in the church of the Grey Friars, London, 1290. those of Eleanor his queen and her son Alfonso in the Black Friars church there, with those of John and Margaret, children of William Valence.

That of Longchamp, bishop of Ely, in his cathedral.

That of Ralph Fitz Randal, founder of the Grey Friars at Richmond, c. York, who died 1270, was buried under an arch in the church there; but his body at Coverham abbey⁸.

That of Stephen earl of Bretagne and Richmond, 1164, in St. Mary's abbey at York; but his body at Bigar⁹.

Devorgilla, wife of John Balliol lord of Castle Baynard, who died 1269, placed his heart embalmed in an ivory box bound in silver and enamelled within the walls of the church near the high altar¹⁰.

¹ Excursion to the Lakes, p. 318.

² Hist. of Southwell, p. 353.

³ Blomefield, l. 200.

⁴ Grose.

⁵ Keith's Scotch Bishops, p. 259.

⁶ Peck's Defid. Cur. vi. 217.

⁷ I. 209.

⁸ Burn's Cumb. II. 289.

⁹ Leland, It. VIII. 67, 2.

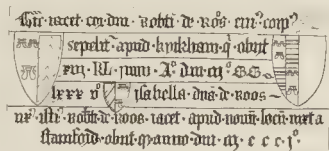
¹⁰ Rapin, VIII. 14.

The heart of Ralph de Scopham lord of Brianston, in the reign of Henry III. lay under the font with this inscription :

Hic jacet cor Radulphi de Scopham.

That of Sentia, wife of Richard earl of Cornwall king of the Romans, at Cirencester abbey².

Over the heart of Robert de Ros, 1285, supposed to have been brought from the priory church at Belvoir¹, is this inscription in Bottesford church :



One over that of Sir Richard Manners, from Croxton abbey⁴, is said to be preserved either in the library or muniment room at Belvoir castle.

The heart of William Frazer, bishop of St. Andrews, who died 1297, and was buried at Paris, was inclosed in a rich reliquary, which was brought into Scotland by his immediate successor bishop Lamberton, and placed in the wall of the cathedral church of St. Andrew, near the tomb of bishop Gamlene^s.

The heart of Sir Henry Sidney, who died 1586, was buried in the tomb of his daughter Ambrosia, who died 1574, on the North side of the chancel at Ludlow⁶.

In the South aisle of Wigenhale St. Mary's is a small monument, with a brass heart in the centre, and round it four labels on pieces of brass, each in form of a crescent, thus inscribed :

Drate p' a' l'a d'ni Roberti
Kerville militis de Wygenale
filii Edmundi Kerville de
Wygenale cujus cor hic humatur.

He died in the 14th century ?.

Arthur lord Capel, beheaded 1643, ordered that his heart should be preserved, and kept at Hadham till his royal master was buried with due honours, which he was sure must soon happen from the restoration of his son, and that then his heart should be laid at his master's feet. When Hadham hall was in part pulled down, 1701, it was found in a silver box embalmed with spices, and was in the possession of Dr. Stanley dean of St. Asaph, and rector of both Hadhams, who had been chaplain to his son the first earl of Essex, and at-

¹ Hutchins's Dorset, I. 88.

² Nichols's *Leicestershire*, vol. I. p. 30.

⁵ Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 14.

⁷ Blomef. IV. 765.

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² Leland, *Itin.* II. 50.

* Ibid. p. 45.

* Collier's Dictionary; not mentioned by Collins.

tended him in the Tower, where it was supposed he laid violent hands on himself. He acquainted his son the second earl with it, and he had it buried as near the body as could be'. Of the heart of the second earl see *Introd. Vol. I. p. lxxiv.*

1773. In the foundation of St. Cuthbert's kirk near Edinburgh was found an embalmed heart. It had been cut open and wrapt in crimson velvet, the pile worn off; the flesh was unconfumed and moist, the flavour of the spicery high, but through exposure to the air much evaporated. The leaden box had no inscription or figure, but was of the shape of a heart, about seven or eight inches long by four or five wide, and about two deep, but much mangled by the idle workmen, who carried off the leaden coffin found with it, which had no inscription or bones.

In the cathedral of Noyon is a figure in mail, with a shield charged with a lion rampant pendant from his neck, and round a coffin lid in capitals:

FERNANDI PROAVOS HISPANIA, FLÁNDRIA CORPUS,
COR CVM VISCERIBVS CONTINET ISTE LOCVS.

The heart of Thibaut king of Navarre has over it an hexagon building adorned with figures of monks, arms, and an inscription, before the high altar of the Jacobins de Provins.

That of queen Blanche mother of St. Louis, who died 1253, is under the altar of the abbey of St. Lys, near Paris; but she directed her body to be buried at Maubuisson^a.

Over that of Cardinal Freanville, archbishop of Lyons, confessor to Philip the Fair, who died 1314, is his statue, kneeling, in his cardinal's robes, his hat behind his head, his rosary, in the chapel of the Rosary in the Jacobins church at Rouen.

On the tomb which contains the hearts of Philip king of Navarre, who died at the siege of Grenada, 1343, and his wife Joan, 1349, are three figures in white marble in the Jacobine church, rue St. Jaques, at Paris; and in the same church is a figure over that of Charles I. king of Sicily and earl of Anjou. That of Margaret de Bourbon wife of John first earl of Dreux, 1274, is in the collegiate church of St. Stephen at Dreux. So there is over the heart of Charles V. in the church of Notre Dame, at Rouen; the king, royally habited, holds a heart in his right hand.

The figure of Charles V. of France, who died 1380, holds his heart in his right hand, his sceptre in his left. He has a monument with his effigies and that of his queen at St. Denis, where they were buried.

That of Margaret of Burgundy, heiress of Charles the Bold and Isabel de Bourbon, who died 1482, is buried in the tomb of her mother, who died 1463, in the choir of St. Michael's church at Antwerp^b.

^a Wright's MS papers for Hertfordshire, in my possession.

^b Voyage liter. de deux Benedict. I. 69,

^c Theatre sacre de Brabant, II. 100.

That of Philippe de Valois, king of France, at the Carthusian monastery of Bourg Fontaine, which his father had founded, and his bowels at the Jacobins church, Paris, 1350.

Those of Henry IV. and Mary de Medicis have splendid memorials in the church of the Jesuits college, at Paris.

That of Henry de Bourbon, duke de Vernueil, has a slab at St. Germain des Pres.

A pillar surmounted by a man sitting and praying is over the heart and bowels of Lewis cardinal of Bourbon archbishop of Rheims at St. Denis, 1556.

That of Renè la Rouillè, bishop of Senlis, 1559, has a separate memorial from his tomb in Herivaux abbey, as has also that of his namesake in 1634.

The heart of Monf. de la Peyronnie first surgeon to the king of France was buried at St. Come in Paris, and the company of surgeons erected a monument to his memory over it¹.

The heart of pope Calixtus II. in a *chasse* behind the high altar, at Citeaux².

On taking down the altar piece of Notre Dame at Paris, 1699, to rebuild it in consequence of a vow of Louis XIII. 1650. the following discoveries were made, of which an exact detail is preserved in Sauval.

"Before the bottom of the steps of the high altar they lifted up a little tomb of copper, whereon were engraved the arms of France and Savoy with a heart crowned representing that of Louisa of Savoy daughter of Philibert count of Bresse afterwards duke of Savoy and wife of Charles count d'Angouleme mother of king Francis I. who died 1531. On it was this inscription,

*Cor magnorum opifex Francum quæ et viscera regum
Portavere hic sunt ; spiritus in superis.*

Underneath was a little leaden box six inches square inclosing the heart.

"At the bottom of the same steps in the middle under a square piece of black marble are, in a little barrel of wood, the bowels of Louis XIII. with this inscription :

*Viscera Ludovici XIII. regis Christianissimi posuit Ludovicus de Bernage
regis elemosynarius et ecclesie Parisiensis canonicus, A. D. 1643.
14 Maii.*

"Behind the altar, under the shrine of St. Marcel, was found a tomb of plaster placed differently from the rest, the head to the right, and the feet to the left, covered with a piece of hewn stone, and containing only the head, some bones, pieces of leather slippers, and little pots of red earth, in which were coals and incense. It belonged to Philip son of Louis VI. or le Gros, canon and archdeacon and elected bishop of Paris 1153, his right to which he ceded to his

¹ Le Beuf, dioc. de Par. I. 467.

² Voy. lit. de deux Bened. I. 208.

preceptor Peter Lambard the master of the sentences. On the covering stone was this inscription :

Hic jacet Philippus filius Ludovici Craſſi regis Francorum archidiaconus eccleſie Pariſienſis qui obiit anno 1161.

"Near the altar on the goſpel ſide they found the tomb of a biſhop about a foot larger than the other tombs, and covered with a triple ſlab; viz. two large ones of hewn ſtones, and a leſſer of copper, an inch and an half thick, all the letters of the inſcription on which were effaced. There were ſome bits of cedar, which had ſerved as a bier; a gold ring with a falſe ruby of common red cryſtal convex, ſurrounded with falſe ſtones repreſenting rubies and turquoifes alternately ſet in little ſettings of gold and ſeveral pieces of ſtuff half rotten, which appeared to have been fringes of the cheſuble, with gold oillet holes.

"They next opened a tomb of black marble, eight feet by four, wherein was buried Peter d'Orgemont biſhop of Paris. It was raiſed about three feet between two of the large pillars of the choir on the Goſpel ſide. Upon it lay his ſtatuette of white marble, covered with an iron grating of ſmall ſquares, and round the ledge of the tomb was this inſcription :

Hic jacet reverendus in Chriſto pater dominus Petrus de Ordeimonte, Pariſiis oriundus, in utroque jure licentiaſus, olim Monnenſis poſtea vero Pariſienſis episcopuſ, qui obiit anno 1449. 16 die menſis Julii.

"Under this ſlab was a ſtone coffin, the contents whereof were totally decayed, except a gold ring with a green ſquare ſtone like an emerald.

"In the tomb of Louis of France, duke of Guienne, dauphin of Viennois, ſon of Charles VI. and Iſabel of Bavaria, who died 1415, aged 19, and was buried on the Epiſtle ſide, at the foot of the ſeats where formerly ſat the prieſt, deacon, and ſubdeacon at the celebration of maſs, was found a leaden coffin encloded in one of wood, but containing only aſhes.

"Behind the altar on the Goſpel ſide, ſix feet below the ground, was a tomb of one ſtone covered with another concave ſtone, containing the aſhes of Stephen II. called Tempen, with his croſier of copper, and his gold ring ſet with a white ſtone of no value, ſome pieces of ſtuff, and a plate of copper broken in two, and thus inſcribed :

Hic jacet Stephanus de Aurelianis quondam Pariſienſis episcopuſ qui deceſſit Dominica ante Nativitatem beate Mariæ Virginis, anno 1279. Anima ejus requieſcat in pace.

"The tomb of another biſhop about four or five feet in the ground in a ſtone coffin narroweſt at the feet at the back corner of the altar on the ſide of the Epiſtle contained a copper croſier and a gold ring ſet with a blue ſtone like a turquoife, and part of the bones reduced to duſt. There being no inſcription within or without it was impoſſible to aſcertain to whom it belonged.

"The tomb of Denys de Moulin, biſhop of Paris, level with the ground on the Epiſtle ſide, contained the top of his croſier of copper, and a very large

paſtoral

pastoral ring of gold, with a white crystal of no value, a button of a cope¹, covered with a crystal in form of a diamond, set round with small pearls, some bones, ashes, and pieces of stuff. It was covered with a large plate of copper, round which on the upper side was engraved this inscription:

Hic jacet recolende memorie Dominus Dionysius de Molendino dum decessit Patriarcha Antiochenus, Episcopus Parisiensis, et perantea Archiepiscopus Tolosanus, de Foro Meldensi oriundus, Regis Caroli septimi consiliarius famosissimus, vir magni consilii atque prudentissimus, probitatis eximie et lingua disertissimus, qui plures fecit fundationes hic, Tolosæ, ac Meldis; et obiit Parisiis die Veneris decima-quinta Septembris anno Domini 1447. Anima ejus requiescat in pace. Amen.

"On the same side with the tomb of Peter d'Orgemont, and five feet under ground, was that of Aymeric de Magnac, cardinal archbishop of Paris, wherein was found his corpse embalmed and wrapt in a suaire, which completely covered him, which fell to dust on touching it. On this tomb was a large plate of copper with this inscription:

Hic jacet in Christo pater reverendissimus dominus Aymericus de Magniaco, natione Lemovicensis in villa sancti Juniani, ex nobilibus parentibus, utriusque juris professor, quondam regum Joannis et Caroli quinti consiliarius et Magister Requestrarum Hospitii. Primo fuit Decanus ecclesie Parisiensis nominatus, deinde ad pontificalem assumptus est dignitatem, tandem factus fuit tituli sancti Eusebii sancte Romanæ ecclesie presbyter Cardinalis.

And round the ledge,

Obiit autem anno 1384. Avenione 20 die Martii, cujus corpus integrum Parisios asportatum sub hac tumba requiescit. Anima ejus requiescat in pace. Amen.

His statue stood on a pillar in the choir near the door on the Gospel side.

"All the bones mentioned in the *proces verbal* after having been decently lodged in the chapel of St. Leonard were put, June 6, 1699, into a tomb of hewn stone, five feet by two, and eighteen inches deep, made on purpose, and covered with the same, and placed under ground in the sacristy near the high altar².

The bowels of the emperor Conrad II. were buried 1039, in a town in Friezland, his body at Spire, where he built a mausoleum for himself and successors³. His son, Henry III. was buried here; but his heart and bowels at Goslar⁴. His son, Henry IV. was dug up, and remained unburied five years in a stone coffin in the chapel of St. Afra at Spire, before it could be buried in the Lady chapel, because he had not been reconciled with the bishop of Liege⁵. Conrad III. 1152, at Lorch abbey, and his bowels at Bamberg⁶. Frederick Barbarossa, 1190, at Tyre; his flesh, brains, and bowels, at Antioch; his bowels were removed by his son to Tarsus⁷.

² *bille de chappe.*

³ Sauval, *Hist. et Antiq. de Paris*, I. 376—379.

⁴ Cruſius, p. II. l. vii. c. 7. Slevogt de sepulturis imperatorum, Jenæ, 1722, p. 58, 59.

⁵ lb. 59.

⁶ lb.

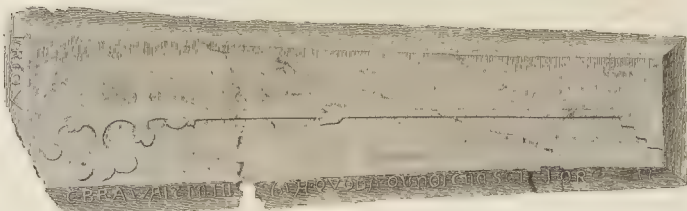
⁷ lb. 61.

⁸ lb. 62.

The bones of St. Louis king of France, who died at Tunis, 1270, were separated from his flesh, and put into a rich shrine¹, to carry them to France. His flesh and bowels were given to his brother Charles, who deposited them in the church of Montreal in Sicily².

Whether I had the inscription on bishop Skirlaw's bowels, given *Introd. I. p. lxxiii.* from Mr. Pennant, or from whom else, I cannot recollect; but the whole second line is certainly wrong. The original has been much canvassed of late in the *Gentleman's Magazine* *LXII. 973. LXIII. 25. 597*; but I confess myself inclined to give the preference to Mr. Carter's copy, here inserted.

p. xcv



To the account of Sir Thomas More's head in the family vault of the Ropers, *Introd. I. p. lxxv.* add, the late Mr. Gostling saw it when the last survivor of that family a lady was buried there, 1740, and the vault being full was finally closed up. It was in a little hole in the North wall of the vault, about five feet above the pavement, covered by a little lap of sheet lead, which did not hide it from view, and a small grate was before it, because the lower jaw had been stolen. The scull was a small one³. The situation of this scull and that of Sir Walter Raleigh were nearly similar.

The body of Justinian was found intire 600 years after his death when the Latins broke open his tomb at the sacking of Constantinople⁴. Our English Justinian was found so 468 years after his interment.

The dried corpse of the boy found in St. Botolph's church, Aldgate, mentioned *p. lxxviii.* is now the property of John Symmons, Esq. of Grosvenor-house, Westminster. Of Edward the Confessor's body, during the first thirty-six years, see *Vol. I. p. 1*; and of that of St. Cuthbert, see before, *p. lxxi.*

The vaults of the Cordeliers at Tolouse are famous for the dried corpses there deposited; but those preserved in the subterraneous galleries of Naples and Syracuse are less disfigured⁵.

In repairing the French church at the Hague about 1784 or 5 the corpse of William VI. king of the Romans and count of Holland, who died 1417, was found well preserved and entire, the skin quite black, and the teeth perfectly white⁶. He was father of Jaqueline wife of Humfrey duke of Gloucester, of whom see *p. 143.*

¹ *chasse.*

² Montfaucon, *Mon. II. 153.*

³ Mr. Gostling's Letter to Dr. Ducarel, 1760.

⁴ Nicetas Chon. in *Le Beau, Hist. des Emp. XI. 138.*

⁵ Swinborne's *Spain, II. 365. 8vo.*

⁶ Ireland's *Picturesque Tour. I. 69, 70.*

The body of John Higford, Esq. who was buried in a vault at Alderton, in Gloucestershire, 1607, remained unconsumed for an unusual length of time, as was observed on its being taken up fifty years after interment¹.

In Professor Pallas' "New Northern Miscellany," vol. V. 8vo. 1793. are observations on a corpse buried several years the soft parts of which were converted into a fatty substance².

Of lumps of fat and flesh found in making a vault in an aisle of a church in the West; see Gent. Mag. L.V. 1007. In this state were found the remains of a body buried above 40 years before. The lumps were as big as a man's fist, very white and hard, as if first melted and clarified: several other thinner pieces of the same colour and consistency, adhering to pieces of flesh of a very bright red colour, lying by the lower part of the backbone; the lumps of fat were higher about the middle of the body: the flesh in every other part was entirely reduced to dust. There being no vault, though it has been the family burying-place for many ages, the body was buried in the earth, but the coffin was placed on three large stones; the bottom was entire, the cover broken and fallen in, and the ornaments almost as bright as when just put on. The soil is gravelly and wet, which may be the cause of the flesh being decayed, and the person dying of the gout, which is generally attended with a high fever, may account for the state in which the fat was found; but the cause of the flesh retaining a florid colour is not probably so easily to be accounted for. The party was rather corpulent, but by no means remarkably fat.

Mr. Douglas³ says he can attest the truth of a body interred in Rochester cathedral having been, in point of corpulence, of a dimension which required the casement of a window to be taken out to receive the coffin; and that twenty or thirty years after, one of the same family dying, the same ground in the cathedral was broken to receive it, when, to the surprize of the family inquisitive after the remains of the aforesaid body, there were only found some few fragments of the metal ornaments of the coffin, and a large lump of sapo-naceous matter produced by the human fat and its lixivial salts; but no bones whatever were discovered.

M. Thourot, who is a very respectable physician in Paris, well known to the publick by his writings, gives an account of a very extraordinary change to which the human body, under certain circumstances, is subject after death, from observations made by him on the removal of the bodies from the church and churchyard of the Holy Innocents.

The situation of the burial-place in question, in the centre of the city of Paris, has, for a great length of time, pointed it out as a nuisance to the publick. Its supposed unhealthiness occasioned it to be a subject of enquiry so long ago as the year 1557, when two physicians, Fernelius and Houllier, were directed by government to examine it; and in 1773 a committee of the Academy of Sciences was appointed for the same purpose. On both these occasions the

¹ Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections.

² Analytical Review, June, 1793, p. 239.

³ Nenia, p. 58, m.

removal of it was earnestly recommended; but it does not appear that any steps were taken to remedy the inconvenience complained of till the year 1780, when an order was issued to prevent any more burials in this spot. This regulation, however, M. Thouret observes, which might have been sufficient in the generality of places of this kind, where the bodies, being but thinly interspersed in the earth, are speedily destroyed, was altogether inadequate to the evil in the present instance, the soil being here so saturated with animal matter as to be no longer capable of any action on the more recent bodies accumulated within it.

M. Thouret observes, that, since the year 1186, this spot has served as a common burial-place for the greater part of the city of Paris; and that, for a great number of years past, from 2500 to 3000 bodies have been interred in it annually. He has been assured that, in a somewhat less space than thirty years, upwards of 80,000 bodies were interred in it by the last sexton. This immense collection of dead bodies occupied, we are told, a surface of more than 10,000 square feet. They were accumulated, for the most part, in common graves or pits, from twenty-five to thirty feet deep, each of which was large enough to contain from 12 to 1500 coffins; and, as a proof how few bodies were buried in separate graves, we are told that the number of such interments seldom exceeded 200 annually.

At length, government having determined to remove this nuisance, the Royal Medical Society were called upon to point out the best mode of doing it; and our author, who was one of the committee appointed by the society for that purpose, and who superintended the whole undertaking, communicated the result of his observations on this subject to the publick, which were printed in the first volume of "Medical Facts and Observations," 1793. art. 19. The operations lasted upwards of two years, and, during that period a layer of earth, from eight to ten feet deep, was removed from the surface of the burial-ground to the extent of 12,000 square feet, and besides a great number of separate graves, between forty and fifty of the common receptacles were opened to the depth of eight or ten feet, and some of them to their very bottom, and about 20,000 bodies, buried at different periods, were removed with their coffins.

Amidst a great variety of appearances which so many bodies exhibited from their having been interred a greater or less space of time in separate graves or in the common receptacles, one extraordinary circumstance soon struck our author's attention. This was the state of the coffins and bodies in the common pits. The coffins in these were, in general, firm, and in good preservation; and the earth that surrounded them was of a deep black colour; but, excepting this blackness, which had tinged the coffins externally, they retained their freshness, and within the natural colour of the wood was easily distinguishable. The shrouds were observed to be in the same state of preservation, and the bodies themselves appeared to be undiminished in bulk. Upon removing the shroud, the fleshy parts of the bodies seemed to be preserved; the only change that was perceived consisted in their being converted, as it were, into a substance, the whiteness of which was heightened by the blackness of the surrounding soil.

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The author tells us, that at first sight of this curious phenomenon he was inclined to consider it as the effect of lime spread over these bodies; but, upon examining them more attentively, he was soon convinced that he was wrong in this supposition, and he found that all the soft parts were converted into a white mass, more or less firm, and already known among the grave diggers by the name of fat (*gras*). This mass, which exhibited no appearance of a fibrous texture, felt unctuous or soapy when rubbed between the fingers, and in a dry air grew harder, and even acquired a shining polish and a sort of metallic lustre, but became softer when exposed to a moist air.

In general these masses preserve the entire shape of the limbs. Among the bodies which he found the most completely transformed into this substance, and which form a part of the collection he has made to illustrate the history of this phenomenon, several retain their natural shape, together with the features of the face, the eyes, eyebrows, and eyelids. The transmutation is not confined to the surface of the body, but may be traced through every part of the muscles, ligaments, and tendons, and likewise through the different cavities, where all or the greater part of the viscera are found converted into the same substance; which is also to be seen in the cavities of the bones, even in the cells of the diploe. It is found to affect the texture of the cartilages; but the bones themselves, it seems, remain unaltered, as do likewise the hair and nails. There are likewise certain colouring principles, such as the bile, the fluid of the bronchial glands, the pigmentum of the choroid, the red particles of the blood, and the fibrous part of the muscles, which remain for a long time distinguishable in the mass that surrounds them.

The parts that have appeared to our author to be the most susceptible of this change have been the adipose and membranous. Some parts, he observes, evidently acquire it much sooner than others; and he has found the blood-vessels of different viscera, particularly those of the liver, transformed into this mass, while the surrounding substance of the viscus itself had as yet undergone no such change.

He observes that, in general, the parts preserve the natural configuration in proportion to the quantity of adipose and lymphatic juices they contain, and in proportion to the density of their texture. Thus the brain, the heart, the liver, and some other viscera, it seems, change completely into this substance, and retain their original figure; while of the intestines, and the spongy and vesicular texture of the lungs, only slight vestiges remain after this change; and in these the fatty substance into which they are converted is of a much thinner consistence than in the other parts.

From a chemical analysis of this substance, for which our author acknowledges himself indebted to M. Fourcroy, it appears to consist of an oily principle, combined with volatile alkali, so as to form a soap. The oily basis of this ammoniacal soap separated by acids is described as a concrete substance, of a greyish yellow colour, and somewhat more fusible than wax; combined with

fixed or volatile alkali it forms a firm soap. M. Thouret remarks, that it is not ductile under the fingers like wax; but that it crumbles into small, soft, and unctuous fragments, like spermaceti, the substance with which he considers it as having the greatest analogy. Thus he observes that it crystallises like spermaceti, and dissolves even in a greater proportion than that goes in heated alcohol; part of it separating again as the solution cools in the form of small shining laminæ.

From these data our author is led to attempt a theory of the formation of this substance. He ascribes it to a peculiar modification of the putrid change that bodies undergo in the earth; and thinks that the origin of all the phenomena is to be sought for in the decomposition of water. It has been supposed, he observes, that, from a combination of phlogisticated with inflammable air, there results, during putrefaction, volatile alkali; and the fixation of a larger proportion of inflammable air, and perhaps also of a certain quantity of dephlogisticated air, may, he thinks, give rise to a fat or oily substance, which, by uniting with the volatile alkali, forms a soap.

M. Thouret observes, that a concretion analogous to this substance is not foreign to the living animal economy; that it exists, as is well known, in large masses, in the cavities of the brain of the whale, and is distributed, by numerous vessels, through all the parts of that animal; and that it is also to be found in the bile, where, till of late, it has been taken for a resin. It has sometimes been found extravasated in the liver when dried in the air, as was proved by the late M. Poulletier de la Salle, of Paris, who, having exposed a human liver to the air for a considerable number of years, found it changed, at length, into a whitish mass, in its appearance not unlike agaric, which, on exposure to a gentle heat, yielded a substance similar to spermaceti. M. Thouret assures us, his experiments have taught him that a substance of the same kind may be extracted in abundance from the brain of man and other animals. May it not, therefore, he asks, be latent in the living body, and intended to answer some purpose in the animal economy with which we are as yet unacquainted?

This singular transmutation, he observes, though it is found to affect bodies of both sexes, and of all ages, is subject, however, to some differences which have not escaped the notice of the grave-diggers, who have remarked that bodies which are the fattest and most compact pass the soonest into this state; that very dry and lean ones acquire more of the appearance of dry mummies; and that lax and humid ones melt into water.

The transmutation, whatever may be its nature, takes place, we are told, indifferently in different kinds of earth. It likewise appears to be completed in a short space of time. The last great pits of the burial-place had been closed only five years, and, from the surface to the bottom, all the bodies they contained, a very small number excepted, were found by our author transformed into the substance in question.

In general, however, the manner in which this transmutation, when once begun, goes on and is completed, appears to be not altogether uniform. In
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the pits where it seemed to be the most completely effected, the greater number of bodies, we are told, were entirely transformed; but, on the other hand, in some the change appeared to be only just beginning to take place, while in others the decomposition was complete. In the small number that afforded no marks of it the bones only remained, and these exhibited the common appearance. Were these the remains of bodies that had passed through this state, and had afterwards been totally destroyed? There was nothing in the situation of these last that could explain the difference. They were found at all depths, and close to others in which the change was complete. In general, however, it was in the bodies at the greatest depth that the change appeared to take place the soonest; and these also seemed to be the last in which this fatty substance was destroyed. Our author found this fact confirmed by what he saw in two other burial-grounds at Paris.

It appears, from his observations, that the skin is the part in which this change first begins to take place, and that, after this, follow the fat, the muscles, and the viscera. In the early stage of the transmutation the texture of the skin is still distinguishable, as is also the colour of the fat and of the muscles; and it is not till the fibrous texture of the latter has entirely disappeared that the change can be said to be complete. When this is accomplished, a decomposition begins to take place. This is first observable in the cavities of the body; and, as it advances, the bones become disunited, the fatty substance is gradually dissolved, and at length there remain only slight appearances of it adhering to the surface of the bones; but in this state it has the consistence and colour of clay, or becomes dry and friable, and of a darker colour. M. Thouret supposes this to be the remains of the colouring principle, or of the earthy principle still combined with a little of the fatty substance.

The brain is the part that is the last destroyed.

As it is to the extrication of æriform fluids from the dead body during putrefaction, and to the re-action of those fluids on the body itself we are to ascribe the formation of this substance, so it is not till the surrounding earth is saturated with these fluids that the change begins to take place. This saturation of the earth is proved by its black colour. Exposed to the air, it soon loses this appearance, and becomes capable of dissolving the fatty substance in question. He has found this substance only in the common pits, where the surrounding earth has acquired this black colour: he has never been able to discover any traces of it in single graves; he therefore concludes that an accumulation of animal bodies in large masses is requisite for its formation; and also that these masses must be sufficiently covered with earth to prevent the evaporation of the ærial fluids that are extricated; because, in proportion as these escape, the saturation of the surrounding earth becomes less complete.

But, besides the evaporation of these fluids, which takes place sooner or later, another cause is mentioned by our author as contributing very powerfully to the destruction of the bodies thus transformed; and that is, the moisture of the soil,

soil, which, by reason of the soapy nature of the substance in question, is found to dissolve it very completely. The state of the earth, in this respect, is, therefore, one of the principal circumstances on which the duration of this substance depends. Our author accordingly observed, that in the pits the least exposed to the sun, and which, from their situation in other respects, were most liable to moisture, the bodies were the most speedily decomposed. He has even seen coffins in an inclined position, in one part of which, exposed to the action of moisture, the substance in question was completely dissolved, while in the dry part it had undergone no change.

Of this curious phenomenon, which seems hitherto to have escaped observation, M. Thouret remarks, that it adds new facts to the history of the decomposition of animal bodies in the earth, and may be considered as a particular species of mummification, which, compared with that which produces the dry and fibrous mummy, shews us, in this way, a new process of nature. Both these species of mummy, he observes, depend on the action of æriform fluids. Thus the destruction of the body takes place if these evaporate; the species of mummy, which is more immediately the subject of his paper, is produced if these fluids, when disengaged, are reflected on the soft parts of the body, or retained in their texture; and, on the other hand, the dry and fibrous mummy is formed whenever these same fluids are not at all, or imperfectly, disengaged.

On similar principles, he thinks, may be explained the different circumstances observed in the decomposition of bodies in burial-grounds, whether in separate or in common graves: those circumstances, more especially, which may be ascribed to the nature of the soil. In general they will depend on the facility with which it absorbs or transmits the different species of air extricated from bodies by putrefaction; and hence dry sand is, he thinks, the most favourable to the decomposition of bodies. This decomposition will also be accelerated by calcareous earths, which are known to be very porous and permeable, and, for this reason, have been called putrid or septic earths. On the other hand, compact argillaceous earths are found to retard this decomposition, as was mentioned by Messieurs Lemery, Geoffroy, and Hunauld, in their report to the Academy of Sciences in 1738.

These facts serve to shew how little foundation there is for the opinion commonly entertained relative to the conversion of the dead body into earth, no such appearance having been observed in any of the coffins that were entire. Neither is what is usually imagined true, that the body is, in general, destroyed by worms, as these are found only near the surface of the earth, or in bodies that have been exposed to the air. M. Thouret's observations have convinced him that human bodies consigned to the earth insensibly exhale and evaporate in volatile principles; and for this reason it is, he thinks, that the soil of burial-places does not perceptibly accumulate.

The hair of Mrs. Gournay, who died 1662, was found turned several times round her scull in her grave behind the altar in Norwich cathedral, 1780, and falling off was measured more than a yard. Some hair, supposed of a bishop or person of eminence, was found in a grave in the choir, without any pieces of coffin or bones. The preservation of hair here is ascribed to the low damp situation of the church¹.

"As the workmen were digging a vault in Woodbridge church, in August, 1792, for the late Mrs. Walford, of that place, they discovered a lock of hair braided, two feet and an half long, in perfect preservation; as soon as it was exposed to the air it changed its colour from a beautiful brown to a dark red. We are at a loss to know to whom it belonged, as nothing but bones nearly crumbled to powder encompassed it."²

In several of the fifty barrows in Greenwich park opened by Mr. Douglas, 1784, he found remains of a garment and a braid of human hair; the braid tenacious and very distinct, and the hair of an auburn colour contained its natural phlogiston. As the graves were very shallow, not exceeding three feet in depth, he imagined the vegetating juices from the incumbent soil might have been the cause of the preservation of this hair and cloth. There is now deposited in the Vatican a scull with hair which by the braid and ornaments upon it appears to have been of a female, and to have been interred fourteen hundred years. It was found not far from the Tiber, near Rome. Human hair after death is known on some bodies to increase greatly. Mr. John Pitt assured Mr. Douglas, that on visiting a vault of his ancestors in Farley chapel, in Somersetshire, to give orders for some necessary purposes, he saw the hair of a young lady Chandos, which had in a most exuberant manner grown out of the coffin and hung down from it, and by the inscription she was buried considerably upwards of one hundred years since. But this instance is essentially different from the above: the body was not exposed to the continual moisture of the earth, but entombed in a dry vault; and the proportion of years bears no affinity with the former³.

Among the small remains of Margaret daughter of lord chancellor Audley, who died 1563, in her vault at Norwich were found some locks of her hair⁴.

The hair of Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick, who died 1439, was found with his body fresh and perfect, about 1750.⁵

That of Edward IV. was found in his coffin⁶.

The stone tomb of Isabel sister of St. Louis, who died 1269, was placed in the wall of the choir of St. Boulogne's church near Paris, half within the choir, and half without⁷. The coffin-fashioned tomb was in universal use in the 13th century⁸.

¹ Gent. Mag. LV. 277.

² Letter from Mr. Loder.

³ *Nenia*, p. 56, 57, notes. p. 89, 90, Pl. XXII. fig. 1.

⁴ See p. 138.

⁵ See p. 121.

⁶ See p. 278.

⁷ Le Bœuf, *Dioc. de Paris*, II. 29.

⁸ *Ib.* pref. p. xxvi.

To the instances of founder's tombs, *Introd. I.* p. lxxxviii. add, three old gravestones with crosses on them on the uppermost step into Oxburgh church, Norfolk, for founders¹.

The church of Bamburgh Mr. Hutchinon² thinks to be of much more modern date: "In a nich in the wall is a recumbent figure of a knight templar, the personage represented unknown. As these apertures on the building of churches were designed for the tombs of founders, or other benefactors, this tomb reduces the antiquity of the church to a late æra, and indeed the whole building has that appearance." The latest date that can be assigned to it from the monument will be the reign of Edward III.

There is a fine founder's tomb in the South wall at Digfwell in Hertfordshire. Another in the South wall at Bafildon, Berks, cut through for a door into a pew in the chancel, has a beautiful flowered arch over it.

See the Bois' in Fersfield nave and chancel, *Vol. I. Pl. 83*³. Nicholas de Beaufort, at West Harling⁴. Sir Robert Harling, who rebuilt the family burial place there, lies under an altar tomb in an arch in the South wall⁵. An antique marble monument of the founder in the North wall at Causton⁶.

Ethelred and his wife Elfreda, founders of St. Oswald's priory at Gloucester, are reported to have been buried in the East porch of St. Peter's church; and when the foundations were dug up to rebuild it their bodies were found entire, and their looks are said to have been as graceful as when alive. He died A. D. 908; she 920.⁷

At the door of the nave at Morley, in Norfolk, lie two old coffin stones, under which the founders were interred, because the stone which the pillars of the door stand on was laid when the wall was built; and it was usual for founders to reserve places for their own interment at the door⁸. Instances of this sort are very common.

Winchester claims king Lucius to have been buried in her cathedral. He is said to have been buried in the church of St. Mary de Lode at Gloucester.

ETHELBALD king of the West Saxons, who died A. D. 860, is said to lie under a plain stone, in the porch at Sherborne⁹. A brassless slab of an armed knight in Trinity churchyard at Shaftesbury is mistaken by vulgar tradition for a Saxon king¹⁰.

Henry, abbot of Croyland, 1219, erected a tomb to Waltheof earl of Northumberland, buried in the chapter-house 129 years before, with his effigy and a long inscription¹¹.

Blake, at the George inn, Glastonbury, pretended to have one of the planks of king ARTHUR's coffin.

¹ Blomefield, II. 485.

² Blomefield, I. 67.

³ Blomefield, I. 75.

⁴ Dugdale, Bar. I. 55.

⁵ Northumberland, II. 173.

⁶ Ib. 221.

⁷ Ib. 566.

⁸ Hutchins's Dorset, II. 382.

⁹ Rudder, p. 125.

¹⁰ Ib. 29.

The figure of OSRIC in free stone in a rude style lies on the North side of the altar in Gloucester cathedral, with a long curled beard and crowned, having in one hand a sceptre, in the other a church, and over his feet this inscription painted on the wall in Saxon letters :

Ofricus rex primus fundator hujus monasterii, 681.

ETHELRED king of the West Saxons, slain in 872, was buried at Winbornminster, where his tomb is spoken of by Leland ' as lately repaired, and a marble stone there laid, with an image of a king in a plate of brass, with the inscription as now, in Roman capitals *. These monuments were evidently not coæval with the bodies ; but the work of some later benefactor. The different accounts of the tomb ascribed to Harold at Waltham abbey serve but to increase the suspicion that it was that of some religious of the house. Fuller says, "it was of plain but rich grey marble, with what seemed a cross fleury ; but much defaced on by art upon the same." By his *pillorets*, "one pedestal whereof he had in his house," it should seem to have been a coffin-fashioned monument raised from the ground, a circumstance not unusual at that time ; such perhaps as are represented on the tomb of Henry I. fourth duke of Lorraine and Brabant, 1235, in St. Peter's church at Lovain † ; and such occur among ourselves, particularly in a North chapel at Southwell, and the tomb of archbishop Sewal at York, 1258 ‡. The situation of this tomb assigned by Fuller, "then probably the East end of the quire, or rather some Eastern chapel beyond it," is not favourable to his appropriation of the tomb, being neither the place for founders nor benefactors, nor kings ; but rather some Lady chapel, or continuation of the choir Eastward. Such a coffin with a cross rather *botoné* was found, 1787, in the North wall of the choir, with a leaden coffin shorter than it by eleven inches within it §.

This work has exhibited a considerable number of monuments before the time assigned by Mr. Lethieullier †, which should be 29, instead of 9 Edward III. 1356, though Rapin ‡ dates the confirmation of Magna Charta 1361.

Sir William Dugdale § says, "such figures as lie crosslegged are those who were in the wars of the Holy Land; or vowed to go and were prevented. In the collegiate church of Howden in Yorkshire lieth a fair crosslegged figure of a man in armour of mail, on whose shield are the arms of *Metbam* of *Metbam*, as also another of his wife lying close by him, with her *legs* also *across*; by which it may seem that she accompanied him in one of these expeditions." See Vol. I. p. 175. The right leg crosses the left in figures of this sort †. Mr. Grose ‡ says, ladies who accompanied their husbands in these expeditions had their *arms* crossed on their breasts ; but he had not seen a specimen of this.

Mr. Lethieullier, in a letter to Mr. Wise, says, "though some difficulty may arise, I hope to bring proofs that all the cross-legged monuments now remain-

* Itin. III. 55.

† Engraved in Mr. Carter's Specimens of Antient Sculpture.

‡ Theatre Sacré de Brabant, I. 94.

§ Drake, p. 429.

¶ Archæol. II. 223.

‡ Antient Usage of bearing Arms, p. 43.

¶ Grose, additions to pref. p. 30.

* See p. 57.

† IV. 309.

‡ Ib. p. 31.

ing in England, were for persons engaged some way or other in the Croisades which so long prevailed in Europe; or at least had some reference to vows of pilgrimage to the Holy Land."

A cross-legged knight now lying neglected and broken in the lane leading to Newtgate, York, with the arms of *Latimer* on his shield, may have been the monument of one of that name, who accompanied his relation under Henry III. or Edward I. to the Holy Land¹.

In a chapel in the South aisle of St. Mary's at Wareham is a cross-legged knight, and another with his legs strait, and the close mail helmet, and on his shield the arms of *Stoke*, Barry of seven. The latter's shield is broader, rounder, and shorter, and the former long and narrow, and pointed².

On the North side of the altar at Dacre in Cumberland is a cross-legged figure, probably one of the old *Dacres*, who are supposed to take their name from *Acre* in the Holy Land³.

Blomefield gives instances of cross-legged figures in the church of Stratton⁴, and Sir Fulk or Sir Thomas Kerdeston, who died 1270, in Reepham⁵.

Bridges mentions a very fair one, perhaps a Peverell, in that of Braunston⁶. Sir John de Cogenhoe, in Cogenhoe; in Sudborough, Sir Robert de Vere standard-bearer to William Longespee earl of Salisbury⁷, and slain with him in the Holy Land⁸.

In the North aisle of Woodford in the same county is a wooden knight cross-legged, with his sword and shield, his feet on a lion⁹. By his side his lady¹⁰. Both these are engraved, Pl. IV. In the same plate is a mutilated stone figure of a cross-legged knight in complete mail and surcoat with a round helmet on a double cushion, drawing his sword with his right hand, and holding the scabbard in his left; his left arm covered by a shield of an unusual form considering its age, and suspended from his neck by a slender belt. There is an appearance of two angels under his shoulders, but no mark of the cushion under his head extending to them. At his feet a lion, seeming asleep. The whole figure is in a style of superior elegance, on the North side of the choir at Winchester cathedral. Mr. Warton, in his History of that city, I. 107, tells us that the inscription on it was:

"*Hic jacet Willielmus comes de insula Vana alias Wineali.*"

The arms on his shield are two bulls trippant quartering three gerbes.

The cross-legged and not the gowned figure of freestone in Coberley church, Gloucestershire, belongs to Sir Thomas Berkeley, who rebuilt the church, 1330, and held the manor 8 Edward III. 1335. His crest is on a cushion supported by

¹ Gent. Mag. LXI. p. 1075.

² Hutchins, I. 35.

³ III. 594.

⁴ I. 349.

⁵ II. 255.

⁶ I. 255.

⁷ I. 255.

⁸ I. 255.

⁹ I. 255.

¹⁰ I. 255.

³ Burn's Westmoreland, II. 378. 382.

⁴ IV. 405.

⁵ I. 31.

⁶ I. 31.

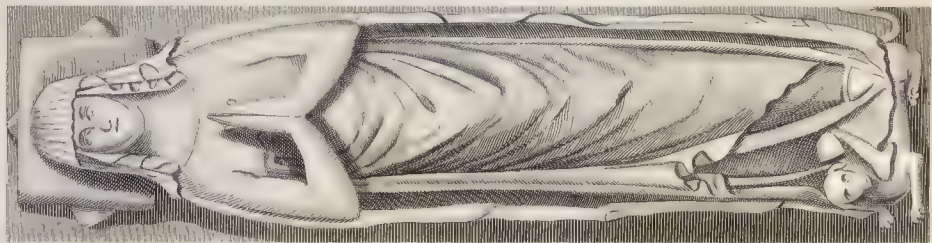
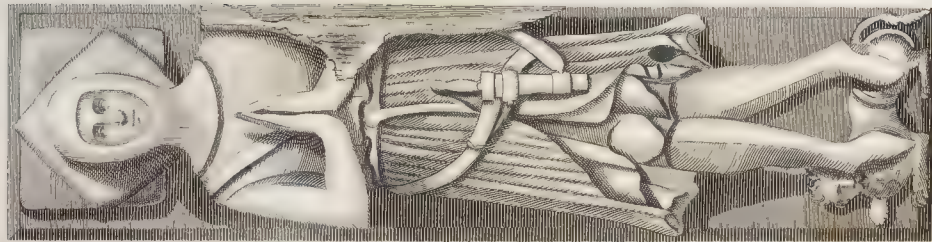
⁷ I. 31.

⁸ I. 31.

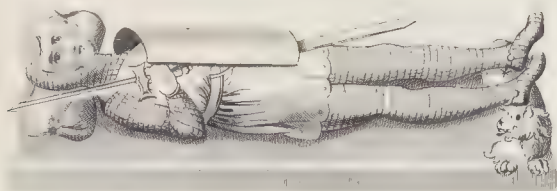
⁹ I. 31.

¹⁰ I. 31.

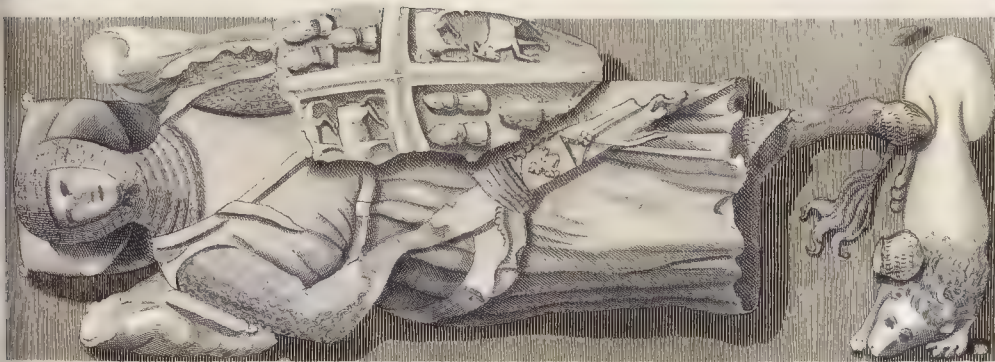
¹⁰ Q. It thus described by Mr. Bridges, "On a stone to the right hand is the figure of a woman dressed in a *surcoat*, with her hands erected in prayer, and at her feet a dog."



Wooden Figures in Woodford Ch. Northamptonshire



*Like church guard.
Ripponshire*



in Winchester cathedral

angels. There is another cross-legged figure of Robert de Waleran in the reign of Edward II. wretchedly engraved, with his lady, in Bigland's Collections. Maurice Berkeley, who died 1326, and was buried in Bristol cathedral, has his legs cross. The monument of Nicholas de Villiers, in Down Ampney church, Gloucestershire, erected by the Knights Templars, probably in the reign of Edward I. by whom the impropriate tithes of this parish were given to them, is etched by Mr. Lysons¹ in his Gloucestershire Antiquities, Pl. VI. and bears this inscription in Saxon capitals :

*Hic jacet dominus Nicholas de Villiers qui obiit 10 die mensis Junii Anno Domini
MCCLXXXIII. cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen.*

His figure is of a hard blue stone ; that of Maud his wife by him much mutilated is of freestone. The date is supplied by conjecture, as he had the manor by grant of Edmund Crouchback earl of Lancaster, 1220, 4 Henry III. changed his family arms 1266 ; and his son Nicholas proved his right to view of frank pledge within this manor 1287.

In the Hastings aile at Horton. Mr. Hutchins² mentions a cross-legged figure, with this imperfect inscription :

Anno Domini . . . nunc quiescit anima . . .

Mr. Pennant³ mentions a *Pollard*, in St. Andrew's Aukland church, Durham ; and in his London⁴ he describes two cross-legged figures of the Sherbornes, at Mitton, in Yorkshire, 1629 and 1689.

Of a cross-legged figure on Hob Moor, Yorkshire, supposed one of the lords *Ror*, see Gent. Mag. LXI. p. 1076 ; and History of Leicestershire, I. pl. X. fig. 2.

The cross-legged figure of *Trumpington*, at Trumpington, lies on an altar-tomb ; and though those at Gorleston are now on slabs on the ground, it does not follow that they were not originally raised higher, as the Methams at Howden, the Burghs at Burghgreen, the Peytons at Helham, and Kerdeston at Reepham.

At Wyomondham, in Leicestershire, a cross-legged figure of the knightly family of Hamelin, which had long lain neglected on the floor, was carefully removed, on a late repair of the church, by direction of the present earl of Harborough ; and is now fixed, upright, secure from future injury, against one of the walls : it is engraved in the History of Leicestershire ; as is also a cross-legged knight of the family of Moton, with his lady, on an altar-tomb at Peckleton.

At Rothley, in the same county, where the Knights Templars had a preceptory and capital mansion, a cross-legged figure within a stone coffin was discovered by Mr. Nichols in 1790, nearly covered over with earth and weeds. This also is engraved in the History of the county, from a finished drawing by Mr. Schnebbelie.

But the finest collection of these figures is at Aldworth in Berkshire, a series of the family of De la Beche for six generations. On the North side of the church, against the wall, are three fair monuments handsomely arched, and of the same pattern. On each monument lies the statue of a man in armour

¹ It is engraved also, with the figure of his grandfather Alexander de Vilars, and two other cross-legged knights his relations, of much earlier date (Roger de Mowbray and Hamo de Belet) in the History of Leicestershire, under the parish of Melton Mowbray.

² Dorset, II. p. 64.

³ III. 342.

⁴ P. 152.

cross-legged, with the shield on the left arm of the two oldest, and at the feet of the middle figure is a lion. The Easternmost of these figures, habited in richly ornamented plated armour, is in a singular attitude, as if reclining on the right hand; the right foot supported by a sitting angel. Over against these, on the South side of the South aisle, are three other arches nearly similar; one of the arches cut away, on one of which is the figure of a knight; on the two others ladies. The Easternmost figures on each side lie on the window-sill, the window itself forming the back part of the monument. In the body of the church, between the South pillars, are two plain stone monuments, raised about a yard and an half from the ground; on one are the statues of a man and his wife; on the other a man only. On the outside of the church, under an arch of very ancient work, against the South wall, lies the statue of a man in armour cross-legged, at present almost even with the ground¹. Of this family *John* is first mentioned by Sir William Dugdale² in this county, in the reign of Edward II. and contemporary with him, and also in that of Edward III. here in Suffolk and Oxfordshire, *Nicholas*. His brother, as supposed *Philip*, was here in the last reign. So little is known of this family, of whom here are nine monuments, and five of the figures cross-legged. The style of the monuments, and the figures on them, is so singular, that I could not deny myself the satisfaction of having them taken by Mr. Carter. It is needless to pass any censure on those engraved after Ashmole in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*.

"Against the West wall of the nave of the church of Great Haseley, Oxfordshire, is an effigy cut in stone of a knight cross-legged, the right leg laid over the left, in a military coat, resembling a long gown without sleeves, girt with the *cingulum militare*, with a small bolster under the head, and a sword directed from his right hand to the throat of a lion that lies at his feet, and at the back of a thick stone some small matter on every side larger than the statue, resembling a couch or bed, on which it was laid." Who this represents we are not told³. In Wood's MSS. it is thus described: "In the lower end of the church is an armed man cap a pee, cut out from a freestone, with his sword drawn [by his right hand out of the scabbard in his left] running it into a lion's mouth as it seems. All the armour and the rest of the stone hath been painted over with escallops. It is supposed that upon this shield was painted a cross between four escallops, Or. This statue is of a large size, and supposed by some to have been taken from the arch in the North aisle".

In the middle of the choir at Furness abbey, where the first barons of Kendal are interred, lies a procumbent figure of a man in armour cross-legged⁴.

On the North side of the chancel at Chartham in Kent is a large handsome brass plate, representing a man cross-legged in mail, curled hair, and on his shield, surcoat, and gonfannons, the arms of *Septvans*, supposed to cover the remains of *William Septvant*, sheriff of Kent & Richard II. It is near six feet high, and in exceeding good preservation, except the head of the lion, on which the figure stands. Round the verge of the stone are remains of some old French capitals, but very much obliterated⁵.

¹ Mr. Sheldon's description in *Bibl. Top. Brit.* N° XVI. p. 152.

² Bar. II. 127. ³ MS. T. Delafield.

⁴ Guide to the Lakes, p. 38. The figure is most wretchedly engraved, *Gent. Mag.* L.V. 418.

⁵ Tour in Kent, 1793, pp. 207, 211. 491.

Maitland¹ says, that in the site of the chapel of the Knights Templars on Mount Holy at Edinburgh, several *bodies* have been found *cross-legged* and having swords by their sides. He certainly mistook bodies for *effigies*.

The tomb of Alan lord of Galloway was lately to be seen in a niche in the cross aisle on the East side of the North door in *Dundrennan* abbey, Galloway. It is now demolished; but the mutilated trunk of his figure remains cross-legged in mail armour, a surcoat and belt across his right shoulder, and another round his waist. His lady, it is said, lay on the other side of the door². It is said the tomb of Alice prioress of Emanuel nunnery, Stirlingshire, 1296, was to be seen there, on which was her figure with a *distaff*³, undoubtedly mistaken for *crozier*.

What Dr. Nash describes as the figure of a *child* in the North wall of the chancel at Tenbury, is a small figure of granite, about four feet long, of which it is difficult now to say whether the legs are cross. It is in mail, the head on a single cushion, the face gone, a heart in its hand, sword from right to left across, and at the feet, what I should call a *bear*, though Mr. Habington called it a talbot. It has been supposed to represent a son of Sir John Sturmy, who followed his father to the crusade. I rather incline to believe that, like the little figure of like material and proportions in Bottesford church⁴, which may have lain over the heart of one of the Rosses or Albinis, this may have lain over that of one of the *Sturmys*⁵. The canopy over it is a pediment with crockets, terminating in a bouquet and sided by purpled finials, and within it one of those beautiful demiquatrefoil arches which so happily express the treelike ramifications of the Gothic arch. In front of the tomb on which the figure lies are five small niches. Some have referred such figures to children born in the Holy Land. Mr. Grose⁶ mentions at Ayot St. Laurence, in Hertfordshire, a wooden figure called the *Boy Templar*, "the figure of a boy about twelve years of age, cased in knight's armour, and having his legs cross." This is not mentioned by Salmon in his account of this church⁷. The manor was in the crown, or St. Bartholomew's priory, London; consequently this figure could not represent the son of any lord.

Of small proportion is a cross-legged figure, probably a *Bourchier* or *Lovain*, in Little Easton church, Essex. Mr. Bigland mentions a cumbent figure of a female about a yard in length, in Coberley church, Gloucestershire. Joan countess of Dreux, who died 1346, is represented in small proportions on her tomb, in the abbey of Jard, near Melun.

The boy bishop at Salisbury, now for the first time faithfully engraved from a drawing by Mr. Schnebbelie, is an instance of full proportion observed on monuments. See Pl. IV. fig. 1.

Cardinal Cholet's figure, in St. Lucian's abbey church at Beauvais, 1292, is of wood painted.

¹ Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 176.

⁶ Grose, Scotland, 183.

² Ib. 236.

⁴ Engraved from a drawing by Mr. Schnebbelie, in the History of Leicestershire, Vol. I. p. 23.

⁵ I know not on what authority Salmon supposed this a son of lord Arundel. Harris, 196. l. xcv.

⁶ Add. to Pref. p. 31.

⁷ P. 206.

Anthony the last lord Lucy of Egremont, who died 41 Edward III. has a large wooden figure on the South side of the nave at St. Bees¹, which, says Dr. Burn, "of a true portraiture, shews him to have been a large bodied man, upwards of six feet high, and proportionably corpulent."

On each side of the altar, at Acton Ingham, in Herefordshire, lies a rude figure of stone; the hands of the woman are clasped against the breast; the head and neck only of the man are sculptured, the remaining part being in the shape of a coffin². They are probably Roger or some of the *Effons*, lords here in the reign of Edward III. Similar figures in Brandon churchyard, Suffolk, mentioned, Introd. p. xcvi. having since been drawn by Mr. Schnebbelie, are here engraved. Pl. IV. fig. 2, 3, 4. Under a South arch of Appleby church, in Westmoreland, is a similar monument with a half figure, covered by a coffin-lid, on which is carved a rich cross. See Pl. IV. fig. 5.

In Ousby church, Cumberland, is a wooden figure of a man in armour; but there is no tradition to whom it belongs³.

In Slindon church, Suffex, on the North side of the chancel is a recumbent figure of a man in armour cut in wood⁴.

In the South wall of the chancel at Deeping Market, in Lincolnshire, is or was a wooden figure cross-legged, with the *Wake* arms in his shield; said to be *Baldwin Wake*, who died 10 Edw. I. It was not there 1782. and the Wake chapel on the North side of the chancel had been long down; but stone coffins have been dug up in it.

In Alderton and Afton church, in Northamptonshire, are two cross-legged knights in wood⁵. On a freestone altar monument covered with wood are the effigies of a man and woman with a child between them, carved in wood, in Paul's Perry church⁶. At Holdenby, a wooden figure of a man in a buttoned gown⁷.

In the South wall of the transept at the West end of the chapel of Greatham hospital, in the county of Durham, founded by Robert de Stichel bishop of Durham, 1272, and probably built at the same period, under an arch probably coeval with the original building, was a wooden figure much defaced of a man in the habit of a secular clergyman with a cap, under his habit between his legs the end of a staff, his head on a cushion, and a dog at his feet. On taking down the chapel to rebuild it, under the marble slab, resting on a row of smaller flags, was found a stone coffin five feet two inches long within, seventeen inches deep, twenty-two inches and an half wide at the head, and twenty at the shoulders; the bottom of lime or plaster level with the floor of the chapel. Within was a complete skeleton, the hands clasped over the breast, and a chalice, which seemed to have fallen from them, lying on the left side; the head had slipped forward, owing to the higher situation of that part of the coffin made for its reception. The only remaining substance in the coffin, besides the bones and dry dust, was a piece of rotten leather at the feet, probably part of the shoes. After being a few hours exposed to the air, the bones, which, on first opening, remained in their natural position, fell flat, and separated at the joints, but did not moulder away. The chalice also, which was made of

¹ Hist. of Cumb. I. 224.

² Burn, II. 41. Dugd. Bar. I. 566.

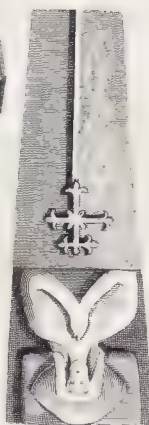
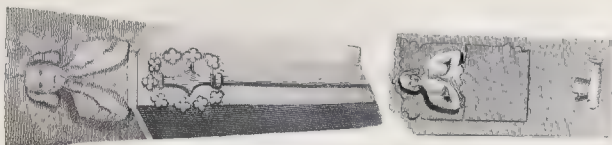
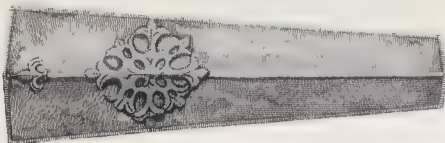
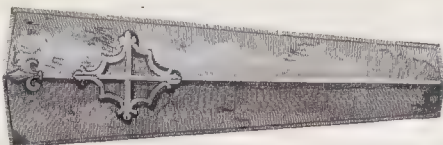
³ Bridges, I. 282. 284.

⁴ Mr. Duncombe's MS History of Herefordshire.

⁵ Topographical Collections, vol. I. under *Skiffis*.

⁶ Ib. 313.

⁷ Ib. 529.



(Monuments at Brandon, &c.)

At Brandon, &c. &c.

At Brandon, &c. &c.

pewter or lead, became brittle, and parted from the stalk. It was perfectly plain, without any figure or inscription, only the cover had a small raised line, which went round it, about an inch from the edge. The bones were reinterred under the altar of the new chapel which is built on part of the old one, by John William Egerton, Esq. son of the late bishop and present master of the hospital.¹ This was supposed to be the monument of *Andrew Stanley*, the first master.

"On the East window in the South aisle at Chew magna, c. Somerset, lies the effigy of Sir JOHN HAVTVILL, cut in one solid piece of Irish oak, removed from the church of Norton Hautville long since destroyed. He lies reclining on his left side, resting on his hip and left elbow, the left hand supporting his head. Between the left elbow and hip lies the shield, two feet three inches long and fourteen inches broad in the widest part. His right arm being brought forward over his breast the hand rests on the edge of the shield. The under or left leg is raised from the hip, and the foot placed against the side of a lion whose open mouth is turned towards him as it were biting his spur. The right leg is so drawn up as for the knee joint to bend in a right angle, the toes resting on a little piece of wood. The whole figure is in armour, with a red loose coat without sleeves over it, and bound round the waist with a leather girdle fastened by a gilt buckle, and just below the breast with a smaller belt. He has a helmet on and spurs gilt."²

"Sir John Hautville lived in the reign of Henry III. and was engaged in all the wars of that prince, and in the 54th of his reign was signed with the cross in order to his going to the Holy Land with prince Edward. In his old age he is said to have resided at Norton Hautville, which his ancestor held from the reign of John, and his posterity to that of Edward III. and where he seems to have been somewhat of a terror to the inhabitants, inasmuch as they termed him a *giant*; for no other reason in the world probably than because of the dimension of his figure on his tomb, or because he was the oldest lord of the manor they recollected: and there still remain in this neighbourhood between Chew and Pensford two large stones called by the common people *Hautville's Coirs*, and vulgarly supposed to have been thrown there by this champion, who resided in an old camp called *May's-knoll*."³

At the corner of the South aisle at Midsummer Norton, c. Somerset, stands the wooden effigy of a man in armour, which formerly lay under the fingers' gallery, on a raised tomb, long since damaged. It is vulgarly called by the inhabitants *Jack o' Lent*; but tradition says it belonged to one of the name of *Warknell*.⁴

In a South window of Great Marcle church, Herefordshire, lies the figure of a man in oak, his coat or outer garment buttoned to the bottom, and round it a belt with a scabbard, his hands clasped, and beard long,⁵ supposed a *Helion*, lord here about the reign of Edward III.

The wooden figure of Culpeper and lady, in Godehurst church, Kent, is dated 1537, in the Gentleman's Magazine.⁶

¹ Gent. Mag. LVIII. 1046. LIX. 591.

² Collinson, II. 92.

³ Ib. 107, 108.

⁴ Duncomb's MS. Hist. of Herefordshire.

⁵ Ib. 151.

⁶ LV. 679.

The series of Lumley monuments, which I passed over thirty years ago, since which they appear to have been much mutilated, I contented myself with barely noticing, as grossly violating all regard to the character of their times. Mr. Hutchinson¹ has taken pains to describe them, in his account of Chester-le-Street; but without giving the inscriptions, arms, or impalement, till he comes to George lord Lumley in the time of Henry VII.

They begin with Liulphus the friend and counsellor of Walcher bishop of Durham. Over him is a long descent of the family in Latin not exactly corresponding with one in Lumley castle, given by Mr. Hutchinson, p. 402. nor yet essentially different. Next comes his son Uhtred, and his grandson William, holding a parrot by the tail. The seventh figure, representing Robert de Lumley, is in a suit of Roman armour; and the eighth, his son Marmaduke, rests his head on a Roman helmet.

Mr. Hutchinson counts the next or ninth monument, which is a mural monument, held by two men in gowns, for Ralph lord Lumley, and his two sons, who was restored to Edward IV. and has a Hebrew word over it. The next figure is of Ralph first lord Lumley, son of Sir Marmaduke, in armour, in a round helmet, his sword erect in his left hand. His son Sir John Lumley, knight, is represented exactly like him, except that the helmet is a little pointed². The figure of George lord Lumley, who died 23 Henry VII. is habited in a dress similar to the robes of a peer as now worn. The two last in the series of fourteen Mr. Hutchinson describes as in robes, or rather gowns. He adds, from a MS in the British Museum, a fifteenth, in a round helmet, having the arms of Lumley on the surcoat, a pointed shield, a serpent at feet; removed to Chester-le-Street from Bernard castle.

To the instances of children who died infants represented in figures that bear any proportion to the small natural size, add that of William of Hatfield at York, another son of Edward III. who died in his infancy. Yet in the abbey of Chaloché are three children of Thibault lord de Mathfelson³, in small proportion, Philip son of Philip d'Artois, of Eu, and constable of France, 1397.

A tomb of alabaster, with a statue of the same, is frequently ordered by will⁴. A stone of marble so ordered is a slab⁵. Richard II. is said in his epitaph to be "sub marmore pictus," where his statue is of brass, and John Sleaford, 1401, at Balsham, with a brass plate. Just the reverse of this, Keith says, the statue of Robert bishop of Orkney, is engraved on the wall of the bishop's palace⁶. Heton bishop of Ely had a fair large monument built over his grave at Ely with his statue thereon lying on his back and hands erected in a praying posture⁷.

¹ Hist. of Durham, II. 392.

² These two figures are said to have been brought, with the remains of the persons represented, from the yard of Durham cathedral, by the North door, 1594. Hutchinson, ib. 392.

³ Mr. Wells, a correspondent of Mr. Urban's (LXI. 535. 613.) labours hard to derive this name from the Arabic, as an epithet of the Virgin Mary, when joined with her name in the dedication of a church in London. Plausible as this is, the same name given to an estate or manor in France would lead me to seek some other derivation for it and the application to the Virgin Mary.

⁴ See Dugdale, Bar. II. 62. 134.

⁵ Ib. 135.

⁶ Scotch Bishops, p. 133.

⁷ Wood, Ath. Ox. I. 725.

There was a *brass* figure on the slab of Jocelyn bishop of Wells, who died 1242, and was buried in the middle of the choir there built by him¹. Mr. Drake says, dean Langton's tomb at York, 1279, was inlaid with brass and gilt with gold².

In the church of Aldwic le Street near Doncaster is one of the most curious monuments for the Washington family, lords of this place, being white marble, with figures of the whole family traced or tricked in black in a singular manner.

Connected with figures cut in are some in low relief in stone, the faces and parts of the drapery hollowed out. Such is one in the South aisle of St. Martin's church, Leicester, representing a burgess in a gown, long piked shoes, and half the leg uncovered, his hands elevated, and under them on a shield . . . C

1592.

Another variety is intermixing lead in some parts of the drapery, as in some Norfolk brasses.

The art of enamelling flourished particularly at Limoges in France. So early as 1197, are mentioned "*duæ tabulæ superauratæ de labore Lemogicæ*." Ital. Sac. VII. p. 1274. Charpentier, v. *Limogicæ*, observes, that it was a frequent ornament of the most sumptuous tombs. Among other instances in our own country, that of Walter de Merton at Rochester; the expence of which is proved by the executors' accounts. "*Et computant £. XL. vs. vid. liberat Magistro Johanni Limovicensi pro tumba episcopi Roffensis*."

Enamelled brass figures occur in that of Sir Hugh Hastings, at Elfyng, 12... It seems highly probable that not only the wooden figures, as of Bois, &c. but all, or most, of the stone or alabaster figures on monuments were originally painted; Traces of gold and colours appeared on those at Mauvesyn Ridware: of Thomas Pygot, with armour, 1610, at Tewing³. Lady Anne Wingfield, at Letheringham, 1626⁴. William bishop of Bellamont and Angers, 1240, has a brass plate in the latter cathedral. Over the monument of dean Boys, 1642, in Canterbury cathedral, in a taste not common, is his portrait painted on copper in a beautiful frame of white marble⁵.

Another distinction in armorial bearings, besides those mentioned Vol. I. Intro. p. cv. is by bearing the different arms on the surcoat and on a penon in the hand⁶.

Whether the fashion of having armorial bearings on the shield began with the monuments of crusaders, as Mr. Dallaway seems to suppose⁷, it was continued on the table on which other figures lay, as that of queen Eleanor at Westminster⁸, the spandrils of the canopy, the mantle of lady Warner at Worcester⁹, and the surcoat of William de Valence at Westminster¹⁰, and on brasses we find them on the habits, and on the pillars and spandrils of the canopies, and at the corners and sides of the slab.

¹ Godwin, p. 372.

² Ebor. p. 563.

³ Salmon, 50.

⁴ Vol. II. 29.

⁵ Todd's Lives of the Deans of Canterbury, p. 110.

⁶ Wood, MSS. Bib. Bodl. Dallaway's Inquiries into the Science of Heraldry, p. 36, n.

⁷ P. 104, 105.

⁸ Vol. I. Pl. XXVII.

⁹ Spelman, p. 34.

¹⁰ Vol. I. Pl. XXIII.

Arms of religious houses were put on their carriages, as on that used for conveying the dead body of Edward II. from Berkley castle. In the Register of Gloucester abbey, in Queen's college, Oxford: "*Iste tum abbas suo curru honorifice ornato cum armis ejusdem ecclesie depictis eum a castello de Berkeley adduxit, et ad monasterium Glouc. est delatus*".

Lord Hales sees no evidence of any coats armorial in Scotland before William the Lion, who began to reign 1185¹.

Few in England quartered arms before 1388.² The first instance of them I have met with on an episcopal monument is bishop Marshal at Exeter, 1216. Those over the tomb of Richard Foliot bishop of Hereford, 1186, I believe, were first put on when it was repaired by bishop Beauclerc, who claimed alliance to him.

M. Lebeuf³ is of opinion that several crosses represented on the head part of a coffin-lid denoted that a bishop was buried there. One with seven crosses in the crypt of St. Argle, at Nevers, passes for the coffin of that bishop, who died about A. D. 594. The remains of a similar one are to be seen in the cloister of the antient priory of St. Stephen in the same city. Two with five and three crosses at Chartres in the crypt of the antient bishops at St. Martin au Val: that of St. Calotrie bishop of Chartres, who died at the close of the sixth century, behind the cathedral, has three crosses like the other, but not of the same height with the coffin. All these coffins are of hard stone and of one piece.

Croisiers alone on tombs are more common in France than among us. Instances occur in the abbeys of Preully and Jony. Those on the abbots' tombs at the first of these exactly resemble that of Sutton at Dorchester⁴, and the crozier pierces one or two dragons. Nicholas d'Auberici, abbot of Ardenne, 1362, has a hand and crozier: so has abbot Mark there . . . the top a snake, the point turned up in two vine tendrils: also abbot Peter, 1261; and John le Blont, 1380; William Graveran, 1385; Peter . . . Maurice de Fauroles, abbot of Breuil-Benoist, 1520, has a hand holding a crozier on a dragon with a scroll across it. On the tomb in Hawkswell church yard, Yorkshire, a stone-coffin with crosses; to the transverse of the cross corresponds a transverse of the coffin. Another has a cross and sword. On the tomb of an abbot at Romsay, a hand reaches from under the edge of it towards the cross⁵. David, abbot of St. Austlin's, Bristol, who resigned 1234, was buried under a stone, with the figure of a human skull and a cross on it, near the elder Lady chapel, still to be seen there⁶. On a slab placed on four plain pillars at the corners, and a mass under the middle, as if once faced with stone in the ruins of Bayham abbey is a beautiful crozier in relief. Pl. V. fig. 3. Another, Pl. VII. fig. 2. on a coffin-fashioned stone among the same ruins.

¹ Dallaway, p. 104. n.

² Remarks on Hist. of Scotland.

³ Habington, MS. in Nash's Worcestershire, II. 143.

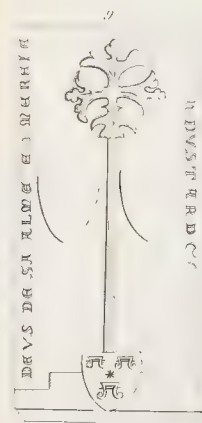
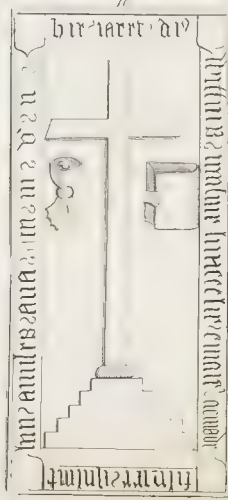
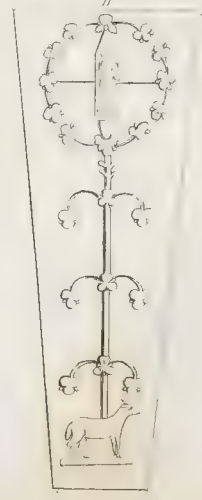
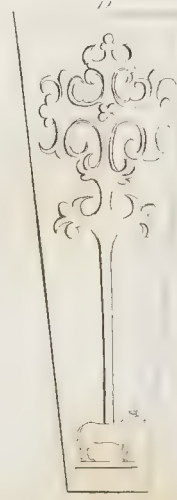
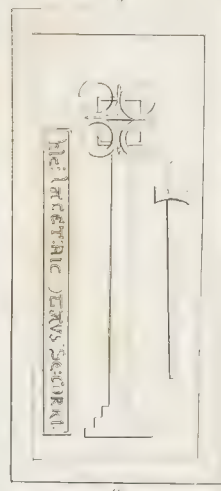
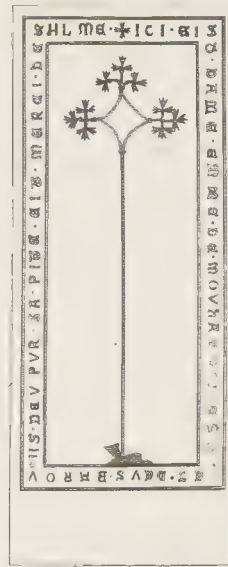
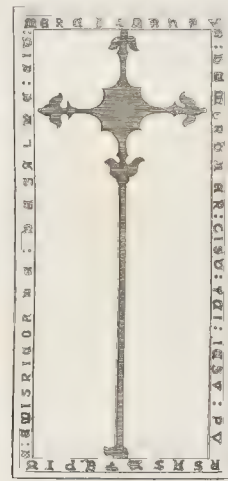
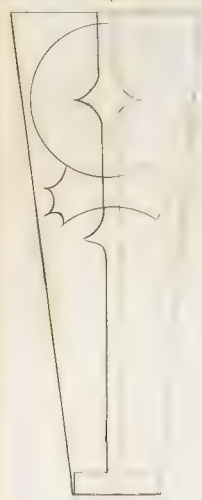
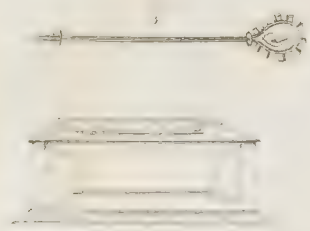
⁴ Dissertations, I. 293.

⁵ Re-engraved, Pl. VI. fig. 5.

⁶ Antiq. Repert. IV. 95.

⁷ Barrett, p. 266.





Crosses are often found over incumbents in churches where there is nothing else worth observation; and by comparing the form of these without dates with those that have dates, their ages may be nearly ascertained, and then the dates of the erection of churches and different parts of them may be better discovered.

Yorkshire churches afford many more curiosities than those in the Southern counties, which may be accounted for from the greater number of wealthy persons, who, by reason of the manufactories, have resided in it.

A cross with a chalice at Sedgebarrow¹; one with an ax or bill by it, at Lichfield²; one with a long sword on the South side of Gainforth chancel in the church-yard; Pl. V. fig. 4. A very antient tomb-stone shaped like a coffin-lid in the burying ground at Ecclesfechan in Annandale has a rude cross, and on one side of it a long sword, and on the other an inscription which Mr. Ridell, who communicated it to me, 1788, reads, *Hic jacet Nicolaus de Corrie*. A very antient family of that name once existed in that country, and gave their name to the adjoining parish of Corrie, and ended in an heiress, who married a second son of the laird of Johnstone. See Pl. V. fig. 6.

On a slab laid on a modern altar-tomb for Thomas Beaume of Clapcot, Esq. in a burying-ground near the castle at Wallingford, is a very plain cross. Two crosses flory on ridged coffinlids are in the South chancel of Dorchester church, Oxfordshire, Pl. VI. fig. 3 and 4. A third of plainer form on a flat coffinlid in the same church, fig. 6. One formed of leaves and issuing from leaves in the North transept of Winchester cathedral, Pl. LIII. fig. 4.

At the South East entrance into St. Martin's churchyard, Salisbury, are two stones of a singular form, one six feet by two and three quarters at the head, and eighteen inches at feet, having a cross flory on it, and by its side a hatchet or bill, with an inscription in Lombardic capitals on both sides of the cross and on the weapon, importing, as far as can be read (the name indistinct) *giß ici—de sa aime face*—At the head and feet of the tomb is a plain cross. The other tomb is quite plain, except the crosses at head and feet. See plate LIII. fig. 5.

Mr. Grose considers a cross and sword on the same coffinlid as implying that an abbot had both temporal and spiritual authority, the privilege of the *furca*, &c. as at Baileysalla abbey, in the Isle of Man³; but this seems rather doubtful, and contrary to the like examples given in Vol. I. Plate of crosses II. 4. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10. III. 10. which are all over laity and in parish churches.

Near Rushen abbey is a blue stone of one of the abbots, distinguished by the pastoral staff and a broad sword, denoting he had as well temporal as spiritual authority; but there is no date or inscription visible⁴.

John Bordier abbot of St. Victor, at Paris, 1543, holds such a crutch as is engraved, Pl. I. of crosses, fig. 1.

¹ Nash, Worcesterhire, II. 341.

² Gent. Mag. LIX. 4. 67.

³ See his account of that abbey, and of Sepulchral Monuments, in additions to his Preface, p. 30.

⁴ Robertson, Description of the Isle of Man, p. 91.

In the South aisle, over the tomb of an abbot under an arch at Tewksbury, is a cross ramified with trefoils, raised on a lamb, and surmounted by a circle of trefoil leaves surrounding a figure in a niche, holding something in each hand like a staff and book. Pl. V. fig. 11.

A cross in the middle aisle of Great Milton church, Oxfordshire, stands on a lamb with a nimbus. Pl. V. fig. 12.

See the figure on a cross, plate IV. fig. 8. of crosses, *Introd. to Vol. I.* and that of St. Faith, II. Pl. LXXIII. Two others from Cobham and Stone church, Kent, Pl. XI*. and LIII. 2. and a third from Taplow church, in Buckinghamshire, LIII. 1. over a fishmonger, whose figure is on the cross, which stands on a fish. Such figures were not always saints, but represented the party interred.

The cross, Pl. V. fig. 5. occurs on the tomb-stones of two priors of Monk Breton in Yorkshire, uncovered in 1762, in a field where the dryness of the summer had occasioned the herbage to decay in the form of the coffins.

Great part of the church wall at Tottington, in Norfolk, is toped with large coffin stones, with crosses of various forms on them. They were formerly laid over the vicars or other religious persons who were buried there, and have since been taken from their graves and applied to the present use¹. In the churchyard at Leckhampton, Gloucestershire, is the cross engraved Pl. V. fig. 1.

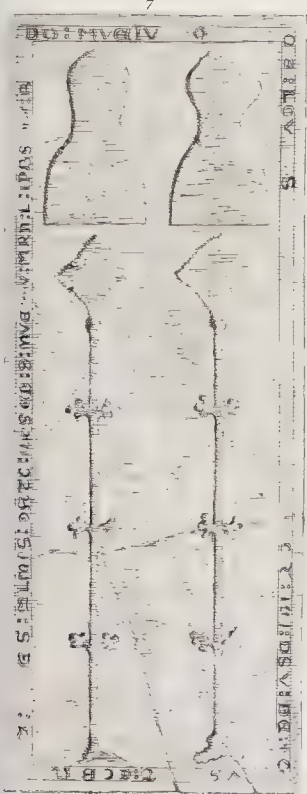
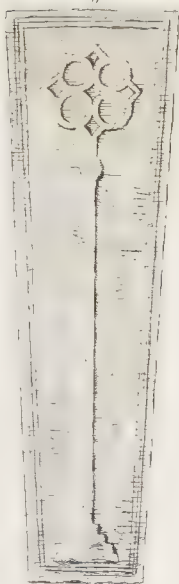
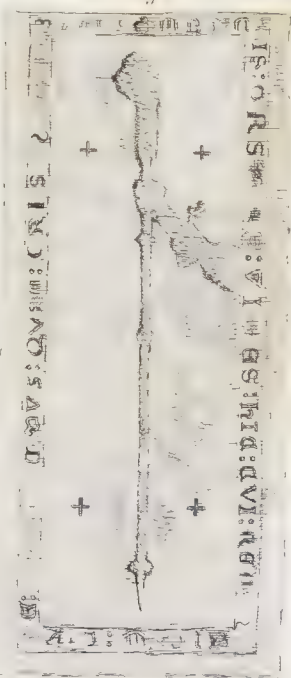
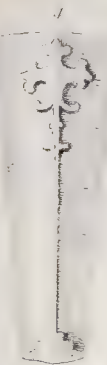
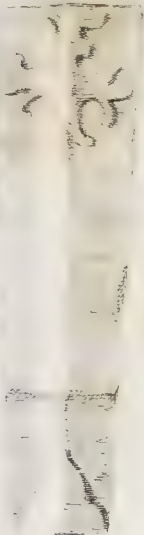
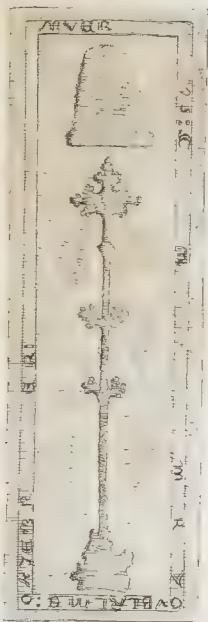
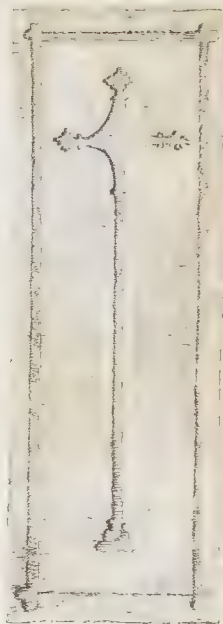
In Kirk Dighton church, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, is a cross flory between two blank shields, and at the foot the arms of Roßs, with a mullet of difference, and an imperfect inscription in capitals round it, for one of the Roßses of Ingmanthorp in that parish, formerly lords of it, Pl. V. fig. 9. That with an inscription in similar letters in Stradset church-yard, Norfolk, Pl. V. fig. 7; another in Tiltney church, Essex, fig. 8; and a fourth in Dorchester church, Oxfordshire, Pl. VI. fig. 2; in which church a fifth, that once had an inscription, is engraved in the same plate, fig. 1.

The cross florè with the bible and chalice at the sides is not uncommon in the Durham churches. Mr. Allan describing one over Thomas Lever, master of Sherborne hospital, in its chapel, 1576, engraved in his *History of the Hospital*, p. 120, supposes him, from the emblems, to have been "an itinerant preacher through England;" but this is a mistake, and the emblem a common one. It occurs in St. Mary's church, at Leicester, and in some other churches in that county. A similar monument from St. Andrew's, in Scotland, may be seen Pl. V. fig. 10.

One of the finest varieties of crosses which I recollect among us in England is in the antechapel of Merton-college, at Oxford, for John Bloxham, seventh warden, who was elected 1375, and died 1387. The flowered shaft rests on a tabernacle inclosing the Holy Lamb, and under the two steps is a scroll inscribed with the names of the two persons whom it commemorates.

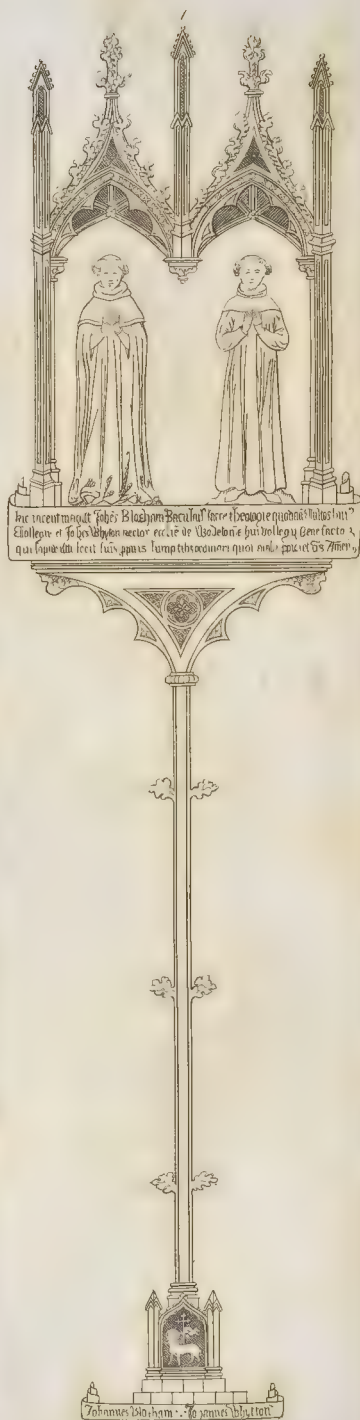
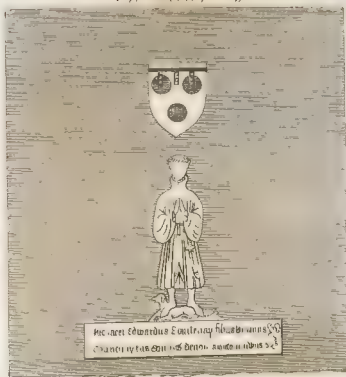
Johannes Bloxham : Johannes Wabytton.

¹ Blomefield, I. 619.



Grave Stones with Crosses at Dorchester, Oxfordshire.





Brasiers in the ante Chapel of Herton College, Oxford.

These figures in gowns with standing capes, and with the tonsure, stand under rich tabernacles with finials on the top, and under them is a scroll with this inscription :

**Hic jacent magist' Joh'es Bloxham Baccalar' sacre theologie
et quo'da' custos hui'
Collegii et Joh'es Whyton rector ecc'ie' de Wodeton hui'
collegii benefactor
Qui lapide' istu' fecit suis p'p'is sumptib' ordinari quor'
aiab' propiciet' de' Amen.**

See it Pl. VII. 1.

This is the only one on which the plate remains of four large grey marble slabs over four wardens at the bottom of the steps which lead up to the altar, laying at the head of each other. It has been removed, with the other three, into the outer chapel, or below the screen, to make the pavement of the inner chapel more uniform, when it was paved and otherwise adorned, 1671.¹

An old catalogue in the college archives, cited by Mr. Gutch², says of John Bloxam, that he was, "regi Edvardo tertio charus et in arduis ejus negotiis ad "Hiberniam et Scotiam legationem sæpius obiens vir undequaque doctissimus."

John Whyton is omitted by Wood, among "the divers benefactors, whose gifts were small³."

In the same antechapel is another stone, with a cross supporting a bust of a priest, and on the ledge an inscription in Saxon or Lombardic capitals, which seems to be that round *Richard Camfale* professor of divinity, and sometime fellow of this house, and commissary of the University, in the latter end of the reign of Edward II. as given by Mr. Gutch⁴:

*Orate pro anima magistri Ricardi de Camfale sacre pagine professor . . .
. . . hic jacet tumulatum.*

"Upon the stone a cross erected," See Pl. VII. 2.

A cross with marks of a bust above it in Dorchester church, Oxfordshire, may be seen Pl. VI. fig. 2. Two more surmounted with busts on one slab in the same church, fig. 7.

A cross, or rather pedestal of a different form, has a brass figure of a priest in his habit in the middle of the chancel of *Hanny* church, Berkshire; and round the verge this imperfect inscription engraved from a drawing in the College of arms:

**Hic jacet d'ns Joh'es Seys quondam rector ecclesie de . . .
. . . obiit ii^o die . . . dñi millo CCC . . .
Cujus aie.**

See Pl. LIII. fig. 3.

¹ Gutch, Hist. of Halls and Colleges, p. 23.

² Ib. p. 6.

³ Ib. p. 5.

⁴ Ib. p. 24. ⁵ Ashmole's Berks, I. 77.

On a flat stone monument in the North side of Hemingburgh church, c. York, is a skeleton in a winding sheet, but without any legible inscription ¹.

Under a window in Landaff cathedral is a figure of an emaciated corpse in a winding sheet, in which the appearance of *death brought on by a long sickness* is admirably characterised ².

Bishop Ruffel, in Lincoln cathedral, 1430, has, under his figure pontifically habited, a skeleton.

John Wakeman, the last abbot of Tewksbury and first bishop of Gloucester, who died 1550, is so represented in the chapel of St. Edmund the Martyr, at Tewksbury, under a rich canopy, and the face of the tomb covered with trefoil and quatrefoil work ³, which has all been engraved by Mr. Lysons ⁴. It was erected in his life-time.

The skeleton which I before ascribed to bishop Lacy at Exeter really belongs to some other bishop. The statue lies in a shroud fastened at the head. The arms on the spandrels are two keys in saltire. The groining of the arch over it is very uncommon. This monument is cut in the North wall, and the stone seat of the church serves as a base to it. The inscription on the frieze is,

**Ista figura docet nos omnes premeditari
Qualiter ipsa nocet mors quando venit dominari.**

The whole is very perfect, as indeed are all the monuments in this cathedral, and the building itself is more so than any of our antient buildings.

The figure in Westbury church, Gloucestershire, is engraved by Bonner; as is also another of Thomas Tanner, founder of the South aisle of Durley church, in the same county, for Mr. Bigland's Collections. A MS note in a copy of Willis's Account of Gloucester cathedral in my possession, says, "This monument seems never to have had any inscription; it is an altar-tomb with a skeleton lying on it."

In the middle of the Leveredge chapel in Frome church, on an open tomb, lies the effigy of a man almost naked and of an emaciated appearance. On an adjoining stone is this inscription: "W. L. Recordare Creatoris in diebus juventutis tuæ." Such is Mr. Rack's description of a skeleton ⁵.

At the East end of the North aisle at Stalbridge is an altar tomb with a skeleton in a shroud, under his head a cushion with roses. In front of the tomb three blank shields in quatrefoils ⁶.

The first earl of Salisbury at Hatfield is represented both in his robes and as a skeleton.

¹ Burton, Mon. Ebor. p. 447.

² Not Edward Wakeman, *Esg.* as by mistake, p. cxi.

³ Gloucestershire Views, Pl. XLV.

⁴ Collinson's Somersetshire.

⁵ Hutchins, Dorset, II. 247.

⁶ Grose.

Thomas Childes, clerk of St. Lawrence's church, Norwich, 1451, has a skeleton on his braft¹.

Nicholas Frejot abbot of St. Loup at Troyes has on his tomb in that church a skeleton three feet from the ground, eaten by worms, and of inestimable workmanship².

John de Beauvais bishop of Angers is a mitred skeleton in braft, holding a crozier, in the cathedral of Angers, 1479. More modern is that of Geoffrey Suet last regular abbot of Beaulieu near Mons, under an altar tomb, in the centre of which are five crosses. At the back of the tomb of René of Anjou is his figure in skeleton royally habited and crowned reclining as dead, his globe and sceptre at his feet. On the catafalques of Louis XII. Francis I. and Henry II. kings of France the bodies are represented naked and emaciated. On the tombs of Henry II. and Catherine de Medici there are two distinct rich figures in white marble, on bronze slabs, in the same chapel of the house of Valois, at St. Denis. Also on the monument of the Brevedent family, in St. Saviour's church at Rouen, 1590.

There is a skeleton standing on bishop Hall's monument at Norwich, 1660.

On the tomb of Francis Fyot, baron de Montpont, who died 1716, in the church of St. Benedict, at Paris, was a figure of Death, much admired by all connoisseurs, represented as a skeleton flying, and removing a veil from a funeral urn³. We can shew a figure of Death of equal merit in Westminster-abbey, on the monument of Mr. Nightingale.

In the church of St. John en l'Isle near Corbeil is a skeleton, with a label from its mouth, bearing the text of Luke xiii. 3. *nisi poenitentiam habueritis omnes similiter peribitis*. And on another from the head a kind of commentary thereon⁴.

In the chapel of St. Clair in the church at Gisors is a figure in white marble, five feet long by two wide, cut in a hollow⁵, representing a human body half consumed by worms, most admirably executed by the celebrated Goujon, the first native statuary of France, and perfectly expressing the external anatomy of the body, and the head with a striking expression of pain, but exposed to the injuries of schoolboys. M. Millin recommended the National Assembly to remove it into their Lyceum; but it is probably by this time involved in the general wreck of all works of art and taste in that wretched kingdom.

Over it, in Gothic characters:

Quisquis ades tu morte cades, sta, respice, plora.

Sum quod eris modicum cineris, pro me precor ora.

Under it:

Fay maintenant ce que voudras

Avoir fait quand tu te mourras.

Je fus en ce lieu mis l'an 1526.⁶

¹ Blomef. III. 676.

² un cadavre a trois pieds de terre rongé par les vers, d'un travail inestimable. Voy. lit. de deux religieux Benedicins, I. 92. See a fine skeleton in stone, Antiq. Nationales.

³ Millin, Antiquités Nationales, Vol. III. N° XXXIX. p. 28. pl. iii.

⁴ Ib. N° XXXIII. p. 12. Pl. IV. fig. 4. ⁵ taillé en avier. ⁶ Ib. V. iv. p. xlv. pl. i. p. 10.

Vol. II.

Skeletons are not unfrequent on the monuments of classical antiquity : count Caylus has given one in a cave or catacomb near the antient Sydon ; but he describes it as a body wrapt up in funeral linen ¹. Gori² describes a sarcophagus among the other figures on which was Pluto in his chariot carrying off a soul, preceded by Mercury going into a round building, near which lay a skeleton. In the Museum Florentinum by Gori, Tab. xc. f. 3. is on a gem "bubulcus duplici canens tibia saltanti mortis sceletto." Gori says, a figure of death was brought to antient feasts ; see Burman in Petron. c. 34. Larva argentea.

Hippocrates had consecrated to Apollo, in his temple at Delphi, a brazen skeleton, which Pausanias thus describes : *Εν τοῖς ἀναθημασὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνοῦ μῦθημα ἦν χαλκὸν κρονιαίου καὶ ἐρρυηκότος τε ἡδὴ τὰς σαρκὰς καὶ τὰ ὅσα ὑπολείποντο μόνη* ³.

In the North chapel of the church at Hitchin are "the effigies of a man and woman with part of their habit tied above their heads standing up four inches. The woman's hair hangs down on each side like a long peruke." This is Salmon's description of figures in shrouds ⁴.

In Grendon church, Northamptonshire, is a woman in a winding sheet by a man in armour ⁵. The same in Harrowden church ⁶. A figure in a shroud with scrolls round it was in the vestry at Enfield ; now brassless.

In St. Jean le Rond at Paris on the slab of William Callot, 1446, he is in a shroud sewed up in front, a label of deprecation from his mouth. So also Leodegar de Monfêl and Oliver Bourgeois, 1408, in the Maturins' church at Paris.

Two men in winding sheets, with their heads turned back, in the Mathurine church at Paris, represent two scholars of the university who were hanged for some great crime, 1407, but restored to their rank and honourable sepulture on the remonstrance of the University ⁷.

In the Carthusian church at Paris the soul of Chabertus Hugonis, canon 1352, is carried up by flying angels.

The Deity holds one over Pascal, prior of St. Hilary 13 . . , and abbot of Longley and Cousture, near Mans, 1399. Also in the pediment of the fine tomb of lady Eleanor Clifford Percy, in Beverley Minster ⁸, where, at the back of the Father, is represented the Son, seated, pointing with his right-hand to the wound in his side, and extending his left in a posture of benediction, the print of the nail appearing in the open palm. M^{rs} Renie Barnard at Angers, 1507. Two angels carry up John de la Bernichiere abbot of St. Aubin at Angers, 1376, in brafes. Peter abbot of St. George, at Angers, 1305. John, tenth abbot there, 1324. Helias, in the abbey of St. Aubin there. Francis abbot of St. Sergius. At the head of George lord of Preaux, in the church of Notre Dame in the castle of Loches a

¹ Ill. p. 124. Pl. XXXV.

² Inscriptions Antiq. Etrusque, I. 382.

³ Phœc. c. 2.

⁴ Salmon, Herts, p. 165.

⁵ Bridges, I. 357.

⁶ Ib. II. 105. Of the strange error concerning a woman at Woodford, in the same county, see before, p. cvi. n. 10.

⁷ Antiq. Nation. III. xxxii. pl. ii. fig. 16. p. 33.

⁸ Il. Pl. CXL. CXII.

mitred figure, perhaps his patron saint, holds the soul at his head. The Deity holds that of Katherine d'Alenoon duchess of Bavaria, &c. 1462, in the church of St. Genevieve de Mons. Two souls are over the heads of Peter de Navarre earl of Mortaigne, 1412, and his wife Catherine, in the Chartreuse at Paris. One in brass of Louis de Bourbon, 1404, in the Jacobins at Paris. The Deity and angels hold those of Mary de Bretagne, 1371; and Isabel d'Artois, 1344; both nuns of St. Louis de Poissy. That of Nicolas de Harqueville, canon, counsellor, and matter of requests, &c. 1500. in Notre Dame at Paris. Peter counsellor and chancellor there, 1501. Louis Dureffe counsellor and abbot there, 1528. Hugh de Dieu, 1487. John de Breuil, 1400. James Ceffon, 1370. Simon de Beurich, 1410. Peter de Chasteaubrian, 1511. all canons there and others, 1349. 1360. 1440. 1482. 1500. 1508. 1510. 1517. 1526. 1529. 1530. 1532. 1544. 1558. bishops of Paris, &c. 1332. 1447. 1472. 1491. 1519. 1578. In St. Yvo's church at Paris, 1477. 1479. 1489. 1504. 1508. 1509. 1512. 1526. 1533. 1551.

The soul of Henry lord de Pary, in Preuilly abbey, is lifted up by two angels to a hand from heaven receiving it. At the head of a lady at Nanteuil two bishops carry off her soul. Those of two abbots of Herivaux, whose figures are on one and the same stone, are conveyed together in the same sheet. The souls of Aufculph and Jofceline de Vieray in Longpont abbey are pontifically habited and united. Jacques le Bouriois and wife, in the Jacobin church at Chalons, are carried off together in one sheet, 1334. 1343. As also Nicolas Lanpatris and wife there, 1292. 1295. Those of Adeline wife of Roncui le Chauvrant in the same church with her two daughters, 1329, are all three together.

At the head of the figure of Henry third duke of Lorraine, on his tomb in Beaupre abbey, two angels carry away his soul crowned and praying.

At the head of the dukes Thiebaut II. and Ferry IV. in the same abbey, four angels lift up their crowned praying souls in a sheet.

Angels standing at the knees of the Deity hold up by the ends the sheet in which the soul of St. Maur is carried up at Higham Ferrars, Pl. CXVIII.

On the North side of the altar at Belton, c. Leicester, is a beautiful alabaster figure of a lady in a close veil headdress, wimple, close plaited gown girt round her waist, and over it an elegantly folded mantle gathered up below in graceful folds by her left hand, which holds a book: her right hand is laid on her breast; and at her feet is a griffin. Her head is on a cushion. On the spandrils of the arch clustered columns round her head fretty on sprigs. Three elegant figures kneel, and another at feet; one of them holds a book. Against her feet a figure with the arms extended, and a female standing with her hands elevated at his right hand, a priest with the albe kneeling at his left. At the head two angels carry up in a sheet a figure whose ribs and navel are expressed; two figures, seeming priests with albes; one with a book praying.

¹ Calmet, Hist. de Lorraine, III.

² Engraved in Mr. Nichols's Leicestershire, under the parish of Belton.

On the left spandril a kind of scroll on a round charged with a rose. This figure placed at present on a clumsy altar-tomb of coarse workmanship is supposed to represent the lady Roisia de Verdun, the foundress of Gracedieu abbey, and to have been removed from its chapel at the dissolution. It is certainly in too good a style for an ordinary parish church.

M. Millin describes a figure of the Deity holding two souls in the nave of Gomer Fontaine abbey church, over the figures of a man and his wife, as "a woman holding in her drapery three little children." He equally mistakes the crown of thorns in the hand of an angel for a crown of cords and the Deity between two angels for Jesus Christ¹.

Malbyffe at Acafter Malbyffe has a heart in his hands.

Lady Frances Rous, so late as 1715, holds a heart in her right hand on her monument at Rous Lench, Worcesterfhire².

One of the Aldburghs, an armed knight in Aldburgh church, Yorkfhire, in brass, holds a heart in his hands.

Nicholas de Papillars and wife, in the Cordeliers church at Chalons, 1254. 1258. hold churches, as Cobham in Cobham church, Pl. VI.

Priests hold chalices; as a stone priest at Salewarpe, in Worcesterfhire, with a lion at his feet and angels at his head³: frequently books; as two at York, on the top of the wall of St. Laurence's churchyard, and one which I saw dug out of the ruins of St. Mary's abbey church there; and in France, where also religious ladies have books.

"From the ruins of Furnefs abbey was removed to the manor-house a cum-bent colossal figure, the head broke off, representing a man lying on his back, dressed in a plaited albe, with a stole about his neck, and a maniple on his left arm (the ensigns of priesthood), pressing a book⁴ (most likely the Gospel, or statutes of the order) to his breast with both hands, which was the manner in which the monks buried their abbots. There are no letters nor epitaphs to point out the person here intended to be represented." But Mr. West⁵ supposes it was William de Cockeram twenty-second abbot of Furnefs, 6 Edw. III. buried in the chapter-house, over whom, Still, a writer of the house, says the monks laid no epitaph, but a colossal figure in his tomb-stone."

The figure of Mrs. Norris, who died 1779, in Finchley churchyard is cut in freestone on an altar-tomb, veiled, recumbent on her right arm, her left extended over an urn or globe.

On the tomb of William de Marniaude lord of la Roche Clermault in Seuilley abbey, 1272, his two wives are placed together on his left hand.

In the middle of the choir of Chalochè Thibault de Mathfelon and his son with Beatrix wife of Thibault, and the wife of his son, lie all together, the men in pairs, as well as the women at their right.

¹ Antiq. Nat. IV. N° XLII. p. 17.

² Natb. II. 86.

³ Ib. II. 337.

⁴ Wretchedly engraved Gent. Mag. LV. p. 418.

⁵ Hist. of Furnefs, p. 82.

John Feld, merchant of the staple, and his son (the father in a furred gown, the son in a tabard of arms, with seven children below), are on one slab of an altar tomb at Standon in Hertfordshire, 1474.

In the church of Wotton, in the same county, are two men of the name of Bardolf, lords of a manor of their own name, and cousins, in armour, in brass, on the same slab; and the wife of one of them. See p. 366.

Under the brass figures of two of the Carew family at Beddington in Surrey, 1414, the children are represented by thirteen busts, with their names superscribed; on the brass of Girars le Saynes, esq. and his wife in the Jacobins church at Chalons, are sixteen children, whole length, in niches with their names over them; and under John Hannetoy and his wife, at Vauluisant, seven in niches, without names.

Yvon eldest son of Salvon de Chafaut is between his parents at Villeneuve abbey near Nantes, 1370.

Thiephaine la Magine nurse of René d'Anjou and his sister Mary queen of Charles VII. of France, holds both children in her arms on her tomb at Notre Dame de Nantillé de Saumur, 1458. The posthumous son of Louis le Hutin king of France, born Nov. 15, died 19, 1316, is by the side of his father on his tomb at St. Denis. On a rich brass of Thomas de la Marche and wife, in St. Benet's church at Paris, 1440. 1462. the sons and daughters stand at and before their parents' feet. So also Peter des Effars, 1418, in the Mathurins church there, and Robert Gercibelin's, 1411, at the Carthusians. Margaret de Viellard lady Dornville has a dog at her feet, 1584, in the Jacobins church at Chartres. Louisa Aymery, 1539, at Ferieres en Brie, has her son and daughter at her feet. The wife and daughter (eleven years old) of Ferris, 1368. 1379. are on one brass in the Jacobins church at Chalons:

A child in swaddling clothes appears on a tomb in the church of Knipton, c. Leicester¹. There is a small brass figure of another on a little stone in the East cross aisle of Hornsey church for John Skevington. There is one at Vincennes, in the Antiquités Nationales, Pl. X. fig. 2. p. 49. with the hands elevated.

On the tomb of Gerard d'Alface first of the name, count of Vaudemont and Hadvide his wife, founders of the priory of Belval, near Chatel sur Mozelle, formerly in the cloister, were three figures embracing each other.

In the monastery of La Val de choux are the tombs of two children, said to belong to some children of the dukes of Burgundy. The sculpture round the tomb representing a funeral procession shews that it contains a person of consequence, the person who performs the ceremony being habited as a bishop².

Philip Pot, in the church of Citeaux abbey has his figure in armour on a tomb six feet high supported by mourners³, each holding a shield of arms of his alliances⁴.

¹ Nichols's Leicestershire, Vol. I. p. 238. Pl. XLIV.

² Voy. lit. de deux Benedictines, I. 113.

³ *deuils*.

⁴ *ib.* p. 206.

Round the tomb of prince Louis eldest son of St. Louis, at Royaumont, are the priests assisting at his funeral procession.

In a Gothic nich under the North wall of Pendomer church, c. Somerset, is a man in armour, with his shield on his left arm, and belt and sword; head bare lying on his helmet. At his head and feet stand the effigies of his two sons supporting an archt canopy. This is supposed one of the *Domer*, or *Dummer* family, lords of the manor after the Conquest¹.

"Against the North wall of a North chapel at Long Aston, in the same county, is a monument of stone, richly decorated with Gothic tracery and imagery, much superior to most similar works of the age wherein it was erected; with the effigies under a fine canopy of Sir Richard Choke, judge: lord chief justice of England, [who died 1486], and Margaret Moore his second wife. He is in his judge's robes; and she in the dress of the times. Two cherubs [angels]², support their heads. At his feet a lion, at hers a dog. On the back of the monument above the figures are two angels supporting in well-drawn attitudes a glory in which was formerly the representation of our Saviour on the cross, but which is now effaced. Above these on a scroll reaching from end to end is the following sentence: *Thy, for thy grete pety of our synnes have mercy. And for the love of pi passion bring o'r soules to salvacio*. On another scroll underneath, *Misericors X'ie fili Dei vidi misereere nostri*. At each corner are arms: on the dexter side, O. a saltire G. on the sinister O. a cross G. On the front of the tomb are these coats; 1. *Choke* impaling *Erm.* on a fess G. three martlets O. a crescent for distinction, *Pavey*, his first wife. 2. *Choke*, impaling A. two chevrons S. between three roses G. seeded O. 3. *Choke* impaling *Lyons*³."

Mr. Hutchinson⁴ has copied the rules for Sepulchral Monuments from *Bailey's Dictionary*, with some variations from those given Vol. I. Introd. p. cxv. cxvi.

Instances of monuments of equal magnificence over the body and bowels are of queen Eleanor at Westminster and Lincoln⁵. Whether this held in persons of inferior rank is uncertain; or whether it was not the effect of Edward's high regard for her.

"Sir Ralph Tendring's tomb who built the chapel at the East end of the South aisle at Brockdish, Norfolk, stands against the East wall North and South, and has a sort of a cupola over it with a holy-water slope by it and a pedestal for the image of the saint to whom it is dedicated to stand on, so that it served both for a tomb and an altar⁶."

Dr. Ducarel seems to have mistaken the stalls in the South wall of choir for founder's tombs at Farringdon and Dorchester⁷.

¹ Collinson's Somerset, II. 349.

² It is surprising, according to the modern idea of cherubs as only winged *beasts*, any person should apply it to angels who are winged *bodies*.

³ Collinson's Somerset, II. 300.

⁴ Durham, II. 393.

⁵ Blomefield, III. 222.

⁶ Gent. Mag. LV. 433, 434.

⁷ I. p. 65, 66.

In the South wall under two lancet windows, at Aldenham, in Hertfordshire, under similar surbait arches with a fascia of quatrefoils on embattled tombs, are two figures of women in the close and veil headdress, ornamented surcots and laces studded, besides cordon on breast, close gown and flowing kirtle, single cushion and angels, a hound at their feet. On front in quatrefoils a chevron engrailed between three birds volant, and on a fess between five crosses crosslets patè fitchè three roses; and on a third plain quarterings. In the spandrils of each the chevroning railed between the birds quartering the other, and a face; and in lesser spandrils St. George's and St. Alban's crosses, and angels hold the fess and cross crosslets. In the spandrils of the other arch the face and the fess between three saltires ingrailed, which coat is here held by angels in the lesser spandrils: the fess and ingrailed saltires twice in front, and between them, quarterly; 1. the fess and saltires. 2. the fess and crosslets. 3. the chevron and three birds. Weever "had by relation, these were two sisters here entombed, the builders of this church and coheirs to the lordship, which at their deaths gave the said lordship to the abbey and convent of Westminster." In consequence the manor belongs to Westminster abbey, and a certain quantity of land in it to that of St. Alban's. M. Paris says, the latter abbey granted the former a twenty-one years lease of the greatest part of the manor.

"In the body of Long Ashton church, within the memory of people now living, stood a raised tomb, containing the reliques of Thomas de Lyons the founder of the church [who died 1328]. On the top was a large stone, whereon was the figure of a man lying in a *sideways* attitude on a *long pillow*, his head attired with a *janizary's* cap, and a lion at his feet. Round the verge of the stone was this inscription:

**Hic jacet Thomas Lyons miles.
Rus Benedictus Deus. Amen.**

Both the figure and the inscription were inlaid in a strong coat of *terras* cemented to the surface of the stone, a method of decking the coverings of sepulchres first introduced into this country from France. The raised tomb being taken away, from the principle of leveling the floor, this stone was placed therein among others as a paving stone, and still remains in the middle passage between the chancel and the belfrey. On turning it up some time since the arms of Lyons [not described] were found carved on a separate stone underneath." Unfortunately for his description Mr. Collinson has engraved this monument^a, which exhibits the brasless figure of an armed knight lying on his back, and having under his head a *helmet surmounted by a montero cap*, not uncommon under the heads of such figures, but here called a *pillow*, and confounded with the knight's figure; or perhaps a mat under him. Nor could one, from the above description alone, tell if the figure were brass, wood, or stone. What is called *terras* is the cement of pitch commonly used to make the brass plates adhere to the cavities in the stone. What authority there is for saying this fashion of brass plates was introduced *from France* I know not; though it certainly is, or was, not unfrequent there.

^a P. 592.

^a Collinson's Somerset, II. 301, 302.

In the churchyard at Long Ashton, under the North wall of the tower, are two figures of a man and woman; a lion at the feet of the first, a dog at those of the other: on the edge of the stone remains only,

DESALOE EYT MERCI. T[MEN].

In Pangborne church, Berks, is a monument for Sir John Davis, who died 1625, with the effigies of himself and two wives, all neatly carved out of *chalk*.

An instance of Monuments erected by convents may be seen in Waltheof's at Croyland, 1219¹.

In pulling down the church of St. Nicholas at Bristol, 1762, in the old arches of the South wall were found two skeletons of persons, who must have been buried there soon after or at the erection of the wall of the church perhaps when rebuilt, 1403.²

Some years ago, in taking down a tower at the South West corner of Coldingham abbey was found a skeleton of a woman, who, from several circumstances appeared to have been immured. She had her shoes on, which were long preserved in the custody of the minister³.

In taking down a stack of chimneys in the old prebendal house at Halloughton, c. Nottingham, was found in the middle of them a large recess, in which were many human skeletons quite entire and uncovered with earth or any thing else⁴.

In Mr. Noake's garden adjoining to the church-yard at Milborne port, on opening the ground for the foundation of a building, were found near sixty bodies, lying twenty in a row; with their heads to the North. In one of the rows were men, women, and children. No remains of any coffins; and it is supposed they were buried here in the time of the great plague, when, according to tradition, 1500 died here in one year⁵.

In digging the foundation of the parsonage-house at Marksbury, 1781, were found two skeletons; and near one of them a glass bead⁶.

Under one of the stones of the Dinhams, lords of Buckland Dinham, was found in a stone coffin a human body, which on being touched crumbled to dust. Sir John Dinham lived in the time of Edward II.⁷

In 1250, on finishing a stone building near the South side of the high altar at St. Alban's, the bones of near thirty deceased brethren were collected in two stone tombs, and deposited in an arch in the wall on the outside⁸. Some of these bones were white as ivory, and parts of them whiter, and smelling as if anointed with balsam⁹. The soles of their shoes were entire and uncorrupt, and seemed as if they would even then suit the poor; being round they would fit either foot, and some of their latchets¹⁰ were uncorrupt, though the bodies were supposed to have been buried an hundred years at least.

¹ Collinson, II. 303.

² Grose's Scotland, I. 98.

³ Collinson's Somerset, II. 355.

⁴ quodam arcu a muro forinsecus sunt reposita.

⁵ quasi lita balsamo redolentia.

⁶ Dugdale Bar. I. 55.

⁷ Raftall's Hist. of Southwell, p. 398.

⁸ Ib. 427.

⁹ Ib. p. 452.

¹⁰ corrigia.

If after the opening of Edward the First's tomb are wanted any proof that the altar-tomb was universally intended to contain the body of *royal* personages above the surface of the earth, the following passage of Henry VIII's will is evidence that this practice obtained so late as the 16th century: "Our body to be entered and buried in the quire of our college at Westminster, and there to be made and set, as soon as conveniently may be done after our decease, by our executors, at our costs and charges, if it be not done by us in our life-time, an honourable tomb *for our bones to rest in*, with a fair grate about it, in which we will also that the bones and body of our queen Jane be put also."

Ethelbert's epitaph at St. Austins, Canterbury, as given by Speed¹, says of him, "*hic clauditur in poliandro*."

Thomas, bishop of Down, consecrated the poliandrium of the convent of St. Alban's, in which were buried the bodies of the faithful who died under interdict².

Philip bishop of Evreux, in the Jacobins church there, 1241, is said to be buried in a *fosse*.

An epitaph in Hayes church, Kent, says,

Hic cubant in fossa sub pede Roberti presbyteri ossa, &c. &c. 1560.

So does that of John Hay, in Luton church, p. 378.

Fosse is still the French name for a grave. In the cemetery of Clairvaux abbey there is always one begun, and one half made, near the last religious that has been buried, to keep the survivors in mind of their latter end³.

The coffins of the family vault of Dr. Gibbon at Corfe, in the last century, stand *up on end*.

A vow of chastity similar to that of the countess of Suffolk, 1382, was made by lady Shardelow, 1369.⁴ Penance for breach of such a vow see in Dugdale's Baronage, li. 95.

Of the care to provide monuments in the life of the parties, or by their wills, a few out of innumerable instances may suffice.

Beaumont bishop of Durham, 1333, prepared for himself a large, curious, and costly stone, with his effigy in brass, and the twelve apostles; the ledge and scrolls over his head, on his breast, and in both hands⁵. Bishop Skirlaw, 1406, had over him a curious marble stone adorned with many images in brass, and his own in the middle, artificially carved in brass, and on his brass the text, *Credo quod redemptor*, &c.⁶

Marmor ingens of bishop Bubwith at Wells, 1309. Dame Margaret Blesnerhasset, at Frense, Norfolk, 1561, lies under a marble three yards long and one and a half wide⁷.

John Hemmingborough prior of Durham, who died 1416, was buried under a curious costly marble slab adorned with images⁸.

¹ Fuller's Church Hist. b. V. p. 244. ² Hist. VII. c. 9. Weever, 241.
³ Murr. Paris Vitæ abbatum, p. 119. ⁴ Voy. lit. de deux Benedictins, I. 100. ⁵ Blomef. I. 626.
⁶ Graystones in Angl. Sac. I. 761. Willis, Cath. I. 241. "Suprapositus est sibi lapis marmoreus curiosus et sumptuosus, quem ipse dum vixerat fecerat preparari."
⁷ Sepulchra, jacet sub lapide marmoreo admodum curioso multiq. æneis imaginibus sumptuosius circumspicuo, cum ipsius imagine in medio ejusdem tumbe artificiose cælata. Super pectus &c." Ang. Sac. I. 771. ⁸ Blomef. I. 94.
⁹ "sub lapide marmoreo curioso et sumptuoso imaginibus circumspicuo." Ib. 775.

Bishop Langley, 1433, under a tomb of marble, with his arms at the end ¹.

Bishop Shirwood, 1484, under a marble slab, with his figure in brass ².

John Boller, priest, 1506, ordered *thirty* stones to cover his grave in Ayleham church, of the size and length of his father's ³.

A stone called *the Giant's Stone*, now gone, covered one of the Browns in the North chancel at Rothwell ⁴.

It is a custom at Wadhurst, in Suffex, where there are iron-founderies, and in the neighbourhood, when a person is buried within the church, to take up the stone, and lay a thick plate of iron of the length of the stone, with the name, arms, &c. of the deceased cast on it, which greatly preserves the inscription, &c. ⁵

Instances of slabs with inscriptions at Newcastle upon Tyne, given by the heirs of a family, and other names and arms put on, and of an application to the churchwardens of All Hallows there for one of a mayor, 1557, refused. See in Brand's Newcastle, I. 381.

The privilege of being buried before the high altar granted to a woman, as related by Matthew Paris, must mean to a woman *alone*; for Eleanor wife of Almaric de Braybrook was buried, 1426, by her husband, before the high altar in the church of the Friars Preachers, at Oxford ⁶: and there are instances of an earlier date, though I do not at present recollect them.

Bek, who died 1310, was the first bishop buried in his cathedral at Durham ⁷.

Joan lady Cobham, by will, 1369, bequeathed her body to be buried in the churchyard of St. Mary Overy in Southwark, before the church door, where the image of the Blessed Virgin sitteth on high over that door, appointing a plain marble stone to be laid over her grave, with a cross of metal thereon, and in the circumference these words in French to be cut, *Vous qui per ici passietz, pur l'alme Jobane de Cobham priez*. That forthwith after her death seven thousand masses should be celebrated for her soul by the canons of Fauconbrigge and Tanrigge and the four orders of friars at London: that upon her funeral day twelve poor people clothed in black gowns and hoods should carry twelve torches ⁸.

Her grandson Reginald appointed a tomb of alabaster for his monument before the high altar at Lingfield, and £. 40. for his funeral expences, and for his trental and alms to poor people at those solemnities ⁹.

Walter de Manny, 1371, bequeathed his body to be buried in the church of the Carthusians by him founded in London, without any great pomp, every poor person coming to his funeral to have a penny to pray for him, and a tomb of alabaster, with his image as a knight, and his arms thereon, to be made for him, like that of Sir John Beauchamp in St. Paul's cathedral ¹⁰.

¹ "sub tumulo marmoreo artificiosè erecto, in cujus fine arma illius insculpuntur." Angl. Sac. I. 774.

² "sub lapide marmoreo in quo cælatur ipse in ære imago." Ib. 778.

³ Blomef. III. 557.

⁴ Bridges, II. 63.

⁵ Ducarel, MS.

⁶ Dugd. Bar. II. 21.

⁷ Graystones, Ang. Sac. I. 754.

⁸ Dugd. Bar. II. p. 68.

⁹ Ib. p. 69.

¹⁰ Ib. p. 150.

Thomas lord Poynings, 48 Edward III. 1375. bequeaths his body to be buried before the high altar in the middle of the choir of St. Radegund's abbey church, Kent, and a fair tomb placed over his grave with the image of a knight thereon made of alabaster, and £.100. to the abbey, part for doing thereof, and the remainder to be disposed of in masses and prayers for his soul¹. His brother Richard, 1387, directed, that if he should die in such place as that his body could not be buried at Poynings, to the end that his friends afar off might take notice thereof there should be a stone of marble provided, with an effigieon of his arms and an helmet under his head, with an inscription declaring his name, and the time of his death².

The last Thomas lord Poynings, 1428, appointed, that a marble stone should be laid over his grave, and twelve torches, price 5s. 8d. to burn at the mass upon his funeral day, and after mass ended at his burial; that five tapers with forty pounds of wax should burn about his body at his said funeral, and twelve poor people bearing the before specified torches, each of them to have a gown of black cloth, and 12d. in money³.

Thomas lord Burgh, 1495, bequeathed his body to be buried in his new chapel within the church of All Saints at Gainsborough, c. Lincoln, appointing, that a tomb should be erected at the North end of the altar of the same chapel, with two images thereon, of himself in armour and of his wife, with their arms, and the days of their respective deaths: also upon that for himself to have his mantle of the garter, with a garter about his leg; that upon his mother, lying interred in St. James's abbey near Northampton, there should be laid a stone somewhat *raised in height*, with the arms of his father and mother thereon, and an inscription: for the doing whereof he bequeathed £.10.⁴ Alice relict of his younger son Thomas, 1558, ordered that they should make another tomb where lord Burgh, her first husband lay buried⁵.

Joan Norris, Esq. of Bray, was buried at Rycot, in an aisle of the church built at his cost⁶.

Christopher Willughby, by will, 1498, bequeathed for making another tomb for his uncle Robert late lord Willughby at Mettingham ten marks⁷. His son William, by will, 18 Henry VIII. directed a tomb for himself and wife in Spilsby chapel, and another at Mettingham for the late lord Willughby, Robert his nigh kinsman, and that there should be bestowed upon his burial in all charges, black gowns, the dole, the herse, the dinner, and carriage of his corpse to Spilsby, £.200. sterling⁸.

Thomas Stanley, first earl of Derby, husband of Margaret countess of Richmond, by will, 1504, the year of his death, bequeathed his body to be buried in the middle of the chapel in the North aisle of Burfough priory church, where the bodies of his ancestors lay, having provided a tomb to be there

¹ Dugd. Bar. II. 134.
² Ib. p. 289.

³ Ib.

⁴ Ib. 135.
⁵ Ib. p. 403.

⁶ Ib. 137.
⁷ Ib. p. 86.

⁸ Ib. 87.

placed, with the *personage* of himself and both his wives, for a perpetual remembrance to be prayed for. He likewise therein appointed that the *personages* which he had caused to be made for his father and mother, his grandfather and grandmother, should be set in arches of the chancel within that priory in the places provided for the same; one of the canons of that house to say mass in the said chapel for his and other souls, and at every mass *before the lavatorie* to say audibly for them and all other souls *De profundis* ¹.

Sir William Compton, 1522, buried at Compton, and his lady likewise, directed that a tomb of alabaster should be made, by the direction of his executors, for his father, and set over his grave, with his arms cut thereon, and the body of his mother taken up, and deposited by his father ².

Henry lord Marney, 14 Henry VIII, 1523, directed his body to be buried at Layer Marney; to every church meeting his corpse by the way he bequeaths 3s. 4d. and to every church where his body should rest by the way 6s. 8d. twenty-four poor men to hold twenty-four torches at his burying and mass, each in a black gown and hood, and 12d. in money: the chapel at Layer Marney, which he had begun, was to be new made, with a substantial roof of timber, covered with lead, and the windows glazed with imagery accordingly, and a tomb of marble set in the wall between the chancel and chapter vaulted over with marble, and his image of black marble or touch thereon, with every thing convenient and appertaining to the same; and two images of laton, to be made with the *pictures* of his two wives, with their *coat armours upon them*; Thomasine on his right, and Elizabeth on his left, on the said tomb ³. His son and successor John bequeathed his body to be buried in the new aisle on the North side of Layer Marney church, in the midst of the said aisle, directly against the midst of the said new chapel, six feet from the partition between the chapel and aisle, in a vault of brick so large as two bodies might be laid therein: over which vault he appointed that a tomb should be set and made of such stone as his father's tomb was made, if it could be gotten, else of grey marble; and to be eight feet in length, and five in breadth, and four feet high, to be wrought in like sort as that tomb for his father, except the vault above, and the arms about the tomb, which are to be changed according to the direction of the herald; that about the tomb should be made a *grate of wainscot*, and at every corner thereof a principal pillar, with a white lybard on the top thereof, and on it an image of himself like that on his father's tomb, and *portrayed* in coat armour, with his helmet and crest at the head, and a white leopard at the feet; and on either side of his image, one image of brass for each of his two wives, dame Christian and dame Bridget, with their coat armours, and at the West end thereof an altar, whereat a priest to sing for him perpetually ⁴. His second wife Bridget, 1549, bequeathed her body to be buried at the high altar end, in the chancel of Little Horkeley, Essex, where she willed that a vault of brick should be made so

¹ Dugd. Bar. II. 249.

² Ib. p. 402.

³ Ib. p. 301.

⁴ Ib. p. 302.

large that one body might conveniently be laid therein, and on it a tomb of grey marble more than half the height of the tomb, wherein dame Katherine Finderne lieth buried, and on the same three *pictures* of brasse, one of herself, without any coat armour, and on her right hand the *picture* of the lord Marney, her last husband, in his coat armour, and on her left side the *picture* of her husband Finderne, in his coat armour, and at the head or feet a *scripture* of brasse, to shew the time of her decease, and what stock she was of, and to what men of worship married, appointing also that there should be sung by note before her burial such service as was *set out and appointed by the King's book*, to be used at burials, with so many priests and clerks as her executors should think convenient, every priest to have 12*d.* and every clerk being a man helping to sing 4*d.*¹.

John Greenhill of Old Romney, 1536, ordered his body to be buried in the churchyard, and that his executors should provide a stone to be laid on his tomb of the price of 33*s.* 4*d.* a pair of stone crosses of the price of 10*s.* and that his stone be engraved with the *picture* of himself, his wife, and children².

Andrew lord Windfor, 34 Henry VIII. 1543, appointed to be buried in the choir of Hounslow church, between the pillars where the lady Elisabeth his wife lay interred, a convenient tomb to be erected for him, with such arms, images, and inscriptions, as should be thought best by his executors, twenty-four torches with four great tapers to be borne by twenty-eight poor men about his herse; each torch weighing sixteen pounds, and each taper twelve pounds; each man to have a gown of frize and 6*d.*³.

In the outer wall of this chapel next the road is a coat of Windfor, with quarterings circumscribed, *Mounseur Anderew de Windfore*.

His grandson Edward bequeathed his body to be buried at Bradenham; but, by a codicil made at Spa 1573, to be buried at Liege, where he appointed a convenient tomb to be erected to his memory, and his heart, enclosed in lead, to be sent into England, to be buried in the chapel at Bradenham, under his father's tomb, in token of a true Englishman⁴. His son Frederick, by will, 1585, directed his body to be buried with such decent and comely formalities as appertained to his estate⁵.

John lord Mordant of Turvey, 1560, ordered his body to be buried in the parish church of Turvey, in the wall next above his father's tomb; the body of lady Elizabeth his wife to be removed and laid on his right side; that a tomb of marble, with the images of himself and the same lady his wife in alabaster, should be there placed in memory of them⁶.

Henry Wriothesley earl of Southampton, 1581, directed to be buried in the chapel of Titchfield church, where his mother lay interred, appointing that the said chapel should be new altered and finished by his executors with new sides and windows of stone: the roof plaistered like his house at Dogmeresfeld, the

¹ Dugdale, Bar. II. 302.

² Dugdale, ubi sup. p. 308.

³ Ib.

⁴ Hafted, III. 530. n.

⁵ Ib. p. 309.

⁶ Ib. p. 311.

floor fair paved, and divided with iron grates from the church, also that two fair monuments should be made there; one for his father, whose body he willed to be brought there [from the vault under the church of St. Andrew's, Holborn, where he had a fair monument], and mother; the other for himself: with *portraitures* of white alabafter, or the like; for defraying the charges of which chapel and monuments he assigned 1000 marks¹.

Sir William Paget willed to be buried at Drayton, and was so 1563; but had a handsome monument erected to his memory by his wife and son in Lichfield cathedral².

William lord Vaux of Harowden, 1593, appointed to be buried in the chapel on the South side of the parish church of Irlingburgh, and a tomb to be made in the same chapel over his mother's grave³. These two monuments seem to be described in Bridges's Northamptonshire, II. 238. where the latter having an alabafter statue veiled and kneeling is taken for one of the Cheneys, which is in some degree true, his mother being daughter of Sir Thomas Cheney of this place, by whom he had the estate, and therefore probably ordered a tomb for her, and not for his father.

Henry Manners earl of Rutland, 2 Eliz. appointed "his body to be buried in the church of Bottesford, if he should die within the realm; and that a tomb fuitable to his estate should be made there⁴."

Margaret lady Ros, daughter of Sir Philip Wentworth, by her will, 1477, directed that the body of her father should be translated to the church of Newfom in Lincolnshire, and a marble laid over it; and that another marble should be placed over the body of her mother in the church of the Friars Minors at Ipswich⁵.

Thomas Ratcliffe earl of Suffex, 1583, bequeathed his body to be buried in the parish church of Boreham, where he willed that his funeral obsequies should be performed; but that his executors should not dispend about the same above the sum of £.1500. Also that they should see builded and finished on the South side of the chancel of the church one chapel of brick then begun according to a plot and writing thereof made; as also to erect in the midst of the said chapel, where he appointed his body to be buried, a tomb of white alabafter, touch, and other stones, according to a plot or writing thereof made and subscribed with his own hand: likewise that the dead corps of his grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother, should be removed and brought thither there to be buried in the vault of that chapel, and himself, when it should please God to call him, to be interred in the same place⁶. His widow, foundress of Sidney Suffex College, Cambridge, 1558, bequeathed her body to be buried in the collegiate church of Westminster, appointing, that if in her life-time her tomb should not be finished, her executors should bestow £.200, or more if need required, for the making thereof, with her *picture* in alabafter stone, and other garnishing, with a superscription thereon to be engraven declaring her name and pedigree⁷.

¹ Dugdale, Bar. II. 384.

² Ib. p. 297.

³ Ib. p. 391.

⁴ Ib. I. p. 552.

⁵ Ib. 305.

⁶ Ib. II. 287.

⁷ Ib. See her monument in Dart's Westminster, I. 180.

The chapel ordered by earl Thomas was erected on the South side of the chancel at Boreham, and a handsome altar-tomb of alabaster with figures of the same, of the three successive earls of Suffex, Thomas first earl, Robert Henry his brother, and his grandson, richly apparelled with the ensigns of the garter. At their feet three monkies squatted; at their head three bulls. This monument is said to have cost £. 192. 12s. 8d. The chapel when I saw it, 1760, was in a very ruinous state, owing to a dispute who was to repair it, the monuments abused, the figures broken, and the vault at the East end fallen in, so that the bodies, to the number of twelve, all wrapt in lead, like mummies exhibiting the form of the bodies, and tapering to the feet, were exposed: one or two of these had been broken to pieces for the lead, which was found to be good for nothing, and the bones were left in the lower half of the shell, and the brass plates with the inscriptions thrown about the vault. On the farthest end of the bodies was this inscription in raised capitals on the breast:

THOMAS COMES SUSSEX, VICECOMES FITSWALTER,
DOMINUS DE EGREMOND ET BURNELL, &c.
OBII IX JUNII, ANNO D'NI 1583. ÆT. 57.

Another was dated 1593 or 4, probably for Henry second earl *.

Since that time Mr. Hoare having obtained a faculty to convert the chapel into a place of interment for his own family, has repaired it, and the vault of the Suffex family is entirely bricked up.

William Fitz William earl of Southampton bequeathed, 24 Henry VIII. for building a new chapel with a tomb for himself and wife in Midhurst church, five hundred marks †.

Fulke lord Fitz Warine, 1475, appointed by will a fair stone of marble, another for his father, and a third for his mother, in our Lady's chapel adjoining to the churchyard at Baunton ‡.

In the North aisle of Nunney church, in the burial place of the Delameres, lords of the manor from the reign of Henry III. of whom there are many effigies on raised tombs. "On a tomb under the window lies the figure of Sir John Delamere, knight, founder of the castle, having a lion at his feet, and above an escutcheon bearing the arms of the family, two lions passant guardant. The next tomb has five escutcheons on the side and end daubed over with white wash. Two of them are now *illegible*: the other three are, Quarterly; 1. 4. 4. mullets; 2. 3. two lions rampant adjoined. 2. In chief a lion couchant; in base three wolves' heads erased. 3. A gate. Upon this tomb lies the effigies of a knight in armour, with his lady by his side, representing others of the same family. On the third tomb are two similar effigies. The man has a military belt and sword, and on his breast a shield or coat charged with a lion couchant. The lady is attired in a loose veil or robe flowing from her head, and open

* Newcourt.

† See Vol. I. Pref. p. xliii.

‡ Dugdale, Bar. II. p. 131.

§ Dugdale, Bar. II. p. 175.

before. At the top are a key and lion intermingled. The arms, 1. Quarterly, 1. 4. three daggers [*/words*] in pile. *Poulet*. 2. 3. Two lions, *Delamere*. 2. Two lions couchant guardant. Arms on the South side, 1. In chief 2 mullets. 2. Quarterly, 1. 4. barry of ten, over all a bendlet impaling two lions statant. 3. as 1. impaling a lion erect. 4. Two lions erect. 5. A lion erect impaling three anchors. The church is dedicated to St. Peter, of which faint there is the common emblem of a key within a circle on the tower '1." This is rather a proof that this church was built by one of the marquises of Winchester, lords of the manor here. Mr. Collinson pronounces this a wrong supposition, though the key probably in a circle intermingled with the Delamere arms, as the monument above described might have taught him, was a device or badge of the Poulets, and frequent on the church of Basing, which was certainly built or repaired by that family, and is *not* dedicated to St. Peter.

John lord Williams of Tame by will 1 Eliz. left 8s. a year for the keeping of his tomb in Tame church⁴; and it is still kept in very good condition; having on it his own and his lady's figure, in their robes, with their heads to the East.

Lady Anne Clifford, countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, for the keeping of her mother's and her own monument in Appleby chancel in repair, and for the repair of the school and court-house, purchased an estate at Temple Sowerby, which she conveyed to trustees, the mayor, alderman, and vicar always included, the rents and profits of which, in 1656, were £. 6. *per annum*⁵. This good lady, not content with erecting monuments to her family in their own church, extended her kindness to them in other places. Among the beautiful monuments of the Ruffel family in their chapel at Cheney's is a table of black marble, on four round pillars of white, and on a black slab below two shields of arms of white marble, for "Fraunces Bourghier daughter of William earle of Bath, by Elizabeth Ruffel daughter of Frances Ruffel the second earle of that family, who departed this life the last day of August, A. D. 1661, in the 26 years of her age; in whose memory the ladie Anne Clifford countesse of Dorset, her deare cozen, at her owne costes and charges, hath erected this monument."

Margaret countess of Cumberland, third daughter of the same second earl of Bedford, wife to George Clifford third earl of Cumberland, "promised and made" a small obelisk with an inscription in memory of "Master Richard Candlish of Suffolk, esq. in the South aisle of Hornsey-church, Middlesex, of whom we know nothing, but that he was chosen one of the burgesses for Denbeigh, 1572, in opposition to the inclination, and even threats, of queen Elizabeth's favourite, the earl of Leicester."

Cecily Neville, relict of Richard duke of York, directed, 1495, her body to be buried by the side of her husband, and in the same tomb, at Fotheringay⁶.

⁴ Collinson's Somerset, II. 219, 220.

⁵ Dugdale Bar. II. 393.

⁶ Burn, Westmoreland, I. 327.

⁷ Dugdale, Bar. II. p. 161.

Eleanor duchess of Gloucester appointed, 1399, that on her funeral day her body should be carried, with a black cloth and a white cross upon it¹, having an escutcheon of her arms in the midst thereof, that four tapers and eight mortars should be placed at the four corners thereof, and that fifteen poor men, each of them holding a torch, five at the head and five on each side, should have each a gown and a large hood, both of them lined with white, and breeches of good blew cloth, and each a pair of shoes and a shirt, and twenty pounds among them, to pray for her own and her husband's soul².

Guiscard d'Angle earl of Huntington, 1380, bequeathed his body to be buried in the church of St. Cross at Engle before the altar of our Lady, *in the very place where the priest usually stood at the celebration of mass*; and in case he should depart this life in England, that his heart should be taken out of his body, and preserved with spices, to be deposited in the church of Engle, but his body to be buried in the church of the Grey Friars at Reading, without any herse, arms, or banners, at his funeral, the expence whereof to be bestowed on masses more for the benefit of his soul, and to thirteen poor men in black raiment carrying torches at the solemnity. He was, however, buried in the Augustin Friars church in Bread-street, London, when the king caused his obsequies to be done right honourably by a great number of prelates, and the king himself, his two brothers, the princess his mother, and the barons of England, being present³.

Sir John Devereux, 1385, appointed to be buried in the Grey Friars, London, six tapers in form of a cross, to be placed on his herse, six men in white raiment bearing six torches each to have forty pence; every poor man coming to his funeral a penny, to pray for his soul and all Christian souls. He gave the friars forty marks for his burial there⁴.

Michael Delapole earl of Suffolk, 1415, directed to be buried in the Carthusian church at Kingston on Hull, between the tomb of his father and mother and the altar, *and that no tomb should be placed over him but a flat stone*, in case he should die in those northern parts⁵. His brother William duke of Suffolk, 1448, directed to be buried in some church, appointing an image for himself and another for his wife, to be made in stone⁶.

Joan lady Hungerford, 1411, bequeathed her body to be buried in the chapel of St. Anne, in the church of Farley Hungerford, next to the grave of her husband; on the day of her funeral twelve torches and two tapers to burn about her body, and that twelve poor women holding these torches should be clothed in russet, with linen hoods, having stockings and shoes suitable; that ten pounds be bestowed to buy black cloth for the clothing of her sons and daughters and the sons and daughters of her executors and all her domestic servants⁷.

Mr. Thorpe has engraved⁸ an arch in the North wall of the porch of Orington church, over a seat now boarded, and over which may have been a tomb, as he has seen several instances of the custom for eminent persons to be buried in the porch, or at the West end of the church.

¹ Such a pall was carved on the top of the tomb of lady Hungerford in Salisbury cathedral.

² Dugdale, II. p. 172.

³ Ib. p. 173. Froissart, f. 237, a. 265. Stowe, London, p. 187, a.

⁴ Ib. p. 176.

⁵ Ib. p. 186.

⁶ Ib. p. 189.

⁷ Ib. p. 204.

⁸ Custom. Roff. Pl. XV. fig. 3. p. 137.

Godwin¹ says John of Beverley was buried in the church porch at Beverley. He was however found in the choir; see Vol. I. *Introd.* p. xli.

Gospatric earl of Northumberland was buried in the porch of Ubbanford or Northam, 1072².

The Morleys of Morpeth were buried in the chapterhouse at Newminster-abbey³.

It may be doubted whether the directions for interment by will were always observed. George Manners lord Ros, who died 1531, has a splendid monument in a chapel on the North side of St. George's chapel, Windfor, founded by his wife's father, Sir Thomas St. Leger; yet, if we believe Weever, p. 428. he was, according to his will⁴, entombed near the high altar of the chapel of Haliwell nunnery. If this be true, we must pronounce the Windfor monument described and engraved in Mr. Nichols's *Leicestershire* a cenotaph, or that his *figure* only had a place among his wife's relations. Haliwell was rebuilt by Sir Thomas Lovell, with whose family that of Manners was connected by marriage, on which account lord Ros might probably be there buried, and after the death of his lady be removed to Windfor, where both their figures are upon the tomb⁵.

Cenotaphs are not unfrequent among us. Simon Sudbury archbishop of Canterbury had one at Canterbury; but was really buried in St. Gregory's church at Sudbury, his native town⁶. The same is observable of Sir John Hawkwood, at Sible Hedingham and Florence⁷. Peter first abbot of St. Augustine's at Bologne and Canterbury⁸. Richard Wendover bishop of Rochester, in Bromley church and at Westminster⁹. In the North wall of the chancel at Bromley is an arch in a pediment with a trefoil, resting on two short pillars on each side, and a round in the wall at the back. On the slab of the altar tomb is a hole, now plaistered up, in which the sexton, June, 1785, told me had been seen a skull not bigger than a child's. The monument is antient, but whether for the bishop, and mentioned by Weever, p. 338. is uncertain. Archbishop Courtney, who has a monument in his cathedral, was really buried in his collegiate church of Maidstone¹⁰; where his remains, only a few bones, were seen lately. The account of this discovery, as communicated to me by my worthy friend the Rev. Mr. Samuel Denne, F.A.S. deserves to be inserted here:

"DEAR SIR,

Wilmington, March 14, 1794.

"IN compliance with your request, I at length transmit to you the promised notes, with remarks, on opening the ground under the tomb-stone of archbishop Courtney, in the chancel of Maidstone church. The delay has been partly occasioned by a willingness to learn from Mr. Cherry, who was an at-

¹ Edit. Richardson, p. 656.

² Hoveden, 243. 32. Dugdale Bar. I. 54.

³ Wallis, I. 286, 287.

⁴ His directions were, "that his body should be buried in the church next unto the place where he should happen to die, or elsewhere at the discretion of his executors."

⁵ Nichols's *Leicestershire*, Vol. I. p. 41. note 1^a.

⁶ Weever, p. 225. 743.

⁷ See before, I. p. 154.

⁸ Weever, p. 250.

⁹ See before, I. p. 44.

¹⁰ See before, I. p. 155. Weever, p. 285.

tentive inspector, how far his observations concurred with my own ; and from his report, which is confirmed by another gentleman who was present, I may venture to assure you that the circumstances are accurately stated.

“ As from the stone's being raised a few inches above the pavement a sufficient number of benches could not be properly ranged for the accommodation of the children of the Sunday-Schools, it was judged expedient to place it on the same level ; and it being necessary to take up the stone, in order to carry off the superfluous earth, you will not be surprized that curiosity should prompt to a deeper search, with the view of ascertaining whether the archbishop was really there deposited, as the inscription, aided by tradition, strongly implies ; and it was the united opinion of the examiners, founded on what they saw, that this was the case ; and, consequently, that the tale of the body's having been conveyed to Canterbury by the King's command was fabricated by the monks of the priory of Christchurch, for the purpose of supporting as they conceived the credit and dignity of that cathedral.

“ Bones of persons of different ages, lying in all directions, were found from one to four feet in depth under the stone ; and as in digging graves on either side of the stone, which has been often done, particularly on the North side, the earth from under the stone had fallen in, and the vacancy been supplied with mould and bones indiscriminately thrown up, this will account for the position of such of the bones as were not far under the stone ; but I think those bones which were lying at a greater distance may be fairly appropriated to the bodies disturbed for the interring of the corpse to be particularly described. Before the building of the present church by archbishop Courtney, the site of the West end of the chancel might have been in the cemetery, though, from the foundation of walls not long since traced beyond the East wall of the chancel, it is more likely that the chancel now covers a part of the ground upon which a more ancient church was erected.

“ Till we came to the scattered bones the earth was of a loose texture, but lower it was more dense ; and at the depth of five feet six inches was discovered a skeleton, entire as far as the ground was opened ; for towards the feet, especially on the South side, some of the earth was not removed, though enough was cleared to allow of our seeing the bones of the leg and thigh. The skull, the collar-bone, and the bones of the arms and legs, were in their proper positions. Some of the ribs had sunk on the vertebrae, and appeared through their whole length at their due distances. The sexton, an experienced man in this line, after repeated trials with his mattock, confidently asserted, from the nature of the loam, that the ground under the skeleton had never been moved ; and he observed that under the skull, in which the teeth were remarkably well set, and seemed to be complete, the ground was hard and round as a bowl.

“ It is an obvious remark, that this must have been the last body interred in this grave ; nor can it be thought a strained conclusion, that this must have

been

been the skeleton of the person of whom the tomb-stone, which had unquestionably covered the spot for many centuries, was avowedly a memorial¹. But it is farther observable, and it is a point of consequence in the enquiry, that the skeleton was lying immediately under the portrait of brafs with which the stone had been inlaid: or, as Mr. Cherry has well expressed it, had a perpendicular been dropt from the centre of the effigy on the surface of the stone, it would have touched exactly the corresponding part of the body here deposited.

"Recollecting that archbishop Wittlesey, who died a little more than twenty years before Courtney, was not buried in lead, as may be inferred from the examination of his tomb in the nave of Canterbury cathedral, when levelled a few years ago, I did not expect to see a coffin of this kind in Courtney's grave: and perhaps you can shew, from sundry instances, that in that age it was not customary to enclose in lead the remains of persons even of high rank. As to a coffin of wood, if any such there were, it could hardly have endured a century upon this spot. The grave of the archbishop is clearly in the higher part of the ground-plot of the church, where the earth was observed to be very dry; and the drier the soil, the sooner the coffin decays. Some coffins made of green elm, and deposited in this church-yard in a moist place, have been found in a high degree of preservation after forty years; and others of dry elm laid in dry ground have mouldered in fewer months. And, with or without a coffin of wood in such a soil as this, after a lapse of near four hundred years, a crosier must have perished; nor could the episcopal ring, of whatever metal it might be made, have escaped a total corrosion.

The inscription professes a true representation of archbishop Courtney's person to have been exhibited by the brafs figure.

"Respice mortalis quid quondam, sed modo talis,

"Quantus est iste fuit, dum membra calentia gessit."

Supposing these words to mean, that with respect to the stature of the primate, there was an exact correspondence between the portrait and the original, the despoiled matrix will not admit of an accurate measurement how many inches are to be deducted for the height of the mitre, or of determining whether the drapery might not have fallen below the feet: but if a judgement may be formed of the height of archbishop Courtney from the figure of him recumbent on his cenotaph in Canterbury cathedral, which has upon the head a mitre of considerable length, he was a man of middle size; and from the apparent length of the bones, and indeed from the general view of the space occupied by the skeleton under his tomb-stone, such seems to have been the stature of Courtney.

As a surmise it was suggested in my letter to you published in *Archæologia*², that the tomb-stone might not have ever been more elevated than it was before its late removal; but I was mistaken; for a groove round the under surface not

¹ Mr. Denne's interpretation of the word *En* in the epitaph (*Archæol.* X. p. 282) is fully justified by this discovery.

² X. p. 282, 283.

far from the 'edge shews that it was the slab of an altar-monument. Whether it might be lowered, because the pannels which supported it were ruinous, and the parishioners unwilling to be at the expence of repairing them; or because a monument raised so high was in such a situation incommodious, cannot be traced. It may, however, be remarked, that the incumbrance could not have been so great at the time of its being constructed, nor for a century and half later, when the laity were seldom permitted to enter the chancel. During that period an altar-tomb so conspicuously placed would have answered the purpose of a lasting hearse; it would have been a regular day's mind to the master and fellows of the college to excite a remembrance of their founder. They were convinced, possibly boasted, that to them were intrusted the remains of the archbishop, and whilst in their stalls, with the effigies of him in view, they could not well neglect the offering of Ave Marias and Pater-nosters for the eternal benefit of the prelate by whose bounty they were maintained. The efficacy of prayers for the dead, a prevailing tenet of the religion of that age, must have made a strong impression on the mind of Courtney himself: he having directed in his will that 15,000 masses should be celebrated for his own soul, and for the souls of his parents and other relations; and that there should be also a recital of 2000 matins'.

" In the epitaph it is mentioned that Gourtney was chancellor.

" Detur honor digno, fit Cancellarius ergo.

" Surely he means Cardinal; for I cannot find him Chancellor," was the comment of Weever upon this line *.

" And Newton, under the same notion, has intimated that the word must have a reference to Courtney when chancellor of Oxford †. But if, as related by Walsingham only, Courtney, when bishop of Hereford, was created a † cardinal; it is likewise said that he did not accept that dignity; and considering that in his time, and for many years after, the chancellorship of Oxford was an annual office conferred upon members of the university, not distinguished by their rank, or by their connexions in the world, this is such an anticlimax in the detail of an archbishop's preferments, as could hardly have dropped from the pen of even the monkish rhymers who was the eulogist. Spelman was not aware of Courtney's having ever been Chancellor, and has therefore observed in his Glossary, that the bishop of London who was appointed 5 Ric. II. was perhaps Robert Braibroke (*for Jan Rob. Braibroke*) by an erroneous reading of R. instead of W. whereas it is on record that Courtney had, as chancellor, the custody of the great seal for a few months. Before the king in council the oath of office was administered to him in Reading abbey, on the festival of St. Laurence (August 13), A. D. 1381; and on the ensuing festival of St. Andrew, being then archbishop of Canterbury elect, and confirmed, and styled late chancellor, he, at Westminster, surrendered to the king the great seal in a purse

* Cantuaria Sacra, Append. p. 32.

† Funeral Monuments, p. 285.

‡ Antiquities of Maidstone, p. 25.

* Circa A. D. 1378. Gulielmo Courtneio Herefordensi episcopo delatam fuisse Cardinalitiam dignitatem, eamque non suscepisse traditur in MS. quod nunc asseratur apud monachos Cistercienses Romæ in monasterio S. Crucis. MS. Anstis. Godwin de Præful. edit. Richardson, p. 794. not. a.

sealed with the signet of the said elect'. Sir Robert Cotton has noticed (in his Abridgment of Records in the Tower), that about the beginning of November in this year, on the opening of a parliament, archbishop Courtney, then chancellor, delivered a speech, taking for his theme, *Rex convenire fecit concilium*; upon which, he adds, he made a good oration, and spake of the virtuous government of the king and his reign, affirming that no reign could endure long if vice reigned therein; to redress which, seeing it could not be done by the ordinary course of law, the king, he said, called his parliament¹.

"Dr. Harris, in his index to the History of Kent, describes the arms of archbishop Courtney as having a label charged with three mitres. Many are the shields with his arms in different parts of Maidstone church; under the seats in the chancel there are several carved in wood: but on one only, which is in a stall on the South side, is this additional bearing. The singularity of it induced me to desire Mr. Jefferys to favour me with a drawing of it²; and on shewing it to a friend, he hinted a probable conjecture that the three mitres might allude to the number of episcopal sees which Courtney had filled, a circumstance specified in these words of the epitaph, *trina gloria sedis*. Had archbishop Kemp adopted a similar device, his shield would have been thick set with mitres, he having had four translations after his promotion to the diocese of Rochester.

"Should any thing new occur upon this subject it shall be forthwith communicated to you; and this letter I will conclude with observing, that the slab of the tomb of archbishop Courtney is of marble, from a quarry in the Weald of Kent that will take a high polish; and that a drawing of it *in statu quo*, by Mr. T. Fisher, was left with Mr. Wrighte about two years ago, by,
Dear Sir, yours truly,
SAMUEL DENNE.

"P. S. The notion I had conceived of the effigies of Courtney in Canterbury cathedral was from the engraving of it in Battely's "*Cantuaria Sacra*." Being, however, desirous of evidence more authentic, I applied for information to my friend Mr. Gilman Wall, who, since I finished my letter, has favoured me with the underwritten particulars:

"The length of the effigy of the archbishop five feet eleven inches without the mitre, the point of which has been probably broken, and appears to have been sawed or filed smooth. About six feet eight inches to the extremity of the mitre, supposing it entire."

Are statues and portraits in brass to be always deemed such *fac similes* as not to be higher than life? When a carver or delineator was employed to exhibit

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, A. D. 1381. Vol. VII. p. 310. § Ric. II.—Memorandum quod die Sabbati, in festo Sancti Laurentii post horam nonam, prefatus Dñus Rex in presentia, &c. in quadam camera concilii infra abbatiam prædictam (de Redyng) præfuit et constituit venerabilem patrem Willielmum episcopum Londonie cancellarium Angliæ, et capto ibidem in presentia prædictorum &c. sacramento ipsius episcopi de officio cancellarii bene et fideliter faciendo, sigillum prædictum dicta burfa signeto prædicto signata inclusum eidem liberavit et tradidit.

P. 333. De liberatione magni sigilli.
Memorandum, quod W. electus Cantuariensis confirmatus, nuper cancellarius Angliæ, in festo Sancti Andreæ apostoli, videlicet, tricesimo die Novembris, anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum quinto, liberavit eidem domino regi apud Westmonasterium, in quadam camera nostra privati palatii, vocata le Rede chaumbre, Magnum sigillum suum in quadam burfa sub sigillo ejusdem electi consignata, &c. &c.

² Cleveland's History of the Courtenay family; in which there is a translation of the epitaph into English; in some parts however it is defective, and it is in a style not less uncouth than the original.

³ It is engraved in *Gent. Mag.* LXIV. 201.

the figure of a man he had not measured, it must often happen that he worked after the computed altitude of the person he was to represent¹; for how few, comparatively speaking, are ever set under a standard line? Mr. Wall has not minuted whether he measured to the heel or the extremity of the great toe. According to the position of the feet of many recumbent statues this makes a discernible difference."

Otto de Grandison, by will, 1358, desired and befoUGHT all his friends and executors that they would not permit any armed man or horse to proceed before his corpse to his funeral; nor any cover over it of cloth of gold or flourished, or his arms thereupon; but only a white cloth with a red cross; and for the charges of his funeral allowed £. 22. sterling, and ten quarters of wheat².

Robert de Ufford earl of Suffolk, by will, 1368, bequeathed his body to be buried in Carpey abbey, Suffolk, and that five square tapers and four mortars, besides torches, should burn about his corpse at his funeral³. His son William, 1381, directed the same number of torches and mortars, and forty-eight torches borne by as many poor men clothed in white; and his body to be buried in the same abbey⁴. Isabel relict of the latter bequeathed her body to be buried in the same abbey near her husband, and appointed that on the eve and day of her interment five square torches, four mortars, and eighteen torches borne by eighteen poor men clothed in white (but without banners) should be about her herself. And for all manner of expences relating to her funeral upon the eve and day and in distribution to poor people £. 100. to be allowed, desiring her executors to provide thirteen secular priests to sing for her soul for the term of three years, as also for the soul of her dear lord and husband, and the souls of her father and mother, and of all other to whom she stood obliged⁵.

Bartholomew lord Burgherfsh, by will dated 1369, bequeathed his body to be buried in the chapel of Walsingham, before the image of the Virgin, appointing that soon after his death his corpse should be carried thither, having one taper at the head, and another at the feet, where it was to rest the first night; likewise that a dirge should be there said, and in the morning a mass, whereat a noble to be offered for his soul. Moreover, that two torches should be carried along with the corpse, one on the one side and the other on the other, kindled at the passing through every town, and then given to that church where it should rest at night. Likewise that the chariot in which it was to be carried should be covered with red *Cendall*, with the lion of his arms thereon, and his helmet at the head, and that to every church where it should rest all night the like cloth of cendall with his arms thereon to be left. Also that every morning there should be given to the poor of that place so much dole as his executors should think fit. And that upon the day of his funeral no other cover should be on his body than that of red cendall, with the lion for his arms, and his helmet; as also a taper at the head and another at the feet, and on each side a torch⁶.

¹ See Sir J. Ayloffe's Account of the body of King Edw. I. in *Archæologia*, Vol. III. p. 387. "The effigy of King Edward I. is among the figures that compose what is called the *ragged regiment*, in Westminster-abbey, and measures six feet five inches and a half. But no positive conclusion can be fairly drawn from it, as to what was the exact stature of that king; because the figure was certainly made taller than the real stature of the king, as is evident, not only from the measure taken of the royal corpse, on opening his tomb, 1774, but from the cavity of the stone-coffin, which is not capable of receiving a body six feet five inches in length. Probably the figure-maker, according to the practice of those times, applying his attention principally to the making a perfect resemblance of the features and visage of the deceased, neglected to model and form the figure to the exact and real height of Edward's stature."

² Dugdale, Bar. II. 18.

³ Ib. p. 49.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ Ib. p. 36.

William lord Morlee bequeathed to the Austin Friars at Norwich, in whose church he willed his body to be buried, 1379, his best black horse on the day of his funeral, and his palfrey, called Don (*Dun*), to the rector of Hallingbury in Essex, as mortuaries; and to his son his principal *dorser*, four *coffers*, and one *banker* with his arms¹. Thomas lord Morlee his son being with Henry V. in France at the time of his death bore one of the banners of saints, which was carried at his solemn funeral².

Elizabeth, countess of Kent, 1411, willed her body to be buried at Winchester, without any worldly solemnity; and that five tapers, each of five pounds weight, should burn about her corpse upon her funeral day³.

Thomas West lord La Warre, bequeathed, 3 Henry V. 1416, his body to ecclesiastic sepulture, appointing that no more than £. 40. should be spent in meat, drink, and tapers, on the day of his funeral⁴.

His great nephew Richard, 17 Henry VIII. 1526, directed, that his executors should bury him in the chancel at Broadwater, or Bridgewater, in the tomb of freestone, according to his honour, and give 2d. apiece to every poor man and woman who should come and receive it at that church⁵. His relict, 1536, bequeathed her body to be buried in the tomb with the said lord Thomas her late bedfellow⁶.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Somerset, 1426, directed that no sumptuous nor over much costs should be made at his funeral, and but only five tapers standing on five candlesticks about his corpse; also as many torches about it at the placebo and dirge, and solemn mass; and that as many poor men as he should be years of age at the time of his death should carry a torch at his funeral, each having a gown and hood of white cloth, and as many pence as he himself had lived years⁷.

Richard duke of York, 1436, directed a flat marble to be laid over him in the midst of the choir near the steps at Fodringay, and fifty marks in half-groats to be given in dole to such poor people as came to his funeral⁸. His wife Philippa, 1431, directed, that at every place where her body should rest in its way to Westminster abbey, her exequies should be performed with dirge over night, and before removal in the morning a mass of requiem; that, being brought to Westminster, twenty-four poor men in short gowns with black hoods should each bear a torch at the dirge and mass of requiem, and each have 20d. in money; that her herse should be totally covered with black cloth, and a curious herse of wax in small proportion placed upon it; and that at the day of her funeral six marks and 40d. should be distributed among 1000 people, so that each might have one penny⁹.

Anne relict of John Holand duke of Exeter, by will, 1457, forbid her executors from making any great feast, or having a solemn herse, or any costly lights or lacefs of liveries, according to the glory or vain pomp of the world at her funeral; but only to the worship of God, after the discretion of Mr. John Pynchebecke Doctor of Divinity and one of her executors¹⁰.

Specimens of funeral expences on our gentry in the middle of the 15th century may be seen in those of John Paston, esq. one of the executors of Sir John Fastolfe, knight, his cousin. He was buried at Bromholme priory, 1466.

¹ Dugdale, Bar. II. p. 26.

² Ib.

³ Ib. p. 126.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ Ib. p. 157.

⁶ Ib.

⁷ Ib. p. 157.

⁸ Ib.

⁹ Ib.

¹⁰ Ib.

¹ Ib. p. 95.

² Ib. p. 140.

³ Ib. p. 141.

⁴ Ib. p. 141.

⁵ Ib. p. 141.

⁶ Ib. p. 141.

⁷ Ib. p. 141.

⁸ Ib. p. 141.

⁹ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁰ Ib. p. 141.

¹¹ Ib. p. 141.

¹² Ib. p. 141.

¹³ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁴ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁵ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁶ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁷ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁸ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁹ Ib. p. 141.

²⁰ Ib. p. 141.

²¹ Ib. p. 141.

²² Ib. p. 141.

²³ Ib. p. 141.

²⁴ Ib. p. 141.

²⁵ Ib. p. 141.

²⁶ Ib. p. 141.

²⁷ Ib. p. 141.

²⁸ Ib. p. 141.

²⁹ Ib. p. 141.

³⁰ Ib. p. 141.

³¹ Ib. p. 141.

³² Ib. p. 141.

³³ Ib. p. 141.

³⁴ Ib. p. 141.

³⁵ Ib. p. 141.

³⁶ Ib. p. 141.

³⁷ Ib. p. 141.

³⁸ Ib. p. 141.

³⁹ Ib. p. 141.

⁴⁰ Ib. p. 141.

⁴¹ Ib. p. 141.

⁴² Ib. p. 141.

⁴³ Ib. p. 141.

⁴⁴ Ib. p. 141.

⁴⁵ Ib. p. 141.

⁴⁶ Ib. p. 141.

⁴⁷ Ib. p. 141.

⁴⁸ Ib. p. 141.

⁴⁹ Ib. p. 141.

⁵⁰ Ib. p. 141.

⁵¹ Ib. p. 141.

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⁶⁰ Ib. p. 141.

⁶¹ Ib. p. 141.

⁶² Ib. p. 141.

⁶³ Ib. p. 141.

⁶⁴ Ib. p. 141.

⁶⁵ Ib. p. 141.

⁶⁶ Ib. p. 141.

⁶⁷ Ib. p. 141.

⁶⁸ Ib. p. 141.

⁶⁹ Ib. p. 141.

⁷⁰ Ib. p. 141.

⁷¹ Ib. p. 141.

⁷² Ib. p. 141.

⁷³ Ib. p. 141.

⁷⁴ Ib. p. 141.

⁷⁵ Ib. p. 141.

⁷⁶ Ib. p. 141.

⁷⁷ Ib. p. 141.

⁷⁸ Ib. p. 141.

⁷⁹ Ib. p. 141.

⁸⁰ Ib. p. 141.

⁸¹ Ib. p. 141.

⁸² Ib. p. 141.

⁸³ Ib. p. 141.

⁸⁴ Ib. p. 141.

⁸⁵ Ib. p. 141.

⁸⁶ Ib. p. 141.

⁸⁷ Ib. p. 141.

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⁹⁰ Ib. p. 141.

⁹¹ Ib. p. 141.

⁹² Ib. p. 141.

⁹³ Ib. p. 141.

⁹⁴ Ib. p. 141.

⁹⁵ Ib. p. 141.

⁹⁶ Ib. p. 141.

⁹⁷ Ib. p. 141.

⁹⁸ Ib. p. 141.

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¹⁰⁰ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁰¹ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁰² Ib. p. 141.

¹⁰³ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁰⁴ Ib. p. 141.

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¹¹³ Ib. p. 141.

¹¹⁴ Ib. p. 141.

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¹¹⁸ Ib. p. 141.

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¹²⁸ Ib. p. 141.

¹²⁹ Ib. p. 141.

¹³⁰ Ib. p. 141.

¹³¹ Ib. p. 141.

¹³² Ib. p. 141.

¹³³ Ib. p. 141.

¹³⁴ Ib. p. 141.

¹³⁵ Ib. p. 141.

¹³⁶ Ib. p. 141.

¹³⁷ Ib. p. 141.

¹³⁸ Ib. p. 141.

¹³⁹ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁴⁰ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁴¹ Ib. p. 141.

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¹⁹¹ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁹² Ib. p. 141.

¹⁹³ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁹⁴ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁹⁵ Ib. p. 141.

¹⁹⁶ Ib. p. 141.

Charges of the burial of Humphry duke of Gloucester, and observances appointed by him to be perpetually borne by the convent of the monastery of St. Alban's.

First, the abbot and convent of the said monastery have payd for makynge¹ the tumb and place of sepulture of the said duke, within the said monastery, above the sum of £. ccccxviii. vii s. vii d.

	£.	s.	d.
Item. To two monks prefts dayly seiying messe at the auter of sepultur of the seid prince everich takyn by 1 day vid. suma thereof by 1 hole yere			
	xviii	v	
Item. To the abbot ther yerely the day of anniverfary of the seid prince attendyng his exequies ² ther			
		xl	
Item, To the priour ther yerly the same day in likewyse attendyng			
		xx	
Item, To xl monks priests, yerly to everich of them in the same day vis. vii d. suma theroff			
	xii	vi	viii
Item, To viii monks not priests yerly the seid day to everich of them iiii. i v d. suma therof			
	xxvi	viii	
Item, To ii ankresses, 1 at Sent Peter's chirch, to another at Sent Mich. the seid day yerly to everich, suma			
	iii	iv	
Item, In money to be distribut to pore people ther the seid day yerly			
	xl		
Item, to xiii pore men beryng torches the seid day about the seid sepultur			
		ii	ii
Item, For wax brennyng dayly at his messes and his anniverfary of torches ⁴ yerly			
	vi	xii	iii
Item, The kechen of the convent ther yerly in relief of the gret decay of the hustode ³ of the seid monastere in the merches of Scotland which befor tyme hath ⁴ be appointed to the kechyn			
	x		

Mr. Pennant says, "This beautiful tomb was once *insulated*, as appears by one of these *items*." If he refers to the items of "the poor men bearing torches *about* the sepultur," it is easy to see that these torches could only be borne on *each side*; for the tomb is built close to the pillars of the arch on which it stands: not to mention that torches are never set at the head or feet of the corpse, much less borne or carried round it. And thus the wax round (*circa*) the body of Edward I. means wax torches placed or set on *each side* of the tomb: for there was not room for any at head or feet.

¹ Not makynge, as Mr. Pennant, *Journey to Chester*, p. 266.

² 2. Pennant. 27 Willis.

³ hev/ode. W. q. liv/ode.

⁴ exqvi. Pennant.

⁵ jball, P.

⁶ torch, P.

The interment of Richard duke of York, father of Edward IV. 1466, may be seen in the library of the Heralds' college, I. ii. p. 187. and I. iii. p. 8. and I. 15. p. 207. and in Sandford, p. 391. "Conduict depuis Pomfret jusques a Fotheringhay le duc de York et Edmond comte de Rutland par Edward IV. fils de duc de York, 1466." The inscription on this duke, M. 3. p. 1.

Ex Harl. MS. 48. fol. 139.

"Icy ensient la fourme et la magniere de l'enterrement du treshaült et puissant et trefexcellent prince Richart duc de York, pere du Roy nostre souverain seigneur Edouart le quart, et fut enleue de la dite ville de Po'fret de lostel de freres meneurs le xxiiii^e jour de Juillet en l'an de grace mile ccccl. . . . le xvi^e annee du regne du roy Edouart le quart.

Premierement, il fut enleue et mis au cuer de l'Eglisse dedans ungne herse garnie bien rychement; il estoiet dessus la herse en protecture¹, le visage desouvert, ajoyntes mains, vestu d'un mantiau de pers fourre d'ermine, et sus sa teste ungne cape de maintenance de pourpre fourree d'ermine, derre lui un ancre² blanc tenant ungne couronne d'or derre son chief nom pas dessus, et desouls lui un bien riche drap d'or et desous ungne croys blanche de satin, et estoiet la dite herse garnie c'est adire de serges grans et pettis, de banieres, de banerolles, de standars, et de pennelliez descussions, et fut entertenez levesque de Duram³, levesque de Herfort⁴, levesque de Cheftre⁵, levesque de Bangre⁶, sans aultres gens de reigion, c'est adire abes, prieurs, ceures⁷, et beaucoup d'aultres, et la estoiet la chapelle du roy nostre souveraine f⁸ et tousjours continua iques la ou le dit corps fut mis en terre; les seigneurs temporels qui prindrent garde au dit corps iques au dit lieu vestus en habit dolent premerement Monf⁹ de Gloffestre¹⁰, Monf¹¹ de Northonbreland¹², Monf¹³ de Stanneley¹⁴, Monf¹⁵ de Greystoc¹⁶, Monf¹⁷ de Welles¹⁸, Monf¹⁹ de Monjoy²⁰, et estoient dedans la herse au dirige, et a la messe de requiem et tousjours le dit duc offroit le denier de la messe: les nomes des roys d'armes et heraultz persuivants; Marche roy d'armes, Norrey roy d'armes, Ierlant roy d'armes, Wyndesore herault, Facon h¹, Cheftre h¹, Segnaudon h¹, Herford¹⁴ h¹, Guines pouf¹, Confort¹⁵ pouf¹, Hic-drey pouf¹, Galles¹⁶ pouf¹; et estoient les dis officiers d'armes a chacun coste de la herse, leurs costes d'armes vestues, et ch'un ent¹ abit dollent, et avoiet troys unis povres homes qui tenoient ch'un ungne torche ardente en leur main iques au dit lieu ou le corps se reposse, et avoiet ch'un povre xiiid. pour jour, et chacun xxs. au dep¹ter.

Item, le xxv^{me} jour du dit mois fut remue le dit cors iques a la ville de Dancaftre, avec toutes les pourfessions du pays environ, et ch'un prestre qui chantoit messe avoit xiiid. et ch'un clerc iiid. et a tous venans povres et riches a ch'un ungd, et a ch'un fame grosse¹⁷ deulx, et donnoit on a ch'une paroisse aucunes deulx torches et aucunes moins senon la necessite des dites eglises, et

¹ Q. pourtraiture. ² ancre. ³ Laurence Booth. ⁴ John Stanbury.

⁵ Rather of Coventry and Lichfield. John Hales. ⁶ Thomas Ednam.

⁷ Curates.

⁸ Richard, afterwards King.

⁹ John Nevill lord Montague, created earl of Northumberland, 4 Edw. IV.

¹⁰ Thomas, created earl of Derby by Henry VII.

¹¹ Ralph baron Grayflock.

¹² Sir Richard Wells, beheaded 9 Edw. IV.

¹³ Walter lord Mountjoy.

¹⁴ Ravendon herald of arms of Scotland, as in Sandford, p. 392.

¹⁵ Confort pursuivant was first instituted in this reign.

¹⁶ Q. *Callis*, another institution of this reign.

¹⁷ groat.

a tous cheulx qui sonnoit les cloffes IIIII^e, sans les grans amones que non darroint au dites eglises la ou le corps se repoiffet, c'est adire, de v ou de vi mars', sans la garniture de la dite herse. Item, quant le dit corps partit de Ponfret il fut mis dedans ung char-bien richeme't apareille, le vissage descouvert et ajointes mains ne plus ne moins come dedans la herse, et les diz f'rs tousjours prenant garde au dit corps, et a ch'un coste du chariot les officiers d'armes avoit vi coursiers tous trapés de noier et chargis des escufons des armes d'Engleterre et de France, et tranoit ung chevallier monte sur ung coursier tenant ungne banere des armes entierez, vestu en habit dollent, et la vnt son dirige et fa messe de requiem.

Item, le xxvi^{me} jour du dit moys fut remue le dit corps a Blid et la fut convoie recu de tous le pais come devant d'et tousjours donnoit on lamone a tous venans et toujours avoit ung nouvelle herse qui demouroit au dit lieu et tout la pareill, et la vnt dirige et fa me'.

Icy ensient les noms des banieres estandars; la baniere de la trinite, la baniere de nostre dame, la baniere de saint gorge, baniere de saint edmond, la baniere de saint edouard, la baniere des armez entieres: le premiere estandard y avoit ung cheff d'argent, le second ung lion blanc, le tierce estoit ung faucon dedans ung' fedreloc seme de memes, le quareme unge roffe blance semee de petites rofes, et a ch'un avoit lour mot appartenant. Item, plus oultre avoit fus la dite herse v grands chandeliers, sur ch'un chandeller grands nombre de sierges, les queux chandeliers a quatre parties de la dite herse, et ung au millieu, et semblablement vi bannieres et bannerolles et pettis penfells avec iv estandars, et estoient acy a ch'un herse la ou le corps se repoiffet.

Item, le xxvi^{me} jour du dit moys le dit cors fut remeu de Blyd a Tuxfort a Clay, et la fut receu comment devant et dit, et la il vnt son dirige et fa messe de requiem.

Item, le xxvii^{me} jour du dit moys le dit corps fut remue de Tuxfort juques a Gra'tam, et la la dite ville le refut tout en habit de noier, et toutes les pourfessions du pais lencontrerent come devant, et toujours amones a tous venans, et la il vnt son dirige et fa messe de requiem et tousjours la herse garnie come devant.

Item, le xxviii^{me} jour du dit moys le dit cors fut remue de la dite ville de Gramtam, et fut co'voie et recu bien honnourableme't de toute la ville, et du pays environ juques a Stanford, et la fut recu des f'rs du pais et des bourgoys de la dite ville tous vestus de noier, et de tous les archiers de la couronne, et la fut mene a freres¹, et la fut le Samedy et le Dymenche, et toutes les choffes appartenantes et garnies com'ent devant d', et la il lui vnt grans donn's speciallement aux eglises et tous venans grans et pettis.

Item, le xxix^{me} jour du dit mois fut le dit cors remue de Stanford a Fatringey, la ou le dit corps fut enterre, et la fut convoie de la ditte ville de Stanford bien honnourableme't, et de toutes les messons de reigion et de toutes les paroyfes, et fut recu en chemin de toutes les p'offessions du pais, et tousjours donnant torches et amone a tous venans.

Ici ensient come't le dit cors fu recu a Fatringey. Premereme't la pourfession du dit collage le vint reffevoir a gra't reverance, levesque de Lincol²,

¹ Marks,

² The Austin or the Grey Friars.

³ John Chadworth.

levesque

levesque de Ylly², levesque de Norwic³, levesque de Salsberi⁴, levesque de Dti-ram, levesque de Herfort, levesque de Carillyl⁵, levesque de Saint Af⁶, levesque de Bangre, le dean de la chapelle, qui fut choffe et ellu evesque de Duram. Item, a lenterree du chimetiere le corps fut mis dehors du char, et portee par xii chevalliers, et les dites banieres portees par vi aultres ch'rs, et a lentrete du timetiere le roy nostre souvrain s'r sy estoit la, et estoit vestu digne abit de bleu, et son chaperon en deull soure de menniver, et la fist le roy son obbediance au dit cors bien humble⁷, et mis la main sus le cors, et la beffa en plourant, et estoit le roy acompaigne du duc de Clarence, du duc de Gloffestre, du duc de Soufolq⁸, le marquis de Dorset⁹, le co'te de Lincol¹⁰, le conte de Northobrelant, le conte de Exsequex¹¹, le conte de Kent¹², le conte de Riveres¹³, monf'r de Stanneley, monf'r de Hastings¹⁴, monf'r Dauddeley¹⁵, monf'r Dacres¹⁶, monf'r de Greyfloc, monf'r de Welles, et la convoyerent le dit corps juques au ceur de l'eglisse, et estoient tous les s'rs en habit dolant, et incontenant le corps fut mis dedans sa herse come devant dit, et dela le roy se retira a son cloffet, et les princes dedans la herse, et les officiers darmes a chacun coste, et incontenant com'ença placebo et dirige, et de monf'r de Routeland a la chapelle de notre dame, la ou il est enterre et la avoit ungne tres belle herse garnie de toutes choses et aleure de magnificat le roy fist offriere par son cha'brelan au corps vii pieffes de drap d'or et chacune pieffe continnoit v virges, et la roigne fist offrir par son cha'brelan v virges, et furent missee en croys sus le dit cors.

Item, le Mardi le xxx^{me} jour du mois il vnt trois grandes messes, lune de n're dame, lautre de la trenite, lautre de requiem, et la chanta levesque de Lincol, et la y fit ung tres noble sermon, et a la chapelle de n're [dame] vnt monf'r de Routeland son servisse coment il apartenoit a son estat, et quant se vint a levangille le co'te de Riveres offert au co's¹⁷ troyes pieffes de drap d'or de la longueur de v virges, le conte de Exsequex autant, le co'te de Kent autant, le co'te de Northonbrelant autant, le conte de Lincol autant, le duc de Soufolq v pieffes, le duc Gloffestre v pieffes, le duc de Clarence v pieffes, la roigne fist offrir v, le roi fit offrir vii pieffes, et furent toutes missee en croys et offertes au cors. Item, a l'offrande de la messe fut tenue par ung roy darmes la coste darmes, et fut refue et oferte par le conte Ite' la targuete fut tenue par ung roy darmes, et fut refue et oferte par le conte Item, lespee fut tenue par ung roy darmes, et fut refue et offerte par le conte de . . . Item, le heaulme fut tenu par deulx heraulx, et fut recu et offert par le . . . Item, . . . ung courffier trape des armes entieres ung baron nom'b s'r de Perez¹⁸ arme et monte defuz le dit courffier hague hachy tenante a sa main la pointe vers la terre, et la fut mene et pressente juques au cur de l'eglisse p' barons, ch'rs, et par

² Elfr, William Gray.

³ Walter Hart.

⁴ Richard Beauchamp.

⁵ Edward Story.

⁶ Thomas II.

⁷ John Delapole, who married the king's sister Elizabeth.

⁸ Henry Beaufort.

⁹ John Delapole, son of the Duke of Suffolk, created earl of Lincoln, 9 Edw. IV.

¹⁰ Henry B. archier.

¹¹ Edward Grey, whose daughter married Sir Robert son and heir of Ralph baron Greyflock.

¹² Richard Wideville, father of the queen.

¹³ William lord Hastings, a faithful and favoured servant of Richard Duke of York, and his son king Edward IV. and beheaded by Richard III.

¹⁴ Q. James lord Audeley.

¹⁵ Humphrey lord Dacre of the North.

¹⁶ Cors.

¹⁷ Lord Ferrars.

deulx heraulx d'armes, et fut le dit courffier delivré au diacre et l'ome d'armes fut convoie a l'offrande par les deulx officieres. Apres s'ela fet, le roy vint offrir le denier de la messe, et en passant fist l'obediance devant le dit corps. Apres la roygne vint offrir toute de blu sans hault archiz, et la elle fist au cots grande obediace et reverence, et dela apres vint offrir deulx des filles du roy ne plus ne moins. Apres fut menes deulx seigneurs ambassadeurs de France aloffrande par ung conte. Apres fut menes deulx ambassadeurs de Denmarc aloffrande par deulx barons. Apres fut co'vye ung aultre ambassadeur de Portingal par ung baron.

Item, y avoit a la dite herse que de grans sierges et petis au nombre de troy cens, et quand les d' torches y fut despendus juques au nombre de vii^{es}. Item, durant la messe et apres a tous venans ch'n-avoiet ung gros et ch'n ungne grosse deulx, et y fut homme pour le . . . jour le puple qui vint po' amone juques a v mille. Et sy y avoit tentes, pavillons, et halles de toyle, ou le peuple se pavoit foier et reposier. Et sy y avoit plasces ou il se poiret foier a diner bien xv cens, sans aultres plasces com'issies, et sans la court du roy, et y fut nombre pour le dit per bien xx mille personnez, et tous souffis de boire et de manger de vin et de viande.

Explicit Chester le H.

Et donna le jour a l'office d'armes pour leurs robes et chaperons et pour leurs despens xx li.

Dieu envoit l'arme: Amen."

The substance of this account, with some variations, collected from that in the Herald's College, is thus given by Mr. Sandford, p. 391.

"Upon the 22d of July, 1466, the bones of both noble personages were put into a chariot covered with cloth of gold and royal habit, at whose feet stood a white angel bearing a crown of gold, to signify that of right he was king. The chariot had seven horses trapped to the ground, and covered with black, charged with escocheons of the said prince's arms: every horse carried a man, and upon the foremost rode Sir John Skipwith, who bore the prince's banner displayed. The bishops and abbots went two or three miles before to prepare the churches for the reception of the prince, *in pontificalibus*. Richard duke of Gloucester followed next after the corps, accompanied with a number of nobles, the officers of arms being also present. In this equipage they parted from Pontefract, and that night rested at Doncaster, where they were received by the convent of Cordeliers in grey habits: from whence, by easy journies they proceeded to Blithe, Tuxford in the Clay, Newark, Grantham, Stamford, and from thence on Monday, July 29, to Fotheringay, where they arrived between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, where the bodies were received by several bishops and abbots *in pontificalibus*, and supported by twelve servants of the defunct prince. At the entrance of the church-yard was the king, accompanied with several dukes, earls, and barons, all in mourning, who proceeded into the choir of Fotheringay church, near to the high altar, where there

* The original French word is *cuer*, which Mr. Sandford translates the *heart* of Fotheringay church.

was a herse covered with black, furnished with a great number of banners, baillaners, and pencils, and under the said herse were the bones of the said prince and his son Edmond. The queen and her two daughters were present, also in black, attended by several ladies and gentlewomen. Item, over the image was a cloth of majesty of black farfenet, with the figure of our Lord sitting on a rainbow beaten in gold, having on every corner a scutcheon of the arms of France and England, quarterly, with a vallance about the herse also of black farfenet, fringed half a yard deep, and beaten with three angels of gold, holding the arms within a garter, in every part above the herse. On the thirtieth of July several masses were said, and then at the offertory of the mass of requiem the king offered for the said prince his father, and the queen and her two daughters, and the countess of Richmond¹ offered afterwards. Then Norroy king of arms offered the prince's coat of arms, March king of arms the target, Ireland king of arms the sword, Windsor herald of arms of England, and Ravendon herald of arms of Scotland offered the helmet, and Mr. de Ferrys the harness and courser.

The interment of king Edward IV. may be seen in E. 3. MS. in the Herald's College. The formulary of the king's interment, *Ibid.* I. iii. fol. 9. I. ii. fol. 84. Hawley's book MS. 1b. The choir was covered with black velvet, and having above that a cloth of gold with a white cross of gold, under that a black majesty cloth of gold farfenet drawn with six coursers trapped with black velvet, &c. trophies for his funeral, I. ii. p. 34 and 84.

The body, after it was ceased, was laid in the chapel of St. Stephen, at Westminster for eight days, and was then conveyed into the abbey of Westminster, having on it a rich and large black cloth of gold, with a cross of cloth of silver, and above that a rich canopy of cloth Imperial fringed with gold and black silk borne by four knights, having at the corners four banners of our Lady, the Trinity, St. George, and St. Edward, also borne by four knights. The lord Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, bore the king's banner before the body, having the officers of arms about him in every side.

In the herse in Westminster abbey, above the body and cloth of gold, was the figure of the king royally habited, a royal crown on his head, a sceptre in one hand, and in the other a ball of silver gilt, with a cross patec. When the mass and all other solemnities were performed, the body was placed in a chariot drawn by six horses, and so proceeded to Charing Cross, where the chariot was censured, and from thence to Syon, where it was received that night with the usual ceremonies; from thence, on the next morning, they departed to Eton, where it was received by the procession of Windsor, and at the castle-gate the archbishop of York and the bishop of Winchester censured the corpse, and thence they passed to the new church, where in the choir was ordained a marvellous well-wrought herse, being that night watcht with goodly knights and esquires of the body, and there buried².

¹ Rather, for the earl of Rutland they offered afterwards: there being then no countess of Richmond.

² Sandford, p. 413.

The interment of John viscount Wells first husband of his second daughter Cecily, 1498, in Westminster-abbey, was performed with great solemnity, having at his funeral a standard and mourning Hofsé with family escutcheons of the defunct, on which rode one Villars, armed, and in a long black cloak, carrying the banner, his coat of arms worn by a púrsváñt, four banners of saints, and four bannerets of his own and lady Cecily's arms; a mourning chariot, in which the body was drawn to Westminster, and a herse in the abbey, where the dirige was performed by the bishop of London¹.

The interment of his fifth daughter Mary, at Windfor, a^d r. 22, 1482; the horses trapped with black cloth with lozenges of her arms².

That of his sixth daughter Margaret has been noticed, p. 277.

William Courtney earl of Devonshire, who married Catharine seventh daughter of Edward IV. and died 1511, 3 Henry VIII. though he had the king's letters patent of the earldom some weeks before his death, could not be buried in the quality of an earl, for want thereof, till the king willed him to be so buried in the church of the Black Friars, at London³. His lady died 1527, at Tiverton, and her body being embalmed, cered, leaded, and chested, was conveyed to the chapel of her manor there, and placed within a herse⁴, being covered with a pall of black velvet, with a cross of white satin, and upon that another pall of cloth of gold, with a white cross of silver tissue garnisht with six escutcheons of her arms. Thus it was attended day and night till Monday, December 2; when, with a formal procession, it was brought to the parish church of Tiverton, and the next day the lord suffragan having performed the office of burial with other abbots and prelates in *pontificalibus*, the body was let down into a vault under the herse⁵.

Henry VII. dying at Richmond 1509, his body was brought into the great chamber there, and rested three days, while solemn mass was sung by a bishop in *pontificalibus*, again in the hall and chapel for the like space, and in every place a herse garnished with banners, escutcheons, and pencils, with mourners attending. From thence, on Wednesday, May 9, it was conveyed into a *chair* (car) covered with black cloth of gold, drawn by five great courfers covered with black velvet garnished with escutcheons of fine gold with his effigies over it apparelled in rich robes with the crown on the head, and the sceptre and ball in the hands, laid on cushions of gold, and overlaid with banners of all his dominions, titles, and genealogies, a great number of prelates praying, with his servants and others in black before the body, and nine mourners with about six hundred torches following it. In St. George's Fields it was met by the religious of all sorts in and about the city, with the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, in black. It was brought through London to St. Paul's, and placed in the choir under a stately herse of *wax*, and next day conveyed with

¹ MS. in Heralds' College, p. 3. fol. 32. Sandford, p. 418.

² MS. in Heralds' College, I. ii. p. 21.

³ MS. in Coll. Arm. I. ii. 22. Sandford, p. 419.

⁴ *harris*, ib.

⁵ *ib.*

the same state to Westminster, Sir Edward Hayward riding in the king's coat of arms bearing his banner on a courser trapped with his arms, and there by six lords taken out of the chariot, and set under a most curious herse full of lights, the representation lying upon the coffin on a pall of gold, about which the mourners being set within the first rail, knights bearing banners within the second, and officers of arms without the same¹.

The memorial for the interment of Henry VII. and Garter and the Painter's bill at that time may be seen in the Heralds' College library, I. 3. and I. ii. p. 86. The proceedings at his funeral, I. iii. fol. 14. with an account of keeping his death private and other transactions, in the MS of Ceremonies, vol. II. markt W. B. p. 41. The manner how the king and queen were certified of the death of prince Arthur and his interment may be seen in MS. I. ii. p. 10. and Sandford, p. 476. The interment of Elizabeth his queen, I. 7. p. 16. and E. 3. with the charges thereof, I. ii. p. 27. M. 6. p. 17. Ceremonies, Vol. II. markt W. B. p. 108. "The chief mourner was the lady Stafford: the ladies being in the most sad and simplest cloathing that they had hanging on their heads, thredyn kerchyffs hanging on their shoulders close under their chyn till their slips, mantels, hodds, and Paris were made."

Upon the decease of this princeſs it was ordained through all the realm, that in colleges, parish churches, and other religious houses, especially within the city of London, solemn dirges and masses should be performed, with ringing of bells and such like ceremonies. For the embalming of her body there was allowed sixty ells of Holland ell broad, with gums, balm, spices, sweet-wines, and wax, with which being cered the king's plumber closed it in lead, with an epitaph likewise in lead, shewing who and what she was, which, chested in boards sufficiently cered and covered with black velvet, with a cross of white damask, and the choir of the chapel of the tower, where she died in childbed, 1500, adorned with a herse of five principals with burning lights about the church, and all windows railed about a good height furnished with burning tapers and hung with black cloth garnished with escocheons of the king's arms and of the defunct, the corpse was the Sunday after placed under the said herse, and covered with a rich cloth of black velvet with a cross of cloth of gold, and then an officer of arms with an audible voice read a Pater-noster for the soul of queen Elizabeth, and all Christian souls, and at every *Kyrie Eleison*, and at *Oremus*, before the collect *Animabus*, in like manner. The corpse being conveyed into a *chair* (car) whose bayles, sides, and coffers, were covered with white velvet with a cross of white cloth of gold well fringed, and an image or person adorned like the queen in her very rich robes of estate and her very rich crown on her head, her hair about her shoulders, her sceptre in her right hand, and her fingers well garnished with rings of gold and precious stones, and on every end of the chair a gentlewoman usher kneeling on the coffin, was in this manner drawn by six horses trapped with black velvet, and all the estate of the same from the Tower to Westminster. On the for-

¹ Sandford, 472, 473, from Grafton's Chronicle.

horse and the thiller rode two chariot-men, and on the four others henchmen in black gowns and mourning hoods, every horse having four lozenges of the queen's arms in farcenet, one on each shoulder and one on each buttock, with an escocheon of paste on their heads: by every horse a person of honour on foot in a mourning hood, and at every corner of the chair a white banner of our Lady borne by a knight, and on each side of the escocheon certain knights and esquires and horsemen bearing the banners. Next them were ordered eight palfreys, saddled, trapped, and enparailed with black velvet, for the eight ladies of the household² to follow the chair, who rode single in their slips and mantles, every horse led by a man on foot without a hood in a demi black gown, followed by a second chariot drawn by six horses in mourning, accompanied with many lords, the lord mayor and aldermen of London, the king's officers, the several orders of friars, and a great number of attendants, all in mourning. Thus the streets being all set with torches and tapers they arrived at Charing Cross, where the choir of St. Paul departing they were met by the abbots of Bermondsey and Westminster, *in pontificalibus*, with the convent of that place in black copes, who censured the corpse, and so in order proceeded to the churchyard of St. Margaret, where it was removed out of the chair, and conveyed into the abbey to the herse curiously wrought with imagery adorned with banners, bannerols, pencils, and a cloth of majesty, with vallance fringed accordingly, inscribed with these words, *Humble and Reverence*, and garnished with her arms, and other her badges³.

The obsequies of Mary the French queen, who died 1533, at her manor of Westhorpe in Suffolk, and lay in state in her chapel near a month, and was conveyed with royal pomp to Bury abbey, with her image on the chariot. MS. in Heralds' College, I. ii. p. 20.

Interment of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, Ibid. I. ii. p. 58.

Charge of the interment of Henry VIII. and manner of procession from Richmond to Westminster, and thence to Windsor, Ibid. I. ii. p. 87.

Interment with an account of the image said to be like the king, Ibid. I. 14. p. 32. 44. 63.

The body remaining privately in his chamber was there cased, and put into a coffin of lead, while a sumptuous herse of virgin's wax was prepared within the chapel at Whitehall, with six goodly pillars, weighing by estimation £2000. under which herse was a canopy of rich cloth of gold, whose vallance were half gold and half black silk, into which the corpse was conveyed, being covered with a pall of cloth of tiffue. At the East end an altar was erected richly adorned with black velvet and escocheons of the king's arms. The herse was railed about with timber covered with black cloth, with which the chapel, cloister,

² In token that she died in childbed.

³ The lady Catharine, lady Elizabeth Stafford, countess of Essex, lady Herbert, lady Lucy of Montague, lady Amy Percy, lady Lisle, lady Scroop of Upsal.

⁴ Sandford, p. 469, 470.

hall, and chamber, were likewise hung. Within the rails were seats for the twelve lords, mourners, to kneel or sit, and here the corpse remained from February 2 to the 14th, being served with day and night watches, a herald standing at the West end of the herse, and desiring the people to pray, saying, "You shall of your charity pray for the soul of the most famous prince king Henry the Eighth, our late most gracious king and master." On the 14th of February, about ten in the morning, the king's body set forward towards Windsor, in a stately chariot, his effigies lying upon the coffin, with the true Imperial crown on the head, and under it a nightcap of black sattin, set full of precious stones, and apparelled with robes of crimson velvet furred with miniver powdered with ermine, the collar of the garter with the order of St. George about the neck, a crimson sattin doublet embroidered with gold, two bracelets of gold about the wrists set with stones and pearl, a fair arming sword by the side, the sceptre in the right hand, and the ball in the left, a pair of scarlet hose, crimson velvet shoes, gloves on the hands, and several diamond rings on the fingers; drawn by eight great horses trapped with black, adorned with escocheons, and a shafferoon on their heads, on each of which rode a child of honour carrying a bannerol of the king's arms. Thus with an exceeding great train of four miles in length, the body was conducted to Syon, where it was received at the church door by the bishops of London, Bristol, and Gloucester, who performed dirge that night and next morning. The corpse being brought into the church was placed in a herse like that in Whitehall, but the effigies was conveyed into the vestry.

The next morning about six of the clock, after the third sound of the trumpet, the whole company (the marquis of Dorset being chief mourner) proceeded for Windsor, and brought the corpse to the castle college gate about one of the clock, from which place to the West door of the church a large way was railed in on both sides and hanged with black cloth and escocheons, the church and choir being also hanged round with black. The bishops of Winchester, London, and Ely, in their *pontificalibus*, with the subdean of the king's chapel and all the singing men of the same, and the dean of Windsor with all the canons, and their whole choir, received the corpse at the foresaid place, whence, after censuring and such like ceremonies, it was carried into the church, the singing men of the King's chapel on the right hand and those of Windsor on the left preceding it. Then the effigies was first conveyed into the church by divers knights and gentlemen; and then the coffin by sixteen yeomen with black staves in their hands was brought into a herse made in the midst of the choir, under which was provided a goodly vault to bury the corpse in, over which was laid a grate, whereon stood the said herse with the coffin and picture. This herse was like that at Whitehall, only it consisted of thirteen great pillars, and weighed by estimation 4000*l*. having about it the banners of descents. Thus the usual ceremony being performed, the body remained there all night. Wednesday, being the 16th of February, about four of the clock, began

the communion of the Trinity, performed by the subdean of Windfor and the subdean of the king's chapel; where, after an offering of gold by the chief mourner of the knights of the garter to St. George, and the king's hatchments, bannerols, and banner, and other trophies, came four gentlemen ushers, and took away the pall of cloth of tissue, the picture being conveyed away before by six knights into the vestry: after which sixteen strong yeomen of the guard took the coffin, and with five strong linen towels, which they had for their feet, let it into the vault, near unto the body of queen Jane Seymour, his third wife, the grate being first taken away. Then the lord chamberlain, the lord great master, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Comptroller, and the serjeant porter, breaking their white staves upon their heads in three parts, as did likewise all the gentlemen ushers, threw them into the grave, when Garter, assisted by the bishops of Chester and Durham, declared the state and name of the most godly prince then King Edward VI. Then the funerals ending, the trumpets sounded in the rood loft, and the company departed'.

Interment of queen Jane at Windfor, 1537. I. 14. p. 119. where it is said that the ladies left off their bonnets, and took (for mourning) white kerchers to apparel their heads, called Paris heads, with white kerchers coming over their shoulders. The gallery and chapel within the quire was hanged with black cloth. The staffs of the banners were white; the stools and cushions covered with black cloth: the chariot covered with black velvet: the horses trapped with black velvet. M. 6. p. 1.

Interment of Anne of Cleves, I. 14. p. 83.

Prince Arthur's body being embalmed, cased, and put into a coffin covered with black cloth close cased, was laid in his chamber, under a table covered with rich cloth of gold having a rich cross over it furnished with latten candlesticks and great tapers. Thus it lay till St. George's day, when in the afternoon it was removed into the parish church of Ludlow in solemn procession, the earl of Surrey being chief mourner, where, besides the canopy, were four banners, of the Trinity, the Patible, our Lady, and St. George, and next after the corpse a banner of the prince's own arms. On St. Mark's day the corpse was conveyed to Bewdley, and set in the choir there, every church where the body remained being well furnished with escutcheons of the prince's arms. Next morning they came in a solemn manner to Worcester, where, with great state, they proceeded through the choir in the cathedral to a splendid herse adorned with no less than 500 lights; two standing banners of the king's and queen's, Spanish prince's and prince's arms, and one of Normandy; two bannerolls of Wales, one of Cadwallader, one of Guienne, Cornwall, Chester, and Ponthieu, 100 pencils of divers badges; two rich vallances and the cloth of majesty well fringed. The next morning at seven o'clock the body was interred'.

* MS. in Colleg. Arm. I. 14. n. 63. Sandford, p. 492-494.

* Sandford, p. 475, 476. ex MS Coll. Arm. I. iii. p. 14.

For the two following ceremonials of the funeral of Edward VI. and his sister Mary, I am indebted to my friend Craven Ord, esq. who discovered them among the records of the Exchequer Office.

"The accompte of Sir Edward Waldegrave, knighte, one of the quene's highnes prevy council and maister of her majesty's great wardrobe, aswell of all receiptes of monye, of clothes of golde, velvetts, and other fylkes, owte of the quene's majesty's ftoore, as also of all the empcons, provions, and deliverie for the buryall of the late famous prince of memory kinge Edwarde the Syxte of that name, who departed from this transitory lyffe the syxte daye of Julye, in the viiith yere of his reigne, and was buryed the viiith daye of Auguste, in the ffirste yere of the mooste prosperos and victorius reigne of owre mooste dradd soveraigne lady Marye, by the grace of God quene of Englonde, Fraunce, and Irelande, defendor of the ffaythe, and of the church of Englonde and Irelande in earthe the supreme hedd.

Furthe; Received by the fayde Sir Edwarde Waldegrave, knighte, of Sir Edmonde Peckam, knighte, highe treaforer of the quenes highnes mynttes, by vertewe of oone warraunte dated in the Tower of London the viiith daye of Julye, the furthe yere of her mooste gracious reigne, in preste towerde the expenses of the fayde buryall, £. m ccc l.

Clothes of golde tishewe, clothes of golde velvette, and other fylkes, received by the fayde Sir Edwarde Waldegrave, knighte, for the use of the fayde buryall, of Sir Raufe Sadleir, knighte of the quene's highnes ftoore :

Clothe of golde and sylver tishewe with golde and sylver	xx yards. q'r d.
Clothe of golde purple	LI yards.
Clothe of golde blacke withe woorkes	xxiii yards. dd q'r.
Velvett blewe Jeane ¹	III yards, III quarters.
Satten white, at xij.	IIII yards.
Damaſke blewe	II yards. q'r.
Damaſke crimifin	II yards. q'r.
Sarftinett grene	III yards, III quarters.
Sarftinett white, at vs. vii id.	III yards. q'r.

The charge of the buriall of the late famos prince of memory kinge Edwarde the Syxte, aswell of the empcon of velvette blacke clothes, cottons, as other n'rries, for the use of the faide buriall, as shall apere.

The hearſe within the chapell at Whytehawle 32 yards of black velvet Jeane for to cover the hearſe rownde abowte above the majesty cloth and fowre pooftes of the faid hearſe of twoo breddes of velvet at xi yards long, together 22 yards, and at the four pooftes ten yards.

13 yards of black sarftinett for one majesty cloth to hange in the hearſe at Westminster.

x i ounces of frendge of Venice golde for the faide majesty.

For 3 pounds one ounce of black fylke frendge, for the same cause.

¹ Genoa.

12 yards $\frac{3}{4}$ of blew velvet double Jeane for the covering of the coffin wherein the corpse laye.

For coveringe the same with the same velvet price ingrofs with nayles, and workemanhippe.

For 2000 gylte nayles for the garnishing of sayde coffin,

For leade, fooder, workemanhippe, and attendaunce given for the coffyringe of our soveraigne lorde kinge Edwarde the Syxte, XLVIII yards of blacke velvet double Jeane for one pawle to laye upon the coffin standing within the hearfe, at the kinge's palace of Whytehawl, within the chapel thereof, white farfnet for part of banners and standards: blue farfnet for part of six coats of arms and banners and standard, red farfnet for the same. Crimson damask for one coat of arms: blue ditto, ditto. A clothe of estate of blue velvet. Thirty-five yards of black velvet double Jeane for one cloth of estate of four bredths and seven yards long, with seven yards of velvet for the vallance. Blue velvet double Jeane for three cullions; white tyke and pounds of feathers for ditto. Ditto for covering two chaires of timber for said cloth of estate. Purple silk fringe for said cloth of estate: ditto for the chairs. Blue buckram for lining the cloth of estate. Canopy of blue velvet double Jeane to bear over the corps in the chariot from the king's palace to Westminster church. Satin of Bruges for lining it, and purple silk fringe. Hatchment and mauntlette and fweardes to hang over the hearfe, made of black velvet double jeane and black cloth of golde. White sattin for ditto.

Chariot covered with cloth of gold tiffued with gold and silver that carried the king's corpse, with the king's picture, from Whitehawl to Westminster. Blue velvet double Jeane for the nether part of the chariot. Black ditto for covering the shaftes of the litter. Fringe of Venice gold twifted for the upper and nether part of the chariot. Gold passament lace for garnishing the pillar of the chariot. Black and purple penny-bredth ribbon for garnishing the chariot and shafts. Black velvet double Jeane for the trappers of six horses that lead the said chariot. Black Spanish silk for tassels. Black English ribbon to lead the horses. Collar maker for ledder *hungrye* and black ledder double stitched with traces, and a *lymer* saddle; bits with bosses. Sockets to stay the standards with stirrup leathers. Three pillions of buckram stufft with flax, one for the lymer saddle, and the other two for the chariot.

Trappers of cloth of gold for the horse of estate. A bolster saddle covered with cotton.

Trapper of red and blue farfnet for the man of arms. A steel saddle covered with ditto.

Trapper of velvet for the chief mourner, Lord Treasurer, marquis of Winchester.

Ditto for nine of the king's henchmen.

The herse in Westminster church.

Black velvet Jeane for covering the herse and posts. Taffeta fringed with gold and black silk for a majestic cloth within it. One yard of crimson *luke's* *

* Q. Lucca.

velvet. Pall of velvet and cloth of gold with a cross of white satin to be offered by the chief mourner. Black cloth of gold with *works* for the same cause.

Black linen and black narrow cotton for the hanging of Whitehall palace, the presence chamber, the *palliot*² chamber, the hall, the chapel, the herse within the chapel; broad cotton and broad cloth for the same: seven *bolles* of black thread for sewing it.

Black linen for hanging Westminster church, narrow and broad cotton and black cloth and broad cloth for hanging the herse and the sides of the middle aisle of the church all along tenter hooks and *arras* hooks for it.

The painter's book, as signed by the lord treasurer, for the workmanship of a majestie cloth and vallance in the chapel at Whitehall, and in the church at Westminster, and in the chariot; three standards, the lion, the dragon, and the greyhound, wrought in fine gold; 12 banners; 6 ditto of damask; 6 of farfenet, all wrought in fine gold. 4 bannerets of double farfenet, 21 of farfenet, 9 ditto for the pages of honour, all wrought as above. The helmet gilt all over, and mauntel of cloth of gold lined with white satin. Crown carved and gilt with burnisht gold: a lion ditto; an arming sword gilt, with sheath, buckle, pendant, and chape: target of the king's arms in garter and the crown over it gilt. 21 dozen of penfells wrought in fine gold and silver on double farfenet of an ell long. *Shaffersons* (6 dozen). *Shocheons*³ 6 dozen of double farfenet wrought in fine gold. 6 dozen of buckram ditto. 15 dozen ditto in party gold; one dozen in paper in fine gold; 58 dozen of paper in metal party gold; 68 dozen on paper in color.

The crown imperial of fine gold to be set on the herse at Westminster, 13*s.* 4*d.*

Three banner standard staves.

Six dozen black staves for the banners and banneretts. A black staff for the embroidered banner. 21 dozen spear sticks. 6 blue staves to bear the canopy with gilt knobs. 3 dozen for the coat of arms, helmet, and target.

40*℥.* allowed to the office of arms for their attendance.

Four sworn appraisers of the black cloth bought for the liveries of the said burial 35 days attendance at 20*d.* per day.

155 yards and $\frac{1}{4}$ at 20*s.* the yard, £. 15*s.* 5*s.* 30 yards at 22*s.*

30 — at 19*s.* and 116 at 18*s.* 65 yards at 17*s.* 93 yards at 16*s.*

130 — at 15*s.* 151 at 14*s.* 8 — at 14*s.* 4*d.*

97 yards at 13*s.* 274 at 13*s.* 4*d.* 404 at 12*s.*

12 — at 12*s.* 8*d.* 24 at 12*s.* 4*d.* 379 at 11*s.*

79 — at 11*s.* 6*d.* 18 at 11*s.* 4*d.* 71 at 11*s.* 8*d.*

658 — at 10*s.* 69 at 10*s.* 4*d.* 125 at 10*s.* 6*d.*

511 — at 9*s.* 191 at 9*s.* 4*d.* 93 at 9*s.* 6*d.*

58 — at 9*s.* 8*d.* 1237 at 8*s.*

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Others at	8	4	8	6	8	8	7	7	4	7	6	7	8
	6	8	6	6	6	4	5	5	8	5	6	4	4

Total of yards 9376 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Argent £. 4280. 17*s.* 7*d.*

² Q. Pallet bed chamber.

³ Escucheons.

This cloth was given to the different officers about the court, and their servants.
Countinghouse.

JOHN duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, Lord Great Master. *nil*.

Sir THOMAS CHENEY, knight, Treasurer.

Sir RICHARD COTTON, knight, Comptroller.

Sir THOMAS WELDON, Cofferer.

Bakehouse, Pantry, Cellar, Buttery, Pitcherhouse, Spicery, Chandlery, Confectionary, Ewery, Laundry, Waferey, Kitchen, Larder, Boilinghouse, Caterer, Poultry, Scalding house, Squillery, Woodyard, Purveyors of the dresser, Marshall of the hall, Herbingier, Armory, Porters, Purveyors of Carts, Gylder, Dogkeeper, Sewers of the hall, Surveyors of the dresser, Waxchandler, Servitors of the hall; Messengers of the counting-house, Wineporters, Fruiterer, Smith, Artificers and other officers pertaining to the household, Pensioners of the household, Chapel Clerk of the Council, Gentlemen of the Privychamber, Gentlemen Ushers daily waiters and quarter waiters; four young Lords, viz. Thomas Howard, Gyles, Lumley, Mountjoy, ten yards each. Servants and Grooms of the chamber, Chaplains, Serjeants at arms, Guard, Kings, Herald's, and Pursuivants at Arms, Grooms of the King's privy chambers, Clerks of the Signet, Lords and Knights of the King's privy council, Lords and Gentlemen of the King's privy chamber. Cupbearer, Carvers, Sewers, Squire of the Body, Gentlemen Usher quarter waiters, Sewers of the chamber, Officers at Arms, Painters, Serjeant at Arms, King's Chaplains, Physicians, Poticary, Surgeon, Grooms and Pages of the chamber, Wardrobe of the robes and beds, Messengers of the chamber, Trumpeters, Singers, Keeper of the standing wardrobe at Windsor, Keeper of the wardrobe at Moore and Richmond, Matmaker yeoman, *Medena, maker of the king's picture*: Head Officers of the Stable, the *Wyrries* (and among them Sir Anthony Brown, knight), Serjeant of the Carrage, Serjeant Farrier, Surveyor of the stables, Footmen, Riders, Officers of the stable, Yeomen Farriers, Yeomen of the close car, Grooms of the Stirrop, Groom of the Bottles, Grooms Farriers, Groom of the close car, Sumpter men, Muleteers, Keepers of the courfers and jennetts, Courfer-men, Bishops and Barons, &c. Gentlemen Pensioner, Henchmen, Ministers and Officers of Westminster church, Knights, The Marshall's, Trappers for the Herald's at Arms, Painters (Anthony Toto serjeant-painter, Nicholas Lyzard painter, Nicholas Modena hewer); mantles for the Marquis of Winchester chief mourner, Earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke: seven pages of honour riding on the chariot-horses. Riders of the stable, Officers of the jewel-house, Surveyor and Comptroller of the king's works, Master Mason and Carpenter, Joiner, King's Serjeant, Plumber, Glazier, Tofermaker, Coffermaker, Chariot-maker, Smith, King's Laundries, Sewer of the chamber, 12 bedemen of Westminster, Sir Edward Hastings master of the queen's horse, Officers of the great wardrobe (and among them the parson of St. Andrew), Tenants of the great wardrobe, Artificers pertaining to it; Men of Arms, Clerks of the Privy Seal.

"The

"The Entyrement of the most excellent princeſſe quene Marie, whoſe corpe was carried from her manor of St. James unto the abbey of Weſtminſter, there ſolemnly buried the XIII day of December, anno 1558. The charges of the empcons, proviſions, and deliveries, as well for the herſe, clothes of eſtate, canopies, covering of chariots, with diyers other matters for the ſaid burial hereafter following; viz.

For the herſe at St. James.

A box covered with black velvet:

Robert Horwood, for half a yard of velvet, black, for covering a box for the queen's heart: of the queen's ſtore one quarter of farſenet, red, for to wrap the quene's heart in:

John Grene for a box and covering the ſame, 3*s.* 4*d.* Mary Wilkinſon 4 yards of paſſamayne lace to garniſh the ſame:

Canopy of blue velvet:

Hatchments and mantellets:

The coat and banner of arms:

Four chariots (with four horſes). One carried the corpe with the queen's picture, and in three the ladies of honor did ryde, covered with fine black cloth with ſilk, and garniſhed with gilt nails, twelve haſſocks, ells of canvas for patrons, *carded* cotton to lye in the bottom of the ſame chariots, black nails to garniſh the ſame chariot, bullion nails for the ſame cauſe:

A trapper for the chief mourner, lady Lynnox:

Trapper for the horſe of eſtate:

Trapper for the man of arms, with ſaddle and harneſſ.

Herſe at Weſtminſter church.

Pall of cloth of tiſſue:

Majeſty for the chariot:

Palls of cloth of gold and velvet to be offered; ſtandards and banners:

Sabatons of cloth of gold. Of the ſame ſtore two yards of cloth of gold *incarnatt* with works for one pair of *ſabatons for the picture*; a yard of ſatin for lining the ſame:

For the furniture of the chapel where the corpe lyeth in Weſtminſter church:

For ſeventeen henchmen:

The herſe of wax with all things pertaining to the ſame:

The herſe of wax at St. James:

The herſe of timber at St. James and Weſtminſter:

The chief mourner; Mary Wilkinſon for one Parys head for the lady Lynnox chief mourner; for four ells of fine Holland cloth for three white heads for her gentlewoman; for ſix ells of Holland cloth:

Counteſſes; five Parys heads for five:

Baroneſſes; nine Parys heads for ditto:

Ladies and gentlewomen of the privy chamber;

eleven Parys heads for the firſt:

ſix white heads for the latter:

Chamberers, three white heads:

The queen's maids four ditto:

Maister of the horſe, Sir Edward Jernegan, for his allowance for nine geldings, with their furniture, that the ladies rode upon the day of the funerall; alſo for the herſe of eſtate and ſeventeen horſes, with their furniture, that drew the chariots: agreed with him in great £. XL.

Officers at arms £ 40.

For the vaulte where the corſe dothe lye; Henry Bullock, maſon, for the makinge of the vaulte, for ſtuffe and workmanſhippe: It'm for ſettinge up the ' for the hatchement and banners in Weſtminſter church:

The duties of the church of Weſtminſter:

The duties of the dean of the chapel:

Rewards given to eight yeomen of the guard for watching and carrying the corſe, and eight others for carrying it from the chamber at St. James to the chapel there; to the poor men that bare the torches:

Black linens and cottons for the hangings at St. James and Weſtminſter churches:

Rewards to the clerk of the wardrobe:

Wages of officers attendant att the time of the burial:

Expenſe n^{ccie}:

Total, £. 2,291. 3s. 2¹/₂.

Blacke clothe boughte of fondrie p^{ſons} ffor thuſe of the ffuneralls of oure late ſoveraigne ladie quene Mary.

Summa totalis yards 9699.

Argent 5565 12¹/₂.

Soma totalis

iftius comp's 7857 15 3.

The total empc^t of all the blacke clothe,

Sm yards } as above.
Argent,

The names of the creditoures ffor the faide ffunerailles, £. 7662. 19s. 0¹/₂d.

The Lyverys of black clothe geven at the faide buryall to the vſe of hir officers, as well of hir ſaid houſholde and hir chambre, as to d^vſe other archbiſhoppes, dukes, markeſſes, earles, lordes, knyghtes, chapleynes, gent yeomen, gromes, and pages, as followeth:

Theſe are the ſame as in the account of king Edward's funeral; beginning with the countinghouſe, in which the firſt officer is Sir Thomas Cheney, kn^t. treaſurer.

After Almerly follow marſhall ſewers, and others of the hall, ſervitours of the hall, porters at the gate, officers of the marſhalſea, the treaſurir of the chambre, officers of the quene's maj^{ties} woork, the maſter of the horſe, the *avenoure*, equyers (*equerries*), the ſecond and third clarke, the ſ'ieaunte of the cariage, ſ'ieaunte farro', marſhal ffero', the clarke of the ſtable, ſ'veyoure ryder, the footemen, riders, yeomen, jent fadler, yeomen granato', yeomen ſadler, yeomen ferro', yeomen of the cloſe carre of the robes, yemen of the male, yeoman peckma', grome of the bottell horſe, groomes of the ſtiropp, keeper

¹ A blank in the original.

of the fool's horſe, grome farro', grome ſadler, grome of the cloſe carre of the robes, grome of the cloſe carre of the ſtabel, ſumpter and meſſage men, muleters, mulet ſadler, keepers of courſers, grome wagen's, riding children, the henchmen, gentlemen penſioners, gentlemen at armes, the lord chamberlain, the vice chamberlain, ladies and gentlewomen of the privy chamber, gentlewomen of the privy chambre, the chamb'ers, gentlemen of the queen's privy-chamber, phyſicians (Mr. doctour Wendie, Mr. doctour Ceſar) gromes of the privy chamber, the two fooles (William Somer and Jane the foole) officers of the queen's robes, laundreſſes, queen's maids, cupbearers, carvers, ſewers for the mouth, ſurveyor of the dreſſes, ſquiers for the body, gentlemen uſhers daily and quarter waiters, gentlemen waiters, grome porter, ſewers of the chamber, fingers, the poticarye, ſurgeons, gromes and pages of the chamber, ſerjeants at arms, clarkes of the ſignet, the office of the harriots, yeomen of the guard appointed to wait on the corpes, clark of the checke, yeomen uſhers yeomen of the guard, ordinarie chaplains of the quene's cloſet, clark of the cloſet, the ordinarie of the quene's chapel, the veſtry, the removing wardrobe of the heads, the officers of the jewel houſe, the clarkes of the privy ſeal, clarkes of the privy council, the keeper of the council's records, the Latin ſecretary (Roger Aſcham), trumpeters, executors of the late quene (archbiſhop of York, marquis of Wincheſter, earls of Weſtmorland, Arundel, Shrewſbury, Derby, Suffex, and Pembroke, viſcount Montague, lord Clinton admiral, lord Haſtings of Loughborough, biſhop of Ely, Sir William Petre, Sir William Cordell); aſſiſtants to the executors (Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir John Baker, Dr. Boxell, Sir Edward Waldegrave); ladies appointed to be mourners (lady Margaret Lynnox chief mourner, counteſſes of Oxford, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Worceſter the elder, viſcounteſſes Montague, lady Morleys, lady Windfor the younger, lady Lumley, lady Dacres of the South, jun. lady Anne Graie, lady North, lady Latimer, lady Bergavenny, lady Stourton, lady Borrowe, lady Huntingdon's daughter, wife to lord Clinton's ſon, lady Clinton); biſhops; four nobleſmen aſſiſtants to the corſe (marquis of Wincheſter, earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, and Weſtmoreland), allowed for their liveries amongſt the executors; aſſiſtants to the chief mourner (earl of Huntingdon and viſcount Montague); kings, heralds, and purſuivants at arms; embaffador (the countie Ferro); aſſiſtants to the lord marquis in the funerals; the abbot of Weſtminſter; ſinging men of Weſtminſter; the officers of the works; the wax chandler; ſerjeant painter (Nicholas Lyſard); coffer maker; the cofferer to the queen's majeſty that now is; the almenor; the clark to the commiſſion's; the maſter of the wardrobe; officers of the great wardrobe; the four praiſers of black cloth; the meſurer, ſix perſons attending for the time of ſervice.

Trappers.

The executors to the late queen and their aſſiſtants; aſſiſtants to the chief mourner and to the marquis of Wincheſter; bearer of the embroidered banner; treaſurer of the houſhold; vice chamberlain; maſter of the horſe; maſter of the henchmen; almoner; gentlemen uſhers daily waiters; ſtandard and banner bearers; gentlemen of the privy chamber; ſerjeants at arms; kings, heralds,

and purfuivants at arms; ladies riding on horſeback; the ladies gentlewomen; gentlewomen of the privy-chamber.

Poor men's gowns delivered for 100, whereof the 12 bedemen of Weſtminſter were parcel, to every gown four yards.

Three chariots covered with cloth, each twenty-one yards. Trappers to twelve courſers or great horſes that lead the chariots. The leaders of the chariot horſes and carters that drive them; for the horſes at St. James and Weſtminſter church,

Total of the queen's majeſty's ſtores in her grace's great wardrobe. (Not caſt up.)

Cotton MS. Veſpaſian. C. XIV. p. 181.

England, Eliza. 1574. R. France. Auguſt 7. 1574.

The manner of the laſt funeral exequy for the French Kinge.

The order of the Lordes cominge to the Church.

Fiſt, there went all gentlemen ii and ii in gownes and hodes on their ſhoulders.

Then the officers of armes in their coates of armes, two and two.

Then the banner of the French kinge's armes borne by Sir William St. Lowe, in his longe gowne, his hooſe on.

Then Garter principall king of armes, in the queene's coate of armes.

Then the Lord Marquis of Wincheſter, as chief mourner alone; his traine borne by Mr. Franckwell gentleman uſher to the queene, and his owne man ſupporting the ſame.

Then the Lord Dacres of the South and the Lord of Hunſdon.

Then the Lord Darcy of Chich and Sir Richard Sackville.

Then Sir Edward Warner and Mr. Charles Haward.

After them all their yeomen in blacke coates two and two; and in this order they proceeded into the church upp to the heares where they were placed, the chief mourner att the hed kneelinge att a ſtoole cued with black cloth, a cuiſſion of black velvett under his arme under his knees, one of black cloth, and one each ſide v other kneeling at ſtooles, likewise att the feete of the hearſe Sir William St. Low holdinge his banner of armes, and att every corner fower heraldes holdinge fower banners of armes.

Then the quier began the praier, whereat was preſent the mayor and aldermen, the ambaffador of Fraunce, the archbiſhopp of Canterbury, the biſhopp of Hereford, and the biſhopp of Chicheſter; which praier ended, the ſaid lordes went to the Biſhopp's Pallace againe, having their gentlemen and officers of armes before them, where they had a void of ſpices verie coſtly; and thence departed to their lodgings.

On Saterdaie mornings, about fix of the clock the ſaid lordes mett att the ſaid biſhop's pallace, who went to church in the ſame manner as they came thence, and were placed about the hearſe as the night before; and after ſervice they offered in manner following:

Fiſt,

First, The chief mourner, the gentlemen and officers of armes before him, thother morners followinge, who offred for the state, and retorned to the hearfe againe; and after obeisaunce made, he went upp againe with Clarencieux King of Armes onclie, and offred for himself, and retorned to his place againe.

Then offred the above mourners ii and ii with offycers of armes before them.

Then the embassadour of Fraunce likewise.

Then Sir John St. Low offered the banner of armes with an officer of armes before him.

Then offered the lord mayor with his sword before him, and the aldermen followinge him not offringe att all.

Then began the fermon made by the Bushopp of Hereford, in the rome of the Bushopp of London then being sicke.

After the fermon the comunion was mynistrd by the archbushopp of Canterbury assisted by the bushoppes of Hereford and Chichester, and there receaved the said comunion the said lord archbushoppe, the said chamberlain, the lord Dacres of the Sowth, and Sir Edward Warner; after which comunion they departed to the bushopp's pallaice to dynner, after which they departed thence.

¹⁵⁷⁴
August 7. A brief declarac'on of the charges of the diett at the obsequies of the late French king, celebrated at Powles, the viith daie of August, 1574, in the xvith yere of the raigne of our soveraigne lady queene Eliz.

	s.	d.
Bread, lxii dosen	lxii	0
Beere and Ale	38	0
Fyne Flower for past, 3 lb.	15	0
Butter	30	8
Oysters	2	1
Linges, 4	16	0
Greene fishes 8	10	0
Pikes, 16	22	4
Carpes, 8	17	8
Tenches, 8	12	0
Eles to rost and toft, 12	12	0
Barbelles, 9	12	0
Flounders, greate and small, 90	8	8
Soles, 6 paire	9	10
Plaices, great, 26	18	0
Calver Salmon	23	0
Salte Salmon, 7	14	0
Doryes, 2	5	4
Porpas, 3 quarters	15	0
	Roches,	

Roches, 69	s.	d.
Turbuts, 4	7	4
Chines of fresh Salmon	18	0
Troutes, 3	6	0
Sturgeon, a firkin	4	0
Smelts	26	0
Crevice and Shrimpes	4	4
Eggs, 4 hundred	4	7
Creame for Custardes and Tartes	13	4
Quinces to bake	5	8
Artichokes, 9	7	0
Spice, cake-wafers, &c.	3	0
Charges of the house 3 daies before thobsequie	19	10
Flesh for the kitchen	12	0
Orenges and Lemons	11	5
Mustard, Viniger, and Salt	2	1
Wyne of diverse sorts and Hipocras	12	9
Pipkins, dripping trenches, and other necessaries	£. 3	8 6
Rushes, 4 dozen	43	8
Hier of spits, pewter vessell, black jacks	12	0
Coles and Fagotts	19	0
Canvas for the kitchen bordes, dressers, cooks aprons, &c.	22	8
Suger and other spices	23	10
March panes, 3	3	11 1/2
Cariadge of plate, wardrobe stuff, and other	12	0
Washing of the Nappie	10	4
Botchier	5	0
	8	0

Summa £. 43. 7s. 10 1/2d.

WAGES and REWARDES.

The wages and rewarde of Stephen Tegle, M ^r Cook, as he demandeth for his paines	40	0
The wages of 6 cookes, whereof 4 for 2 daies apeece and 2 for one daie apeece	33	4
The wages of 4 labourers in the kitchen for 2 daies at 6d. the daie apeece	3	6
To John Spaldinge, butler, for his wages and reward	10	0
To 8 men serving under him, at 8d. the daie for 15 daies amongst them all	10	0
To porters, scowerers, and other, serving the daie of the obsequies	11	3
To James Harman, keeping of the standing wardrobe att Westminster, and his 2 men, for furnishing of the Bu-		

shoppes houle with hangings and other stuff, for his wages and his mens, for 6 daies, himself at 20 <i>d.</i> and his men at 12 <i>d.</i> the peece a daie	22	0
To John Dodington, steward, in reward for his travaile and paines	40	0
To three of his men travailling with him about the premisses by the space of 6 daies att 8 <i>d.</i> apeece the daie	12	0
Summa of the wages and rewardes . £. 9. 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>		
Summa totalis of the whole charges of the foresaid diett, provisions, and wages, att the obsequies of the late French kinge	£. 52. 11 <i>s.</i> 4½ <i>d.</i>	

The total charges of the obsequie 7th die Augusti anno 16 R. Eliz.

	£.	s.	d.
Black cloth for the mourners	26	1	4 5½
For coveringe and garnishinge of the herse	88	10	7
The majestie cushions, &c.	44	4	6
The helmet, mantletts, &c.	21	8	6
Banners, pencils, and scutcheons	142	0	8½
Baies and cottons for hangings	63	18	4
Reward to Mr. Carter	10	0	0
Reward to the herauldes	10	0	0
The duties of Pawles	13	6	8
The charges of the hearse	18	14	10
The offeringes	10	17	0
Reward to the clark of the wardrobe	5	0	0
The diett ¹			
Expenses necessaries	8	10	10
The dole	10	0	0
Allowed to the Mr. Wardrobe	10	0	0

Harl. MS. 293. fol. 211.

"The 1th of August Sir William Dethick, Garter, Knight, Principal King of Armes, being sent to Peterburgh with a rich pall of velvet, embroidered with the armes of the mighty prince's Mary queen of Scotts, having letters directed to the Reverend Lord Bishop of Peterburgh in that behalf, which pall of velvet embroidered was by him solemnlye caryed and laid upon and over the corpe of the said late queene, assisted by many knights and gentlemen, and much people, at the time of divine service; and then the said Lord Bishop preached a sermon in that behalf in the morning; and made a great feast at dinner; and the Deane preached of the same in the afternoon.

Then the queen of Scotland was most royally and sumptuously entered by the said Garter, on the first of August, in the yere 1587. The solemnity of

¹ Sic Orig.

this funeral may be seen in the History of Fotheringay, in Bibliotheca Britannica Topographica, N° XL. 53—62. from Gunton's Peterborough, p. 17. from an account of it, printed 1587¹, and Harl. MS. 1440. f. 13. The body was brought by torch-light in a chariot made on purpose, drawn by six horses, at midnight, the Sunday before, from Fotheringay castle to the bishop's palace at Peterborough, and a rich herse erected above made fieldbedwife, and having a vallance of black velvet with a gold fringe, above the first step of the choir, near to the place of burial. The allowance of servants and blackes. The ladies had Paris heads and barbes, the gentlewomen had white heads.

The Society of Antiquaries engraved the funeral procession of queen Elizabeth in seven plates, 1791, from a drawing of the time, supposed by the hand of William Camden, Clarenceux king at arms, with the "true order and formall proceeding at the funerall from Whitehall to the cathedral church of Westminster," from "Epicedium, a funeral oration on her death, 1603." 4to.

The funeral of Frances Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, at Sheffield, Oct. 12, 1560, may be seen in Peck's Desid. Cur. VII. N° XI. p. 252. 2d edit. That of Edward earl of Derby, 1574, from Anstis' Collections, in Dallaway's Inquiries into the Origin of Heraldry, p. 249—259.

That of Sir Philip Sidney, 1586, drawn by Thomas Lant, servant to the said honourable knight, was engraved by Theodore de Bry, in the city of London, 1587.

The first instance of a general public mourning among us is presumed to have been for this accomplished hero: "So general," says the author of his life, prefixed to his Arcadia, p. 17, "was the lamentation for him, that for many months after it was accounted indecent for any gentleman of quality to appear at court or city in any light or gaudy apparel."

In the archives of the Norfolk family is a will of the collector, earl of Arundel, never executed, in his own hand, historical of himself, wife, and family, directing the body of his father to be removed from the Tower where he died in the prime of life, imprisoned by Elizabeth for his religion. When Edward duke of Norfolk was buried at Arundel, his iron chest was found, with an inscription mentioning his death, *non sine suspitione veneni*. The late duchess went through the vaults, with her priests, celebrating for the souls of

¹ See also "La Mort de la royne d'Ecosse douairiere de France," in Jebb's Collections de vita et rebus gestis &c. II. 653—660. "Dedans ce temple [à Peterborough] a esté interre ceste bonne royne Catherine femme de feu roy Henry VIII. au costé gauche dedans le cœur ou est encore son sepulchre estant pare de poisse et cist avec les armoires du costé droit justement al'opposite s'estoit faite une fosse baillie de brique alentour et de profondeur assez suffisante dedans laquelle fut mise cors de sa majesté avec les deux cercueils [de plomb et de bois] : au milieu du cour estoit esleve un *desme*, a la facon qu'on fait les chapelles arseintes en France, excepte qu'il n'y avoit point des cierges ni chandelles, estoit tout couvert et environné de velours noir tout fourny des armoires d'Ecosse et banderolles miparties comme dict est, dedans estoit le lieu ou fut mis la representation qui estoit un facon de biere couverte de velours noir, et dessus un oreiller de velours cramoisy, sur lequel estoit posée une couronne; l'Eglise tendue de drap noir depuis la porte tournoyant par l'encour du cœur semé des dictes armoires." It appears by this account, in which is the list of the assistants at the procession, that the Queen of Scots' servants refused to assist at a Protestant ceremonial, and when they were with difficulty prevailed on to perform the last office of breaking their staves they found it had been done before they could come in from the cloister.

² Collins's Memoirs of the Sidneys, p. 109.

all buried there, and caused this chest to be opened. She took out the skull fresh with all the teeth sound and white, and had it set in a shrine, which she placed in her chapel. On her death the duke ordered it down with her corpse, but it was neglected to be put into the vault, and is now to be seen in the castle.

Edward earl of Worcester, 1524, bequeathed his body to be buried in the church of our Lady and St. George, within the aisle at Windsor, by his first wife, in his chapel of our Lady, where her tomb was then made by the consent of the dean and canons of the same place, that in case he should die in London, Kaiho, or near the river Thames, his body should be brought by water to the said church of Windsor, as privately as might be, without pomp or great charge of torches or clothing, hearse, wax, or great dinner; but only for them that must needs be had; that is to say, twenty men of his own servants to bear every man a torch and to have clothing, and the bier or herse to be covered with black cloth, and his body under the same, with a white cross on it, and that no months mind dinner should be kept for him, but only an obit of one hundred masses to be said for him at Windsor, or other places, as his executors should appoint¹. His grandson William, 1587, ordered, that a tomb of marble should be made over his grave at Ragland².

Sir William, Cecil baron Burleigh, 1597, to be buried in comely sort as a baron of parliament, in St. Martin's church, Stamford, where he had made a burial place for his grandfather, father, mother, and self, and others which might succeed; but not above £. 1000. to be bestowed on his funeral, wherof £. 100. in chantries³.

The mistaken humility of Lollardism led Sir Thomas Latimer, one of the most eminent persons of that sect, to desire, 1401, "that my wreechyd body be bured where that ever I dye in the next church yerd God vouchsafe, and naut in the chirche, but in the utterist corner, as he that is unworthie to lyn therin, save the merce of God. And that there be non manner of cost don about my beryng, neyther in mete, neyther in dryngge, nor in no other thing; but it be to any suchone that needyth it after the law of God, save twey tapers of wax, and anon as I be dedyn bery me in the erthe," &c.⁴

The funeral ceremonial of an abbot commonly practised before the Council of Lateran is thus described by Matthew Paris⁵, speaking of the death of William twenty-second abbot of St. Alban's. As soon as he had expired in his chamber the body was stript and washed, and his crown and head shaved if this had not been done the day before. A few of the more devout brethren being admitted, and but one secular, the servant of the sacrist who was to perform the office of anatomist, an incision was made from the trachea downwards. The contents of the body were received in a vessel⁶, and sprinkled with salt, and

¹ Dugdale, Bar. II. 294.

² Ib. p. 295.

³ Ib. p. 406.

⁴ Ib. p. 33.

⁵ Vit. Abb. S. Albani, p. 133.

⁶ *Cana*, q. cuxa.

deposited in the churchyard near the altar of St. Stephen, with due ceremony and singing, where afterward a little marble tomb was erected over it. The inside of the body being washed, and steeped in vinegar, and sprinkled plentifully with salt, was sewed up, that it might be kept without producing any offensive smell three days or longer, or any disagreeable effect to those who were to handle it for burial. It looked much more like a person asleep than a dead corpse. The brethren could also touch and even kiss the face. From the abbot's chamber it was carried into the Infirmary, and there dressed in the pontifical habit, the mitre put on the head, the gloves and ring on the hands ¹, and under the right arm the pastoral staff; the hands were crossed ², and sandals put on the feet, and the lid being taken off the bier ³ the body was deposited upon it, and carefully tied on, for fear it should fall off in carrying. From the lavatory where this was done it was conveyed before the door of the Infirmary, and set down ⁴ like other corpses, and in the same place till the accustomed collects were read for him as any other deceased brother, with the seven penitential psalms, and all the accustomed forms, while the corpse was dressing. When the bell tolled it was carried into the church, followed by the convent, with the usual singing. Immediately, in the presence of the whole convent, and all others who happened to be introduced, the abbot's seal was broken with a hammer on one of the stone steps before the high altar, so that the whole die of the figure and inscription ⁵ was defaced. Solemn and constant singing of psalms continued day and night, and at the high altar a daily mass as for a deceased brother; the first in albs, the choir in copes with many wax lights, for a certain time. All who desired to come within the presbytery and see the corpse every day were admitted. A liberal distribution of alms was made to the poor. Henry abbot of Waltham was invited to perform the burial service, which he did in his pontificals, depositing the body of his departed friend pontifically habited ⁶ in the middle of the chapterhouse.

"The priors of the house of Durham were accustomed in the old time to be buried in their boots, and wound in their cowls by the barber, as the monks used to be buried; for he was conducted out of his lodging in the priory to the Deadman's Chamber in the Infirmary, there to remain a certain time. At night he was carried to St. Andrew's chapel, and watched all night by the children of the Almshouse, reading David's Psalms over him; and two monks, either of kindred or kindness, were appointed to sit all night at his feet, mourning for him. In the morning he was carried into the chapterhouse, where the

¹ In like manner St. Hugh bishop of Lincoln lay in the choir of his cathedral, just before his interment, with his face uncovered, his mitre on his head, gloves on his hands, a ring on his finger, and other pontifical ornaments. Matt. Paris, p. 205.

² *manibus cancellatis.*

³ In an old chapel at the South end of the South transept is still preserved an old bier with a wooden chest on it, like a coffin, with a ridged lid, which it is highly probable served to carry the bodies of the religious to their graves.

⁴ *demissum.*

⁵ *celatura imaginis et literarum.*

⁶ "*baculo alterato*" is a circumstance particularly noticed by the historian; as if the situation of the pastoral staff was changed from that before described when the body was laid out.

same solemn service was performed for him which the monks had at their burial; thence he was carried through the parlour into the centry-garth¹ to be buried, where every prior did lie under a fine marble stone. And the monks and barber buried him with a little chalice of silver, other metal, or wax, which was laid upon his breast within the coffin, and his blue bed was holden over him by four monks till he was buried, which the barber had for his pains for making the grave and burying him, as he had for the monks².

"The monk, as soon as he sickeneth, is conveyed, with all his appurtenance or furniture, from his own chamber in the Dormitory to another in the Farmery, or Infirmary, in order to his having both fire and more convenient keeping, no fire being allowed in the Dormitory. And when his attendants perceived that he could not live, they sent for the prior's chaplain, who staid with him till he yielded up the ghost. Then the barber was sent for, whose office it was to put down the cloths, and to bare him, and to put on his foot-socks and boots, and to wind him in his cowl and habit. Thence he is immediately carried to a chamber, called the Dead Man's Chamber, in the Infirmary, there to remain till night. The prior's chaplain, as soon as he is conveyed to the Deadman's Chamber, locks the chamber door where he died, and carries the key to the prior. At night he is removed from the Dead Man's Chamber into St. Andrew's chapel, adjoining to the said chamber and infirmary, there to remain till eight o'clock in the morning, the chapel being a place ordained only for solemn devotion. The night before the funeral, two monks, either in kindred or kindness nearest to him, were appointed by the prior to be especial mourners, and to sit all night on their knees at the dead corpse's feet, and the children of the Almshouse sitting on their knees in stalls on either side of him were to read David's Psalms all night over till eight o'clock in the morning, when the corpse was carried into the chapter-house, where the prior and the whole convent met it, and there said their dirge and devotion, none being permitted to approach the chapterhouse during the time of their devotion and prayers for his soul. Their devotion ended, the corpse was carried by the monks from the chapterhouse through the parlour (the place where merchants used to utter their wares standing betwixt the chapterhouse and the church-door), and so through the said parlour into the Centry Garth³, where he was buried, and a chalice of wax laid on his breast, having his blue bed holden over his grave by four monks during the funeral, which bed is due to the barber for his duty aforesaid, and his making the grave. At the time of his burial only one peal was rung for him⁴."

In the account of the bishoprick of Hereford in the great roll 13 Henry III. among other articles, "Joh'es Cummin reddit compotum, de exitu episcopus Herefordiæ—pro celebrando funere ep'i Heref. l. s. 4." (50s.)

This was Robert de Melun, who died 1167.

¹ This perhaps is a corruption for the *Cemetery* Garth, which was filled with tombstones either of marble or freestone, with effigies in brass of priors or chalcices, and was levelled for a burying ground by dean Whittingham, and all the monuments destroyed or used for paving. *Antiq. of Durham*, p. 77.

² Rites of Durham, p. 88—90.

³ *Ib.* p. 89, 90.

⁴ Madox, *Baronia*, p. 80.

Glanville bishop of Rochester, was buried without pomp or common funeral by the monks, with whom he had a long dispute, which ended only by his death, 1185¹.

Philip de Poitou, bishop of Durham, dying under sentence of excommunication, 1208, was buried in the churchyard by laymen without any funeral pomp².

Thurstan archbishop of York was buried in the church of the Cluniac monastery at Pontefract, and found fifteen months after whole and sweet³. Mr. Drake⁴ fought for his grave near a place in the wall on the South side of the choir, which is now in ruins; but, instead of the prelate, found vast numbers of human skulls and bones, all regularly piled up, and laid in great order.

Of kings assisting at funerals of bishops we have a remarkable instance in that of St. Hugh the Burgundian, bishop of Lincoln, who died at London, Nov. 17, 1200. When the corpse was brought down to Lincoln to be buried in the cathedral the following month, king John happened to be there, and, with the archbishops of Canterbury, Dublin, and Ragusa⁵, and thirteen bishops besides earls and barons, met the corpse, and the king and the lay-lords carried it on their shoulders⁶ into the *porch*⁷ of the cathedral. At the door of the church the prelates met it, and carried it on their shoulders into the choir⁸. Matthew Paris⁹ says, the body was borne also by William king of Scotland, who had come to meet the king of England at Lincoln.

Alexander Bach, bishop of St. Asaph, who died at Hereford, 1394, at the consecration of the Black Friars church, was buried in the choir of that church, Richard II¹⁰ assisting in person at his funeral¹¹.

In Carshalton Register is this entry :

"Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was buried March 3, 1569-70.

He died Feb. 12, in the year abovementioned, and was buried on the 21st, at St. Catherine Cree church, where there is a monument to his memory.

The custom of celebrating the funerals of eminent persons some time after their interment in the church of the parish where they had a residence, which continued many years after the Reformation, accounts for the above entry in the Register¹². Archbishop Whitgift died at Lambeth the last day of February, 1604; was brought the evening following to Croydon, and buried the morning following by two o'clock; his funeral was kept at Croydon March 27 following¹³. Francis Tyrrel, merchant, buried at Croydon, Sept. 1, 1609; and his funeral kept at London the 13th¹⁴. Cardinal Pole lay in state at Lambeth forty days, when he was removed to Canterbury to be interred¹⁵. The word *buried*, applied to Agnes duchess of Norfolk, 1545, in Lambeth registry, probably relates to the celebration of her funeral; for she was buried at Thetford¹⁶.

¹ Godwin de Præful. edit. Richardson, p. 528.

² Ib. 738.

³ Ib. 670.

⁴ Eborac. p. 417.

⁵ Raguenfi.

⁶ in collo suo.

⁷ atrium.

⁸ Hoveden, f. 461. b.

⁹ P. 304.

¹⁰ Leland says Edward III. whose confessor he was: but the date of his death renders that impossible.

¹¹ Leland, itin. IV. 175. VIII. 77.

¹² Lyfons' Environs of London, I. 133.

¹³ Ib. p. 194.

¹⁴ Ib. p. 195.

¹⁵ Ib. p. 209.

¹⁶ Ib. p. 297.

"Sir Henry Unton dying in the French King's camp before Laferre 1596, to whom he was ambassador, had his corpse brought over to London, and carried in a *coach* to Wadley, thence to Farrington, where he was buried in the church July 8, 1596. He had allowed him a *baron's bearfe*, because he died ambassador Lieger¹."

Of funeral processions in Scotland, perhaps the last was that of John duke of Rothes, lord high chancellor 1681, engraved in four plates by Thomas Sommers, and inscribed to John earl of Rothes. After the conductors (a sort of tipstaves) follow two men in cloaks carrying tablets with a death's head and hourglass, called the *Little Gumpbeon*, and after the puffers is borne a banner with the death's head, called the *Great Gumpbeon*, or *Morthead*.—Of a piece with the ceremonies observed at the *sitting down* and *rising* of the Scottish parliament before the Union, engraved in three plates by the same hand.

Mr. Townsend gives the following account of a modern Spanish funeral: "Before I left Cadiz I had the satisfaction of being witness to the ceremonies attending a funeral. After the physicians have turned their back upon a patient nothing remains for him but confession, absolution, the eucharist, extreme unction, death; and no sooner is the last event announced than all the friends of the deceased assemble *dar le pesance*; i. e. to condole with the afflicted widow, who, clothed in mourning and stretched upon a bed, yet scarcely visible for want of light, receives their complaints, and, in a low voice, speaks to each of them. As it is supposed that no one in the family of the deceased can pay attention to the wants of nature, some friend takes care to send in a dinner ready dressed, with plenty of every thing the season can produce. When the visitors retire, the widow, son, father, brother, uncles, cousins, and relations, each by name, unite in a message of invitation of all the friends of the deceased, requesting their attendance when the body shall be carried the day following to the grave, and at the service to be performed the day after the interment for the repose of the departed soul. In obedience to this summons, they assemble at the house of the deceased, and walk in procession to the church, where the corpse is placed during the service before the altar, with the face uncovered, and the hands uplifted, as represented on the funeral monuments, with this difference, that the deceased has a crucifix between his hands. After the funeral service the nearest relatives assemble in the vestry, when all their acquaintance pay their respects, each by bowing to them as he passes silently before them. This finished, they retire in solemn procession to the house, where the salutation, with the same solemn silence, is repeated. If, as in the case of the gentleman whose funeral I attended, the deceased was a person of condition, on the day succeeding the interment the church is hung with mourning, all light is excluded, excepting that of numerous wax tapers, a funeral pile is erected, and all the relatives assembled round it, to attend the service of the mass for the soul of the deceased. On the loss of a husband the disconsolate widow is under obligation to abstain six months from all public amusements; but the widower is acquitted for a few days abstinence from these²."

¹ Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 632.

² Travels, II. 437—439.

The vault under Roslin chapel, near Edinburgh, is so dry that the bodies of the barons Roslin have been found entire after eighty years, and as fresh as when first buried. "These barons," says Mr. Hay in his MS in the Advocates' library, "were buried of old in their armour, without any coffin, and the late Roslin my good father (*i. e.* father-in-law), grandfather to the present Roslin, was the first buried in a coffin against the sentiments of king James VII. then in Scotland, and several other persons well versed in antiquity; to whom my mother Jean Spotefwood, grandmother of archbishop Spotefwood, would not hearken, thinking it beggarly to be buried in that manner. The great expence she was at in burying her husband occasioned the sumptuary acts which were made in the following parliaments."

The dead in many small tumuli opened by Mr. Douglas were interred in their apparel, and some more decorated than others. Tertullian² says, though Christians in his time abstained from sumptuous and effeminate decorations and applications to their persons when living, yet they bestowed on their dead the most choice and expensive spices, perfumes, odors, drugs, and ointments; they were also embalmed and entombed with skill and great magnificence.

Origen³ tells us, that the first Christians buried their dead in their best cloaths; that the relations and friends made presents for that purpose; and that those who had the charge of the funeral, for fear the graves should be broken open and plundered of them, used to tear the garments before interment. Eusebius confirms this practice in many parts of his Ecclesiastical History⁴; and Prudentius⁵ bears his testimony to the same effect; and adds, that the body was anointed and embalmed with myrrh and other sweet drugs, and covered with a fair white linen cloth. St. Gregory of Nyssa beautifully attired the body of his sister Marcia, who died in a monastery. This practice obtained in the time of pope Gregory⁶; but from his forty-fourth epistle it appears to have been confined to martyrs. The council of Auxerre condemned these superfluities, and forbade the covering, adorning and loading the dead with furs, mantles, and other ornaments, as also kissing them, and administering to them the Eucharist, which was a common practice⁷.

The oldest instance of assuming a religious habit in extremity is that of Sebba king of the East Saxons, who received it from the bishop of London⁸. William of Arragon II. duke of Athens and Naples, by will, ordered himself to be buried in the Dominican habit, in the cathedral at Palermo, where his statue is so represented on his tomb. Frederic II. dying assumed the Carthusian habit, though he was buried, as we have seen, in his Imperial robes.

The custom of making an image of wax, representing the deceased king or queen from a likeness taken in wax off the face after death, obtained early in France. This effigy, dressed in the royal habits, lay some time in state with the same attendants and services as while the party was living, till the body was brought into its place, and at the funeral procession it was laid on the coffin. The effigies of Francis I. and Henry II. were carried on a car distinct from the bodies which followed them. The rest of the ceremonial bore great resemblance to those of our kings before described. These waxen effigies belonged to the abbot and religious of St. Denys; by arret of parliament, 1501⁹.

¹ Grose, Scotland, p. 47.

² Apolog. I. 42. p. 34.

³ Lib. I. in Job.

⁴ II. c. 16. de Marino martyre.

⁵ Hymn in exeq. defunctor.

⁶ in Cantica.

⁷ Guichard. III. 12. p. 518.

⁸ Bede, IV. 11.

⁹ Tillet Recueil des rois de France, p. 242—249. Par. 1580. fol.

The oldest burial places that we read of were those of the patriarchs. Abraham deposited Sarah in a cave in a rock¹. The Hebrews followed his example. The Heathens observed the same rule. Christians, in the early ages of the church, did not follow it for several centuries, till enjoined by laws ecclesiastical and civil.

Sepulchres were placed by the side of the highways, either for the reason given in an inscription in Gruter²:

HIC LOLIUS POSITUS
UT D.CANT PRÆTEREUNTES
LOLLI VALE.

Or for that given by Varro³, to warn passengers of their own mortality.

Hannibal was buried at Libyssa, a village of Bithynia, near the sea, in a stone coffin⁴, with this inscription on his tomb, ANNIBAL HIC JACET; which Aurelius Victor⁵ tells us was remaining in his time. Perhaps the motive for this was to make his monument conspicuous, like that of his conqueror Scipio and the heroes of the Homeric times.

In the British Museum is a curious inscription on a marble brought from Rome by Mr. Gale, who presented it to Sir Hans Sloane. It is a conveyance of part of a sepulchre from one man to another⁶, and gives him a right to four *ollaria*, which were niches or vessels of stone or earth, in which were to be placed *cineraria*, urns or vessels containing ashes. This monument was set on the left hand of the Salarian way, on the ground of a third person, and the consideration for the conveying of it is one sesterce. It is very usual in sepulchral inscriptions to find the monument of one family in the ground of another, the proprietor of the monument reserving to himself the right of that when he sold the ground, or purchasing so much ground from the owner as was sufficient to erect a monument on. All sepulchres, whenever a body was interred therein, were esteemed as religious and sacred, and were not to follow the possession of the field.

Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum

Hic dabat hæredes monumentum ne sequeretur⁷.

The Greeks, says Potter⁸, kept their dead in their temples till Solon forbade it, and directed they should be buried out of the cities, both for the avoiding offensive smell and danger from burning the bodies. One of the laws of the twelve tables was, *Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito*⁹. A city was deemed polluted by dead bodies. The emperors Dioclesian and Maximilian extended the prohibition to the Municipia¹⁰. But from this were excepted the emperors, the vestal virgins, and some Roman knights at some time, who were permitted to be buried in the city, as P. Valerius Publicola, and A. Posthumus Tubero: but

¹ Gen. xxiii. 19. xxv. 9.

² ccccxxxi. 5.

³ Ling. Lat. l. v.

⁴ The compiler of the Universal History, XVIII. 90, n. C. say a wooden coffin.

⁵ De viris illustrib. c. 42.

⁶ See it in Phil. Trans. N^o 441. p. 211. with Mr. Gale's learned notes on it.

⁷ Horace, Sat. VIII. 12.

⁸ Arch. IV. 7.

⁹ Cicero, de Leg. II. 24.

¹⁰ L. 12. c. de relig. et sumptibus funer.

in the Consulship of Duilius the senate revived the law of the twelve tables directing that no person should be buried in the city¹. The emperor Adrian laid a fine of forty pieces of gold on all who violated this rule²; and Antoninus renewed the prohibition³.

Of detached buildings erected for the purpose of preserving the remains of the deceased few perhaps will be found in any part of the globe superior, if indeed equal to those erected by the Indian princes for themselves or their families. Such is the mausoleum of the emperor Acbar at Agra, one of the greatest monuments of Moorish grandeur. It was begun by that prince, who, after spending twenty-two years on it, left it to his son Sha Jehan to complete. It is described by Mr. Hodges as an enormous building, seated in the centre of a garden of twenty English acres, walled round and planted with fruit trees. The monument is square, with gates in the centre on each side, and great pavilions at the angles and over the gates. It consists of five several stories, which gradually diminish, with pavilions at each angle. The domes of the several pavilions are of white marble, the rest of the building of red stone in part intermixt with white marble. The fifth or upper story is entirely of white marble, and has a range of windows running round each side, which are fret work cut out of the solid slab: the pavilions that finish this story are likewise of marble. The inside of this upper story is curiously inlaid with black marble expressive of certain passages from the Koran, in the most perfect style. On each story of this building are large terraces, which, in the time of the emperors Jehanguire and Jehan, had coverings of gold cloth, supported with pillars of silver, under the shade of which the mollahs, or Mahometan priests, conversed with men of learning. The principal entrance is by a grand gate leading to the garden, the front highly ornamented with mosaics of different coloured marbles inlaid in compartments. On either side the centre are two stories of pointed arches and large recesses; in the centre of the upper story is a door and window over it, with a ballustrade in front; the lower recesses have one window in each. In the centre, rising considerably above the side over the two stories just described, is one vast pointed arch. On the top and somewhat behind the front of this part of the building raised on square columns are two sarcophagi of black marble, and two others immediately behind the back front of the gate, answering to those in the principal front. At each angle of this gate are minarets of white marble rising to a great height, in part fluted; above the flutes half way up the minarets are ballustrades, and one near the top. These minarets were formerly carved, with open pavilions, and finished with domes, long since destroyed, and have within stairs leading to the two balconies that surround them. Through this gate we pass into a large open hall rising in a dome nearly to the top of the building, and by Jehanguire, son of Acbar, highly decorated with painting and gilding.

¹ Servius, in Aen. XI. 206.

² Guther. de vet. jure pontificio, II. c. 9. L. 3. de sepulchro.

³ Capitolinus Anton. Pius, c. 12.

Through

Through it, by a similar arch to that in front we descend into the garden, and the whole of the tomb displays itself through an avenue of lofty trees paved with stone, having in the centre a large square basin, now dry, and the pipe of the fountain remaining in the middle. At some small distance from the principal building rises a high open gate, entirely of white marble, of exquisite beauty. There was an old Mollah who attended and had the keys of the interior of the building, which is still held in veneration, and who obtains a precarious subsistence by shewing it to travellers. The inside of the tomb is a vast hall, occupying the whole internal space, and terminating in a dome faintly lighted by a few windows at the top, and the whole lined with white marble. In the centre the body is deposited in a sarcophagus of plain white marble, on which is written, in black marble inlaid single, the name of ACBAR. Round the monument are many tombs, some of them very beautiful, covering certain branches of his family. The tradition of the place ascribes them to his wives.

South East of Agra two miles is a beautiful mausoleum raised by the emperor Sha Jehan for his beloved wife *Taje Mahel*, whose name it bears. It rises immediately from the river founded on a base of red freestone, at the extremity of which are octagon pavilions, consisting of three stones each. On the same base are two large buildings, one on each side perfectly similar, each covered with three domes of white marble, the centre dome considerably larger than the others. One of these buildings is a musjid or mosque; the other was designed for the repose of any great personages, who might visit the tomb on pilgrimage, or from curiosity. On this base of freestone, having a platform at least twenty-five feet broad, rests another of white marble, square and fourteen feet high, the angles octagon, from which rise minarets or vast columns of white marble, with staircases, tapering upwards, having three several galleries rising round them, and on the top of each an open pavilion crowned with a dome. From this magnificent base rises the body of the building, having a platform similar to the above, but octagon, the four principal sides opposed to the cardinal points of the compass. In the centre of each of the four sides is raised a vast pointed arch like that in the gate of Acbar's tomb, the top rising considerably above the other parts of the building. Those faces of the building which form the octagon on either side the great arches have two stories of pointed arches, with recesses and a low balustrade in front, the spandrels above the arches and the heads of the arches within the recesses greatly enriched with different coloured marble inlaid. Within the several arches running round the building are windows formed by an open fretwork in the solid slab, to give light to the entrance of the building. From behind this octagon pavilion rise considerably higher four octangular pavilions with domes. From the centre of the whole rising as high as the domes of the pavilions is a cone whence springs the great dome swelling from its base outward considerably, and with a beautiful curve finishing in the upper point of the *cullus* or dome, on which rest two balls of copper gilt, one above the other, and above them a crescent from the centre

centre of which a spear head terminates the whole. The East face of this building is a counter part to the other, and all equally finished. Viewed from the opposite side of the river this building possesses a degree of beauty from the perfection of the materials and excellence of the workmanship, which is only surpassed by its grand extent and general magnificence. The basest material in this centre part of it is white marble, and the ornaments are of various coloured marbles, in which there is no glitter. This is also in a garden, entered from the opposite side through a large handsome gate of white free stone, whence a large flight of steps leads into the garden, from the top of which the building is viewed through an avenue of cypresses and other trees. The avenue is paved with stone. In the middle there are compartments or beds of flowers with fountains at equal distances. Four of the most magnificent are situate about half way up the avenue, and rise from a square base of white marble. They are all supplied by a reservoir without the building, filled from the river by pumps. The fountains are yet in tolerable repair, and played while Mr. Hodges was there, and the garden is still kept in decent repair, the lands allotted for the support of the building not being wholly dismembered from it. The centre building is in a perfect state; but all around it bear strong marks of decay. Several mollahs attend the mosque here at the hours of prayer. The inside of the great building is of white marble, with many ornaments of flowers beautifully carved. The tomb is in a chamber below, and the body lies in a sarcophagus of white marble under the centre of the building. Close to it is a similar one, inclosing the body of her husband Shah Jehan. These sarcophagi are perfectly similar to those in the tomb of Acbar. It was the intention of the royal founder to have erected on the opposite shore a similar building for his own interment, and then to have joined them by a marble bridge. This magnificent idea was frustrated by sickness, and by the subsequent disputes concerning the succession between his sons, and at last by his own imprisonment by Aurengzebe¹. A person conversant in Gothic and Moreque architect will easily discover the resemblance to the style adopted by the Mogul princes in these buildings, where all the larger and substantial parts conform to the Gothic, the solid square tower, the pointed arch with its spandrels and fasciæ; the little cupolas on four or more pillars in front or at the angles are peculiar to the Eastern manner. The mosque at Gazipore is a compound of Grecian, Gothic, and Moorish. Mr. Hodges, describing the palace of Sujah Dowlah at Fyzabad, says, it is a principle among the great men of the country to let the houses of their fathers go to decay; but for their tombs they entertain the highest veneration. A more modern tomb, represented at Ferozabad, is an octagon surmounted by a dome. Every person of the family feels interested to preserve these monuments.

The monuments raised in groups of eight or ten together, in memory of women who have burnt themselves with their husbands, are either square, with a door, like the mausolea in Greece, Sicily, and Italy, or a dome supported by pillars on a base. Such may be seen among Mr. Hodges's Views.

¹ Hodges's Travels in India, p. 125—128.

Compare with these Eastern mausolea those of the Medici at Florence, a magnificent monument of the Medicean family extinct in its chief line after seven dukes have been buried in it¹, and that of the kings of Sardinia, the *Superga*, a collegiate church²; and of a more private nature, those of our own nobility at Castle Howard, Cobham, and Yarborough; all consecrated places.

In every cathedral or conventual church bishops and abbots were buried in chapels erected by themselves or by their orders, dedicated to the saint under whose protection they put themselves, and endowed with masses for the good of their souls. These, as has been before observed³, were not always additional to a building, as those of the Hungerford and Beauchamp families at Salisbury, abbot Kirton at the East end of Peterborough minster; and archbishop Booth at Southwell; but distinct erections within the church, as cardinal Beaufort's and bishop Wainflete's at Winchester, and various others between the arches of the nave or chancel. For it was the general practice to bury the heads of religious houses in their chapter houses or their cloisters. Bishop Chinnoc, who had been abbot of Glastonbury, was buried in the chapter house there, 1420, because he had completed it; and before bishop Bek, the bishops of Durham in their chapter house, because they would not presume to lie nearer to the holy body of St. Cuthbert. At the East end of the chapterhouse at Durham and on the South side of the choir was a yard called the Centry (*cemetery*) garth, where all the priors and monks were buried: the priors had each a tomb of marble of free-stone; all which were pulled down and taken away by dean Whittingham⁴. Mr. Hearne⁵ indeed mentions an instance in a foreign abbey, that of Dunes at Bruges, where an abbot in the last century built a chapel for himself and all succeeding abbots to be buried in, all the monks, except the *obedientarii*, being buried in the chapterhouse.

In the early ages of the church persecution compelled Christians to deposit their dead in subterraneous caverns, or on their own estates. When the storm was blown over they obtained leave to bury in common in places appropriated to them, and called *Cœmeteries*, from a Greek word answering to Dormitories; for a Christian, as his divine Master said of Lazarus, "is not dead, but *sleepeth*." The faithful who died in the communion of the church, says Fleury⁶, should be interred in holy ground, in consecrated cemeteries, or near to the church; that they may be assisted by the prayers of their relations and friends, and by the intercessions of the saints whom they reverence. This practice was followed uniformly in the first ages. The emperors, kings, princes, were not placed like the common people. Constantine the Great, in honour of the holy apostles, was buried close to his church in the very porch.

The emperor Theodosius was the first who made a law against burying in churches⁷. Alphonso the Wise, king of Spain, forbid it, except to royal personages, bishops, &c.⁸ In an old Spanish law the following reasons are given for burying in churchyards. 1. Because the persons were Christians. 2. Because they are in sight of their relations and friends who can pray for them.

¹ Gray's Travels, p. 320.

² Ib. p. 243.

³ Vol. I. Introd. p. cv.

⁴ Rites of Durham, p. 76, 77.

⁵ Introd. au droit ecc. tom. I. pt. ii. c. 9.

⁶ Spicileg. ad Cul. Neubrig. p. 735, 736.

⁷ Cod. Theod. Lib. X. tit. 17.

⁸ Ley. XI. pt. i. tit. 13.

3. Because the patrons of the church may do the same. 4. Because the devil has no power over them'. The custom of burying out of church continued in Spain till the end of the 13th century. In 1257, Alphonso directed the monks of Ona to remove the royal bodies from the door of the church in the churchyard into the Lady Chapel. No laity, except kings and princes, were buried in churches, which were reserved for martyrs and persons of known virtue, bishops, and priests. The Benedictine monks kept their cemetery distinct for themselves. In ancient times the cemetery was out of the monastery, and in some cases a mile distant. It was afterwards brought within the monastery, and from the 11th century the monks were buried in the cloister, and the abbots in the chapterhouse¹.

There was a form of benediction provided for consecrating churchyards, by erecting a cross in the centre², and four at the corners, and performing various other ceremonies of procession, singing, and sprinkling holy water. Some churches had more than one churchyard. At the monastery of Clareval in France was an ancient cemetery behind the church for the abbots and bishops, and near it another for the nobility. A curious particular respecting this first cemetery was that it always had a grave open close to the religious who was last interred, by this sight to keep death in a constant recollection among the survivors, and keep them in their duty³.

In the abbey of St. Victor without the walls of Marseilles in the porch of the church are the tombs of many bishops and abbots, which shew how early the custom obtained of burying the dead of greater distinction in the churches⁴. In Toulouse, in the parish called Dourade, no person was buried within the church; and from this law the Counts of Toulouse themselves were not excepted, whose tombs are still to be seen in the churchyard. The same observation holds at that of St. Saturnin, in the same city, where several tombs of counts are to be seen out of the church⁵. At Arles, close to the church of the Minims are to be seen various tombs of stone and marble, which lead one to imagine that there was a short time when it was the custom to bury the dead out of the church in that city⁶.

In many churches in Spain are to be seen to this day cemeteries which served for tombs. At the beginning of the present century were to be seen tombs with these divisions contiguous to the parish church of St. Philip in Britinega. In Perales de Tajuna, and in the archbishopric of Toledo, is preserved a stone tomb in the cemetery contiguous to the church, with this inscription:

"AQVI. YACE. ALFONSO. SALADO. A'no de 1583."

which shews that to the end of the 16th century the custom of burying in cemeteries was kept up in some places. This is the case at present with the dead in the hospitals, and persons of distinction may be interred among them.

¹ Ley. II. de las partidas, pt. i. t. 13. ley 2.

² Berganza, Antiquid. de España. tom. II. tom. I. c. 13. et lib. iii.

³ There is hardly a churchyard in our own country where there are not still remains of a cross, though not always any more than the church, in the centre.

⁴ Voy. de deux Benedict. p. 277.

⁵ Ib. part. ii. p. 47.

⁶ Ib. i. 280.

In the cemetery or *campos santos* at Toledo are seen the tombs of some prebendaries of the said church. In Barcelona they bury in cemeteries out of the church, and without the walls of the city is a cemetery laid out by the pastoral care of Senor Clement¹.

The Canons require that the burials of the faithful be in the cemeteries. At first this was observed with scrupulous exactness; but in time insensibly crept in the custom of burying in the church persons distinguished by their sanctity. Afterwards the emperors made interest to be buried at the door of the church, leaving the interior part to the saints². But the saints did not lie long alone. In aftertime interment in the church was permitted, not only to ecclesiastics of exemplary conduct, but to those of common character, or eminent only for the rank which they had held. At length the laity were admitted indifferently, as at present. The spirit of the church always opposed the abuse of burying in churches, decrees having been issued against it by councils in all ages, and in various parts of Christendom the fathers strenuously opposed it. In the 6th century the council of Braga forbids interment in churches: "for if cities maintain their privilege, of not burying any dead within their walls, with how much more reason should the house and temple of the holy martyrs be kept clear³." The council of Tribur, in the 9th century, is equally strong in its prohibition⁴. In the 12th century Godfrey de St. Brice bishop of Saintes held a synod, in which he complains, that in his diocese they buried the excommunicated with the faithful in their cemeteries, and forbids their burial in consecrated cemeteries⁵. The synod of Cicester decrees that no burials be permitted in churches or chancels⁶, and that the cemeteries be decently kept, and no cattle suffered to defile them. St. Charles Borromeo, in the council of Milan, 1576, gives the same directions, adding, that they be walled round, and a cross placed in the centre, covered at the top for decency. Cardinal Bourbon, archbishop of Rouen, at a council held there, 1581, decrees that the dead be not buried in churches, not even the rich; the honour not being to be paid to wealth, but to the grace of the Holy Spirit, should be reserved for those who are especially consecrated to God, and their bodies temples of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, for those who have held any dignities ecclesiastical or secular, and are really and truly ministers of God, and instruments of the Holy Spirit, and for those who by their virtues or merits have done service to God and the state. Cemeteries are reserved for all others, having, says the council of Bourdeaux, 1582, never been refused to the most illustrious persons. The council of Bourges remits the care of the repair of cemetery walls to the ordinary⁷.

The late empress queen, 1774, proposed prizes to the best writer on the safest mode of interment, which was gained by Joseph Habermann. Dr. Maret of the Dijon academy had treated the subject a year before. The late emperor put this plan in execution, and ordered public burial places at a proper distance from his capital, which were consecrated the last day of the year 1783. He

¹ Disamen de la Academica medica de Barcelona, p. 78. Aldovera, 69, 70. ² Ritual de Aet.

³ Conc. Bragar. c. 18. Conc. Reg. t. 3.

⁴ Fleury, Hist. Eccl. b. 87. A. D. 1282. ⁵ Conc. Tribur. c. 17. A. D. 895.

⁶ Fleury, Hist. Eccl. b. 132. 1528. ⁷ Synod. Cicestr. 1222. Reg. t. 7.

permitted the bodies to be carried into the churches, where mass and vigils were sung over them, and they remained all night, and were then removed to the burying ground. The same regulation took place in Hungary at Presburg, Buda, and other cities. The king of France published 1776, an order that none but archbishops, bishops, curates, patrons, founders, and lords who held supreme courts of judicature, should be buried in churches; all other persons in churchyards, and that they should be as far from the town as possible. The duke of Tuscany gave the like orders in respect to cemeteries. The king of Sardinia in 1777 issued an order forbidding to bury in cities or public resorts, and appointed two spaces as public cemeteries, not far without the walls of Turin, and others near other cities and towns, wherein all were to be deposited except the royal family (who have a common burial place or *royal pantheon* in the church of Soperga), archbishops of the metropolitan church, bishops who might chance to die there, and other persons specified in a pastoral letter published for this purpose. The senate of Piedmont followed this royal mandate with certain regulations, such as, that no corpse should be deposited in these public cemeteries without being first well done up in a coffin at the family expense, those of the poor to be provided by the city: the bodies to be conveyed in a four-wheel carriage or hearse provided by the parish, and the friends allowed to follow in coaches, or other decent manner, without noise, and at the hour prescribed, which, from November to February inclusive was to be before eight in the morning, and in March, April, September, October, before six, or half after, and in May, June, July, August, before five in the morning. No body to be coffined or buried under twenty-four hours; or, if the death was sudden, forty-eight; all due regard had to circumstances and medical advice. The marquis of Carracioli, viceroy of Palermo, 1785, established a cemetery out of the city, with the same prohibition, and extending the same precautions throughout the kingdom.

These good exertions of the civil power were seconded by the ecclesiastical authority in the respective countries. Their circular letters may be seen in Aldovera¹, from whom the whole of this account is taken. Several new parochial cemeteries have been already made in Spain.

Ethelbert's charter to St. Austin's abbey, Canterbury, appointing it to be the burial place of kings, princes, and archbishops, gives this reason, *that the city was for the living, and not for the dead*². Mr. Batteley³ is of opinion, that being without the walls it was made choice of for this purpose, merely as being a convenient place, very near the city, or perhaps the bounds of the city were not in those days confined within walls, as they now are, and might be extended to a larger compass, and this place might be esteemed a part of the city.

¹ Aldovera, p. 89—104. and, regulations about St. Ildefonso, 1785, p. 118—123.

² Somner, p. 25, and Appendix, VIII. [C] ³ P. 161, 162.

Mr. Gosling observes¹, that the monks only took the advantage of the Roman burying ground on the strait road from Burgate to Richborough, and turned the road aside to Longport, in order to secure that burying place within their own inclosure. Mr. Somner² represents the inclosing this burying place within their walls, as owing to monkish policy, both on account of the supposed holiness of the ground, and because some of the churches had no churchyard adjoining to them.

The pernicious practice of burying in our churches was, as I suppose, taken from hence. When the abbey church of St. Peter, Paul, and Austin, in Canterbury, was finished and consecrated, to which they had annexed a spacious porch on the North side, out of devotion to archbishop Austin, who had been long buried without the walls of that city, they took up, and translated his remains, interring them in that porch, as were all his successors to archbishop Theodore. Hence the rectors of parochial churches affected to be there laid, as doorkeepers of the house of the Lord, till, by degrees, having been admitted in, they, and the patrons and benefactors, in imitation of them crept up to the high altar, the patron usually repairing and sitting in the chancel or choir when alive, the rector representing the church, and then officiating, *prout persona ecclesiastica*, most solemnly.

When the merchants' houses were built in the court of the abbey of St. Germain des Prez at Paris in the beginning of the present century, they discovered under ground a number of coffins of soft stone or plaister, which shew the devotion of the antient inhabitants to be buried in cemeteries near the basilica where the saints reposed. Similar discoveries were made at the depth of three or four feet, 1748, near the portal of rue Ste. Marguerite to the right going to the church³.

Whatever may be said against crowded vaults under churches, and the present mode of burying in lead and wood, and with far less envelope than was antiently practised, it is not easy to conceive that any possible inconvenience could result from the original mode of interment. Almost every individual had a separate stone coffin to itself: a stone lid covered this receptacle, and between it and the body was a sheet of lead, and sometimes another wrapt round the body. Kings were deposited in a treble envelope.

Anastasius Dicorus was buried, A. D. 518, in the church of the Apostles, in a chest of Agyntine marble⁴. Justinus Thrax, A. D. 527, by his wife, in a chest of green⁵ marble⁶. Anicius Constantinus, A. D. 582, in a similar one⁷. Heraclius, A. D. 641, in the church of the Apostles *en rue Hesper* of Justinian the Great, which seem to have been the Imperial burial place, and his tomb was left open three days by his own order, his servants and eunuchs surrounding it⁸. Michael, A. D. 829, in the same place in a chest of green Theffalian marble⁹. Manuel Comnenus, A. D. 1180, was buried near the door of the church of the monastery of the Almighty in a chapel adjoining, under a black stone, near a

¹ Canterbury Walk, p. 36.

² Cedrenus, p. 363.

³ Ib. p. 430.

⁴ P. 34.

⁵ *prafina*.

⁶ Ib. p. 513.

⁷ Le Bœuf. Hist. de Paris, II. 435.

⁸ Ib. p. 366.

⁹ Ib. p. 394.

blue one of the size of a man, which was brought from Ephesus, and carried by the emperor on his shoulders from the harbor of Bocca Leone to the church¹ in the tower of the palace, having been supposed the stone on which Christ's body was laid after being taken down from the cross².

The pavement of Tiverton church is very irregular, occasioned by the great number of persons buried therein; a custom, not only destructive of regularity, and which renders the pavement dangerous to walk on, but highly injurious to the health of the living that daily assemble there. There was a recent instance of such a nauseous putrid stench from one of the vaults in the church that the minister was obliged to read the daily prayers at St. George's chapel some time³.

If a regard to propriety, decency, or health, will not influence the minister and churchwardens of such a populous and respectable town on these occasions, to what argument, or to what law, must we recur? Both minister and churchwardens think themselves competent to such interference; yet both neglect their duty, and perhaps sacrifice it to their interest. Where a mass of parishioners is concerned, and a grave or a gallery is wanting, accommodation must be had at the moment, and anticipates reflection, propriety, or proportion.

The people who die at Novi, in Piedmont, are buried the next day, in common cafes, and deposited in the church. This Mr. Gray heard on making some enquiries concerning a corpse which had been taken up on suspicion of the death being occasioned by ill treatment⁴.

The effects of crowded vaults I myself experienced on entering those under the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, to examine their construction.

The cemetery in Milan deserves particular notice: it is a building formerly erected for the reception of the bodies of persons who died in the hospital, and possibly for the general use of the city, and consists of a circular colonnade, which contains no indication of a sepulchre, no epitaph, no moral hint, but here and there a suspended tablet with injunction to pray for the soul of the defunct. It is however an affecting consideration that this place is now so full that people are buried in an open field at some distance, near the Porta Romana, to which Mr. Gray walked, and saw a thick vapour ascend as the evening began to close, which could not but be prejudicial if inhaled by the inhabitants of the town⁵.

The Campo Santo at Pisa is a cemetery of very particular description, built on the reputed dimensions of the ark, being 550 palms long, and 160 broad. The earth in its inclosure is said to have been brought from Palestine, and to have the power of pulverising bodies deposited in it in the space of twenty-four hours. The walls are painted in fresco with fantastic and extravagant representations of death in different forms, and of angels employed in the pious service of taking souls out of the mouths of just persons, or of contesting with devils for friars and godly persons; with other such edifying conceits⁶.

¹ *Ides.*

² Nicetas Choniates, VII. p. 143. Du Fresnoy, *Stemmat. Imp.* p. 186.

³ Dunsford's History of Tiverton, p. 310.

⁴ Gray's Tour, 1794. p. 248.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 272.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 340.

SHRINES were the sepulchres of the *Saints*. Of that of Thomas Becket remains only the print in the Monasticon¹: that of Edward the Confessor is still subsisting at Westminster²: that of bishop Cantilupe, at Hereford; as are also that of St. David, in his cathedral; that of St. Werburgh, at Chester; that of St. Paulinus, at Rochester; that of St. Frideswide, in Christchurch, Oxford; and that of St. Hugh, the crucified boy, at Lincoln. These are all monuments of rich stone work, calculated to receive the body or reliques of the respective saints.

"Dr. Stukeley has accurately distinguished two kinds of shrines, both equally made for receiving the reliques of saints: but with this difference, that one sort was portable, and used in processions; and the other fixed, as being built of stone, marble, and other heavy materials³. The former of these were called *Feretra*, under which word Du Fresnoy says: "*Feretra reliquias sanctorum continentia cum processionibus circumlata non semel legere est.*" And although this sort could only with propriety bear that name, yet was it also given to the immoveable fixed shrines; as to our protomartyr's at St. Alban's⁴; Thomas Becket's, at Canterbury⁵; Birinus's, at Dorchester⁶; Cuthbert's, at Durham⁷; and Edward the Confessor's, at Westminster⁸.

"But to be more explicit: I presume the fixed shrines differed little more from other grand sepulchral monuments, than as the former contained the reliques of canonized persons, and the latter of those who were not so. Some notion of the peculiar magnificence of this sort of shrines may be collected from the words of Erasmus and Stow with regard to Becket's, as quoted together in Somner⁹; as also from "The antient Rites and Monuments of Durham," with regard to Cuthbert's¹⁰. The treasure about these shrines made it necessary that they should be closely looked after. Hence we find, that one of the monks at Westminster was called *Custos Feretri*¹¹; as likewise one of those at St. Alban's¹²; where, north of the shrine, or rather now of the site of the shrine, is still remaining a structure of wood for a watch-house to it. The retainers to the shrine at Canterbury are taken notice of by Somner¹³, and those to the shrine at Durham in The Antient Rites, &c.¹⁴.

"In the cathedral of Durham there were indeed two considerable shrines, that of Cuthbert, which was fixed, and a portable one of Bede, described in The Antient Rites, &c.¹⁵. Adjoining to each of these was a little altar, bearing the name of the inshrined saint¹⁶, which might probably be a constant appendage to every shrine.

¹ L. p. xxi.

² Engraved by the Society of Antiquaries, Mon. Vet. Vol. I. pl. xvi.

³ Philosoph. Transact. N^o 490. pag. 580.

⁴ Append. ad W. Hemingford. p. 165. Matt. Paris, Vit. Ab. p. 92.

⁵ Somner's Cant. p. 95. note c. from Erasmus. ⁶ Tanner, Biblioth. Brit. p. 279. art. Fiberius.

⁷ Hymer, Fæd. VII. 655.

⁸ Widmore's Hist. of Westm. Abbey, p. 235.

⁹ P. 125.

¹⁰ P. 6. 114. 115.

¹¹ Widmore, ubi supra.

¹² Hemingford, ubi supra.

¹³ Pag. 125.

¹⁴ Pag. 117. 118.

¹⁵ Pag. 76, 77. 115. 148. 161.

¹⁶ Ibid. pag. 7. 80.

"As to the usual situation of fixed shrines in churches, it may perhaps be ascertained from the uniform position of those at St. Alban's, Canterbury, Durham, and Westminster; as likewise of Hugh's shrine at Lincoln, and of Erkenwald's in St. Paul's, London; every one of which stood in the East part of the church, in the space behind the high altar. From whence the irregularity on this score, which Mr. Battely apprehends to have been in the church of Canterbury, will no doubt disappear.

"The altar of St. Thomas the Martyr was not above the high altar in *place*, but only in *eternum*. In the same sense the shrine of St. Ethelwald in St. Paul's stood *above* the high altar."

"There is a passage in Weever, which may not improperly be here explained, where, treating of the shrines in St. Paul's cathedral, he says: "There was also a glorious shrine, super magnum altare; but to whose holiness dedicated I do not read." But perhaps this was only a glorious tabernacle; that is, as Spelman describes it, "Fabrica honestior, quâ sacramentum, quod vocant, altaris conservatur in ecclesiâ Romanâ, pyxide inclusum." The shrine of Corpus Christi, mentioned in St. Nicholas church in The Antient Rites of Durham, seems to be somewhat of the same kind.

"Fuller observes concerning Thomas Cantelupe bishop of Hereford, who died 1282, in the time of king Edward the First, and was canonized in the following reign; "that he was the last Englishman canonized by the Pope. "For though Anselm was canonized after him, in the reign of king Henry the Seventh, he was no English but a Frenchman, who died more than a hundred years before him, since which time no English have attained that honour." the effort of Henry VII. to get this honour for Henry VI. having failed of success.

"I shall only observe further, that offerings have been made at the tombs of persons not canonized; though indeed this was looked upon as irregular. But such were made at archbishop Winchelsey's tomb at Canterbury, who was never canonized; as also at the aforesaid bishop Cantelupe's tomb, before his canonization."

Thus far Mr. Loveday in his observations on shrines, printed in *Archæologia*, I. p. 23—26.

To Becket's shrine belonged a servant (*serviens*), and two clerks to the altars of his tomb and martyrdom¹⁰. The shrine was enclosed in a wooden case¹¹, which being drawn up by cords, discovered one of gold, whose riches were inestimable. Gold was the least valuable article amid the display and lustre of

¹ Cantab. Sacr. p. 27. num. xviii.

² Weever, Ancient Fun. Monum. p. 380.

³ In voce *Tabernaculum*.

⁴ Ib. p. 381.

⁵ P. 163.

⁶ General Worthies of England, p. 8. See also Worthies of Herefordshire, p. 36.

⁷ Somner's Cantab. p. 130.

⁸ See his Life and Gifts, p. 267, 468.

⁹ Somner, Battely, p. 95.

¹⁰ *theca*.

rare jewells, some of so large dimensions as to exceed a goose's egg. The prior with a white wand pointed them out severally, and told their French names, their value, and who gave them; for the principal were presents from kings'. "It was built," says Stowe³, "all of stone, about a man's height, then upwards of timber plain, within which was a chest of iron containing the bones of Thomas Becket, his scull, and all the wounds of his death, and the piece cut out of his scull laid in the same wound. The timber work of this shrine on the outside was covered with plates of gold, damaskt, and embossed with wires of gold, garnished with broches, images, angels, chains, precious stones, and great orient pearls, the spoil of which shrine (in gold and jewels of an inestimable value) filled two great chests, one of which six or eight strong men could do no more than convey out of the church; all which were taken to the king's use, and the bones of St. Thomas (by commandment of the lord Cromwell), were then and there burned to ashes, which was in September, 1538, 30 Henry VIII."

"The cover of St. Cuthbert's shrine was of wainscot, to which were fastened at each corner to a loop of iron a strong cord, which cords were all fastened together at the end, over the middle of the cover, and a strong rope was fastened to the loops or binding of the said cords, which rope ran up and down in a pulley under the vault over St. Cuthbert's feretory, for the drawing up the cover of his shrine, and was fastened to a loop of iron to the North pillar of the feretory, having six very fine sounding silver bells, which, at the drawing up of the cover, made such a goodly sound that it stirred all the people's hearts that were within the church to repair to it and make their praises to God and that holy man St. Cuthbert, and that the beholders might see the glory and ornaments thereof. Also the said cover had at every corner two hoops of iron, which, when it was drawing up, ran up and down on four round flaves of iron made fast in each corner of the marble stone that St. Cuthbert's coffin lay upon, which said cover on the outside was very finely and artificially gilded, and on the other side of the cover were painted four lively images curiously wrought; and on the East end the picture of our Saviour sitting on the rainbow to give judgement; and on the West end that of our Lady with Christ on her knee; and on the height of the cover from end to end was a most fine *bratifying* of carved work cut throughout with dragons, fowls, and beasts, most artificially wrought and set forth to the beholders; and the inside of the said cover was all varnished and coloured with a most fine sanguine colour, and at every corner of the cover was a lock to lock it down from opening and drawing the same up. Within the said feretory, on the North and South side, were almeries of fine wainscot varnished and finely painted and gilt over with little images for the reliques belonging to St. Cuthbert to lie in, and within them lay all the holy reliques that were offered to him; and when his shrine was drawn the said almeries were opened, so that the costly reliques and jewels that were in

³ Erasmus, Peregrinat. relig. ergo.

⁴ Annals in Henry VIII.

the said almeries, and all the other reliques that hung about within the feretory upon the irons, were accounted the most sumptuous and richest jewels in the land; with the beautifulnes of the fine little images that stood in the French pierre. Within the feretory were several images of saints of alabaster curiously engraved and gilt¹, and the Neville's crofs and bull's head set on the height and on each side of the two doors and other places of the French pierre; which feretory and French pierre were made at the charge of John lord Neville. The king of Scots' antient and his banner, with divers other noblemens' antients, were all brought to St. Cuthbert's feretory, and offered with the jewels by the said lord Neville, and hung there till the suppression. The lord Neville's bannér-staff was all wrythen about with iron from the midft upwards, and did stand and was bound to the irons on the North side of the feretory; and the king of Scots' banner was bound to the midft of the said irons, and hung over the midft of the alley of the nine altars, and was fastened with a cord to a loop of iron in a pillar under St. Catharine's window, at the East end of the church; and a little after the suppression they were all taken down, spoiled, and defaced²."

"This shrine was defaced at the visitation held at Durham for subverting such monuments by Dr. Lee, Dr. Henley, and Mr. Blithman, in Henry VIII's reign, at the suppression of religious houses. They found many worthy and goodly jewels, especially one precious stone, which, by the estimate of these three visitors and their skilful lapidaries, was of value sufficient to redeem a prince³. After the spoil of his ornaments and jewels, approaching near to his body, expecting nothing but dust and ashes, and perceiving the chest he lay in strongly bound with iron, the goldsmith with a smith's great fore⁴ hammer broke the said chest, which being opened, they found him lying whole, uncorrupt, with his face bare, and his beard as of a fortnight's growth, and all his vestments about him as he was accustomed to say mass withal, and his *metwand* of gold lying by him. When the goldsmith perceived he had broken one of his legs in breaking open the chest, he was sore troubled at it, and cried, "Alas, I have broken one of his legs!" which Dr. Henley hearing, called to him, bidding him cast down his bones; the other answered, he could not get them asunder, for the sinews and the skin held them so that they would not come asunder. Then Dr. Lee stepped up to see if it were so; and turning about, spake in Latin to Dr. Henley, that he was entire: though Dr. Henley not believing his words, called again to have his bones cast down; Dr. Lee answered, "If you will not believe me, come up yourself and see him." Then Dr. Henley stepped up to him, and handled him, and found he was whole. Then he caused them to take him down, and so it happened, contrary to their expectation, that not only his body, but his vestment wherein

¹ In like manner was the feretory of St. Werburgh adorned.

² Rites of Durham, p. 6—7.

³ Sir William le Scoop, knight, as an atonement for his and his people's offences against the bishop of Durham, was condemned to offer in person a remarkable jewel (*jewel notable*) valued at £. 500. at the shrine of St. Cuthbert, 13 Ric. II. Rymer VII. 654.

⁴ Q. forge.

he was accustomed to say mass were fresh, safe, and not consumed. Whereupon the visitors commanded him to be carried into the refectory till the king's pleasure concerning him was further known, and, upon the receipt thereof, the monks buried him in the ground under the place where his shrine was erected¹."

"William Carleph, bishop of Durham, before he took down bishop Aldwin's old fabric, prepared a fair and beautiful tomb of stone in the cloyster-garth a yard above the ground where St. Cuthbert was deposited, in expectation of a shrine, in the new church, over which was laid a great and comely broad through² marble stone. But when his body was translated to the refectory where it was inshrined, in honour of him was made a large and curious marble image, representing him finely pictured with beautiful gilding and painting, in that form in which he was wont to say mass, with his mitre on his head and a crozier staff in his hand, and his vestments curiously engraven, which was placed upon the tomb as soon as his body was inshrined in the new church; and round the same, as well at the sides and at either end, were set up wooden *flancels*, so close that a man could not put his hand between them, but only look through to view that exquisite picture, lying within. It was covered above with lead, not unlike a chapel. This comely monument stood opposite to the parlour door through which the monks were carried into the cemetery garth to be buried, which parlour is now turned into a store-house, having rooms above, where the Register Office is kept. Soon after the suppression of the abbey dean Horne demolished that fine monument, venerable for its antiquity, converting the lead, wood, and stones to his own use; and the image of St. Cuthbert was laid on the side, against the cloister wall before the said parlour door. But when dean Whittingham began to govern, he caused this image, as he did many other antient monuments, to be defaced and broken to pieces³."

Q. If this figure be that which was shewn me for St. Cuthbert in the vaults of the bishop's palace, by the late Mr. Robson, the bishop's steward, in 1763?

"There was on the South side of the Galilee, between two pillars, a goodly monument all of blue marble, in height a yard from the ground, supported by five pillars, one at every corner, and the fifth under the middle and above the said marble through and pillars stood a shrine second to St. Cuthbert's, wherein the bones of the holy man St. Bede were enshrined, being accustomed to be taken down every festival day, when there was any solemn procession, and carried by four monks in time of procession and divine service; which being ended, they conveyed it again into the Galilee, and set it upon the said tomb, which had a cover of waincot curiously gilt, and appointed to be drawn up and down over the shrine when they pleased to shew the sumptuousness thereof⁴."

¹ Rites of Durham, p. 112—114.

² Ib. p. 58.

³ *trough*.

⁴ Rites of Durham, p. 86, 87.

Bishop Pudsey who erected the Galilee caused to be made a feretory of gold and silver, wherein were repositied the bones of Venerable Bede, translated and removed from St. Cuthbert's shrine. In the lower part of the first work these Latin verses were engraved :

*Continet hec theca Bedæ Venerabilis ossa.
Sensum factori Christus dedit atque datori.
Petrus opus fecit, præsul dedit hoc Hugo donum :
Sic in utroque suum veneratus utrumque patronum.
Anno milleno ter centum septuageno
Postquam salvator carnem de virgine sumpsit
Transtulit hoc feretrum Cuthberti de prope tumba
Illi ecclesie prior buc, poscente Richardo
De Castro dicto Barnardî, cuius et ossa
Non procul hinc lapide sub marmoreo requiescunt¹.*

I am afraid the Peter mentioned as the maker of this shrine cannot, consistently with chronological verity, be supposed *Peter Cavalini*. He executed work for us in the 13th, and this Peter in the 12th century. This shrine however will be about contemporary with that made by the order of the Conqueror, who bestowed much gold and silver work on the tomb of the Confessor and his queen near him².

This shrine of Bede was defaced by the same visitors, and at the same suppression; his bones being interred under the same place where before his body was exalted. Two stones that belonged to this shrine after it was defaced were brought into the body of the church, and lie opposite to the Easternmost tomb of the Nevilles joined together. The uppermost stone of the said shrine has three holes at each corner for iron to be fastened in to guide the covering, when it was drawn up or let down, whereon St. Bede's shrine stood. The other is a plain marble stone, which was lowest, and did lie above a little marble tomb whereon the bottoms of five small pillars did stand to support the uppermost stone. These stones lie between two pillars, a little above the second Neville's tomb³. The marks of such small pillars remain in the pavement of the site of St. Alban's feretory behind the high altar in his church.

Among the officers of the church were a master and keeper of the feretory, who was also vice prior; and when any men of honour or worship were disposed to offer their petitions to God and St. Cuthbert, or to offer at his shrine, if they requested to have it drawn, or to see it, the clerk of the feretory gave notice to his master, who brought the keys of the shrine, giving them to his clerk to open it; his office was to stand by and see it drawn. It was always drawn up in mattins time, when *Te Deum* was singing, or in high mass time, or at evening song, when *Magnificat* was sung, and when they had made their prayers, and did offer any thing, if it were gold, silver, or jewels, it was instantly hung on

² Rites of Durham, p. 58, 59.

³ "Ob reverentiam nimii amoris quem ego in ipsum inclitum regem Edwardum habueram tumbam ejus regine juxta posite ex auro et argento fabriliter opere artificiale decore mirifice operiri feci." His charter to Westminster Abbey. Walpole's Anecd. I. 19.

¹ Rites of Durham, p. 114, 115.

P. 86—88.

the shrine; and if it was any other thing, as a unicorn's horn, elephant's tooth, or such like, it was hung within the feretory at the end of the shrine; and when their prayers were ended, the clerk let down the cover thereof, and locked it at every corner, returning the keys to the vice prior¹."

"The vice prior had the keys and keeping of St. Bede's shrine in the Galilee, and when there was a general procession he commanded his clerk, giving him the keys of that shrine, to draw up the cover of it, and to take it down, and carry it into the revestry. Then it was carried by four monks in procession every principal day; and the procession being ended, it was carried into the Galilee, and set up there again, and the cover let down; the keys were then returned to the vice prior²."

The shrine of St. Werburg, at Chester, engraved in *Genit. Mag.* LXI. p. 1089. is a third instance of a stone case. It now supports the episcopal throne, and is decorated with statues holding labels inscribed with the names of the kings and saints of the royal line of Mercia, ancestors or near relations of the patroness, whose body was removed to Chester A. D. 875. This stone case was probably erected about the close of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century, when the greatest part of the present church was erected³.

The monument of Edward the Confessor, in his chapel at Westminster abbey, is a fourth instance of the same kind, with this difference, that the remains of the saint are actually remaining in his wooden chest within the stone case.

What remains of the shrine of St. Hugh the crucified child, in Lincoln cathedral has been already described, p. lxviii. and engraved Pl. II. fig. 2.

That of St. Hugh the Burgundian bishop of that see was removed at the Reformation, and a table monument with an inscription substituted in its stead.

Of that of bishop D'Alderby, in the South transept of the said church, very little is now to be seen.

The stone work remaining on the North side of what was the Lady Chapel at Lincoln has much the appearance of a shrine.

The shrine of St. Frideswide, in the North aisle of Christchurch, Oxford, of which there is an aquatinta print lately executed by Mr. Roberts, portrait painter to the duke of Clarence, is a rich piece of Gothic wood work; but as the altar-tomb under it has on its slab the brasses figures of a man and woman, I cannot help surmising, that it has been removed from its own original station. Browne Willis, who notices these figures, does not remove my scruples by observing that "they were said to be in memory of *Didanus* and *Saffrida* her parents; which *Didanus* being a petty king in these parts, built the nunnery in the eighth century, and made his daughter first abbess⁴."

The shrine of Bishop Cantilupe in the great North transept of Hereford cathedral is a beautiful specimen of the early work of this sort among us.

¹ Rites of Durham, p. 117, 118.

² Ib. p. 120.

³ Dr. Cowper printed, 1749, 4to, a particular description of it from the MS collections of Mr. Stones, minor canon of Chester. See also Mr. Pennant's *Wales*, I. 100. *Camden's Brit.* II. 432.

⁴ II. 411.





Engraved by J. G. Smith



Shrine of St. Ibbu at Peterborough

What may be called the altar tomb or base on which his body was formerly laid is adorned with figures of knights in coats and hoods of mail, with swords and shields, seated, and treading on various animals, six on each side, and two at each end, under long half sixfoil arches on short pillars, from which rise plants and branches of different foliage. The same number of similar arches, but only half quatrefoil, and pillars with branches and leaves, support a canopy above, under which it is probable the portable feretory which contained the body originally lay.

Of more elegant Gothic is the triple arched monument in the South wall of the choir at Peterborough, vulgarly supposed the tomb of the Queen of Scots, who was only deposited by it during the reign of her rival; but it was really the shrine of St. Tibba, the patroness of Ryhale abbey, and made about the reign of Edward III. On the repair of the cathedral, 1781, it was removed by the late dean Tarrant into his garden; whence, after suffering much dilapidation, his successor, just before his removal to a more distinguished situation in the church, restored it, not indeed to its original situation, but fixed the back part with the three niches and the fascia of the front in the North wall of the choir behind the altar: the front arches have been placed, by order of the present dean, over the window in the East front of the great gate of the close. I have endeavoured to preserve both it and Cantilupe's as far as in the power of the ablest artists, in Pl. VIII.

At the East end of the North aisle at Castre is what I take to have been the shrine or tomb of St. Kyneburga, daughter of Penda king of Mercia, and wife of Alfred the Northumbrian, who founded here a nunnery, and became the first abbess of it, and was buried in this church with her sister Kyniswitha; but in the time of abbot Elfin the bodies of both were translated to Peterborough, with that of St. Tibba from Rihale¹. It consists of five rich arches (two of them broken away) under an embattled cornice, and in the centre arch an embattled niche, under which are four rich long quatrefoils formerly open, as perhaps the whole was under the arch of the building to the South transept now used as a vestry, in which is the ascent to the tower by a half hexagon staircase.

The shrine of St. William, 30th abbot of York, who died 1154, was erected when his body was removed into the nave of this cathedral, on his canonization, 1279. Being defaced at the Reformation, Mr. Drake availed himself of the new paving of the church to take up a long spotted marble stone, which appeared by the mouldings round the edge to have been an altar-stone, and was inlaid. It was probably the slab of the saint's tomb or altar. Under it was a stone coffin six feet six inches, with an arched lid and cross on it, containing a square leaden box three quarters of a yard long by eight inches diameter, and gradually decreasing in breadth to the bottom. In this were found only bones, the smaller, with those of the skull, wrapt in

¹ Bridges, II. 499.

farfened, doubled and discoloured by them. The larger were put down at the bottom. On the middle of the box was a small plain crofs made of two pieces of lead of equal bignefs, and alfo a piece of ftuff, which mouldered on touching ¹.

The remains of St. John of Beverley were in a fimilar fituation ².

The fhrine of St. Birinus, at Dorchefter, is defcribed in Beavers' MS Chronicle at Trinity college, Cambridge, as of marble, with wonderful fculpture ³.

Contiguous to the wall of the Eaft part of the prefbytery at Canterbury was the great or high altar ⁴, conftituted with ftones and cement, in which archbifhop Odo had depofited in a high cheft the remains of archbifhop Wilfrid, tranflated from Rippon in Yorkfhire; and at a convenient diftance from this altar was another altar, dedicated to Chrift, at which divine myfteries were daily celebrated ⁵.

The fhrine of St. David in the North wall of the choir of his cathedral is a kind of altar-tomb with a canopy of four pointed arches, and in front four holes in form of quaterfoils, into which their votaries put their offerings, which were taken out by the monks at two iron doors behind ⁶.

The remains of St. Amphibalus and his nine companions were found, 1178, under two hillocks ⁷ on Redburne Green, called the hills of the banners ⁸, from the banners fet on them in the proceffions from St. Albans. The martyr was found lying between two of his companions, and a third acrofs and oppofite by himfelf ⁹. Near this fpot were found fix more bodies. Among the remains of St. Amphibalus were two great knives, one in his fcull ¹⁰, the other near his bowels ¹¹, confirming the account of his paffion, that the reft were flain by fwords, but he, after his bowels were laid open, and torn out, was ftabbed with fpears and knives, and at laft ftoned, fo that hardly one of his bones was found whole, whereas thofe of his companions were unimpaired. Matthew Paris, p. 133—136, who adds, that St. Alban pointed out the fpot to an inhabitant of Redburn, and having, with the man's thumb, opened one of the hillocks, opened a fhrine ¹², which emitted a light that illuminated all the Weftern horizon. The difpofition of the bodies in the firft hillock is exactly like that in fome barrows, and the knives anfwer very well to thofe found in fuch hillocks: fo that it is eafy to fee how thefe fepulchral earthworks of the Romans or Britons were made to anfwer the purpofes of fuperftition.

¹ Drake's Eboracum, p. 420.

² See Vol. I. Introd. p. xlii.

³ Peretrum marmoreum fupendæ fculpturæ circa an. gratiæ MCCCXX fuper corpus Birini apud Dorceftre conftitutum.

⁴ In majori altari.

⁵ Venerabilis Odo corpus beati Wilfridi pontificis Eboracenſium de Ripon fublatum Cantuariam tranſtulit, et illud in editiore anteca, ut ipſemet ſcribit, hoc eſt in majori altari, quod de orientali preſbiterii parte parieti contiguum de impolitis lapidibus et cemena extructum erat, digniter collocaverat. Edm. ap. Gerv. Dorob. inter X Script. c. 1291.

⁶ Camden's Britannia, II. 519.

⁷ Celliuli.

⁸ Colles vexillorum.

⁹ Inter duos ſocios medius et collateralis ambobus tertio ſocio quaſi ex tranſverſo et ab oppoſito locum ſolitarium occupante.

¹⁰ Teſta capitis.

¹¹ Circa præcordia.

¹² ſcrinium.

After the relics of St. Amphibalus had been discovered at Redburne, and lodged in a shrine at St. Alban's by abbot Symon, his successor Warine translated them into a new one richly adorned with gold and silver¹, which is thus described by M. Paris²: "This shrine was intersected inwardly by a partition, and in that part of it whose front faced inwards having represented on it the passion of the faint were deposited the reliques of the martyr and his three companions, who were found buried with him, each in separate parcels. In the other part the relics of the remaining six companions who were found buried at a distance, each in separate parcels. In the coffin which contained the aforesaid relics remained a small portion of them: and this coffin, together with a similar one, is placed on the right side of the high altar in the presbytery upon the wall³. In the first are the abovementioned particulars, in the other dust and small pieces of bones, into which dust the flesh of the martyrs is believed to have turned, it being found in their sepulchres with the bones."

Mr. Newcome⁴ says, "abbot Symon had placed these relics on *the right side of the great altar* in one coffin; but now Warren gave to *each* of them a *separate* inclosure, placing the shrine of Amphibalus *close to the wall* on the right hand of the great altar, and *next to the upper, near the roodloft, which seems to have been built at this time*, on which are represented, *in rude carving*, the sufferings of Amphibalus. He placed the relics of *his three companions in other coffins*, which had been found with him, and all in separate and distinct boxes or coffins." I am sorry to be obliged to enter into a severe criticism on this translation; but I really cannot find in the original Latin any authority for the words in Italics. The shrine, I conceive, was divided into two parts by a *partition*, for so *paries* is perhaps to be understood here, and the face of it which fronted, or was within the choir, exhibited the passion of the faint, whose reliques, with those of his three companions, found in the same grave with him, were interred in it in this division, as in the other were the relics of the other six bodies, all in separate bundles, *ligatura*, tied up, it may be, in the linen clothes in which they had been brought from Redburn: but all in one *locellus*, or coffin, in which a portion of the relics remained, together with a considerable quantity or portion of handsome body clothes. In the other *locellus* were dust and pieces of bone⁵. I understand that the shrine was so placed upon the wall in the presbytery, that it might be seen on both sides, as the

¹ *arte exclusoria.*

² de vit. abb. p. 98.

³ It is not easy in the present condition of the church to determine where *this wall* was.

⁴ Hist. of Verulam, I. p. 81.

⁵ "Quod feretrum mediū quidem *paries* interfecit interius, et in ea parte cujus frons intrinsecus passionem S. Amphibali exprimit repositæ sunt reliquæ ipsius martyris et trium lociorum ejusdem, qui simul consepulti inventi sunt, singulæ in singulis *ligaturis*. In reliqua vero parte reliquæ sex reliquorum sociorum ejusdem quorum sepulture sciorum inventæ sunt, singulæ in singulis *ligaturis* colligatæ: in *locello* autem illo qui præfatas reliquias continebat aliquantula portio earumdem reliquiarum remansit simul cum multa *numerositate corporaliū vestimentorum*, quæ ob sui reverentium honeste ibi collocatæ sint: Ille quoque *locellus* cum alio consimili in dextra parte majoris altaris in presbyterio super murum collocatus est. In primo sunt prædicta, in alio pulvis et ossium particule minime, (in quem pulverem carnes sanctorum martyrum creditur fuisse resolutas, nam in eorum sepulchris cum ossibus inventus est) reponitur." P. 98.

leaden chests on the choir wall at Winchester. The wall here mentioned must have been the partition between the choir and presbytery, before the present high altar was erected by Whethamstead. Not a word is here said of the *rood loft*, nor could it have been in any situation described here. St. Alban's shrine was placed by the preceding abbot Symon in a *higher place*, to wit, above *the high altar*, facing the officiating priest¹. On the removal of the shrine of Amphibalus by William twenty-second abbot, we are told it formerly had stood "*secus majus altare juxta feretrum St. Albani a parte aquilonari*," and that he transferred it to a place in the middle of the church enclosed with a grated iron fence², and built an altar there³. He gave to the church of Redburne the two wooden gilt shrines in which had been placed before abbot Warin's time the reliques of Amphibalus and his companions, with their contents.

The tomb of St. Beuno, who lived at the beginning of the seventh century, is a plain altar tomb, whitened over, in his handsome chapel on the South side of Clynogvawr church. To it were formerly brought all calves that had a particular mark, called St. Beuno's, and corresponding with one on the tomb, and were either left with the abbot, or redeemed by part of their value, for the use of the church. The country people, after bathing their children that were troubled with epileptic fits, in St. Beuno's well, used to lay them on the tomb, and if they sleep a whole night they are cured. This may have been the shrine of St. Beuno.

The monument ascribed to archbishop Theobald and St. Anselm, in the South wall of Trinity or Becket's chapel, engraved by Mr. Dart, was supposed to have been a shrine, containing the reliques of the latter; but this has been refuted by Mr. Gosling⁴, who has not assigned it to any other saint. Godwin ascribes it to Theobald⁵.

A stone tomb raised on six little pillars on the gospel side of the altar at the abbey of La Pree near Issodon, contained the reliques of St. Fausta and St. Evilaſius⁶.

¹ *supra*.

² "Abbas Simon thecam exteriorem quam nos *feretrum* appellamus (qua ipſo tempore nullam vidimus nobiliorem) cepit per manum præcellentissimi artificis magistri Johannis aurifabri fabricari: et tam laborioſum, ſumptuoſum, et artificioſum opus infra paucos annos feliciter conſummavit. Et loco ſuo eminentiori, ſcilicet *ſupra majus altare contra frontem celebrantis* collocavit, ut in facie et corde habere quilibet celebrans miſſam ſuper idem altare martyris memoriam. Et ideo in obſpectu viſus celebrantis martyris ejusdem ſcilicet decollatio figuratur. In circuitu autem feretri, videlicet duobus lateribus, fecit vitæ beati martyris ſeriem eminentibus imaginibus de argento et auro opere *propuſate* (quod vulgè *Levatura* dicitur) evidenter effigiari. In capite vero quod reſpicit orientem imaginem crucifixi cum Mariæ et Johannis iconibus cum diverſarum gemmarum ordine decantiſſimo veneranter collocavit. In fronte vero occidentem reſpiciente imaginem beatæ virginis, puerum ſuum tenentis in gremio, eminenti opere inter gemmas et pretioſa monilia aurea in throno ſedentem incathedravit. Et ſic ordine martyrium in teſto utrobique diſpoſito theca in *criſpam et artificioſam criſtam conſurgit*: in quatuor angulis turribus fenestratis tholis chryſtallinis cum ſuis mirabilibus quadratura venula. In ipſa igitur, quæ miræ magnitudinis eſt, ipſius martyris theca (quæ quaſi ejus conclave eſt in qua ipſius ſecreta oſſa recondi dignoſcuntur) ab abbate Gaufrido fabricata convenienter reconditur." P. 92.

³ Includitur *pariete ferreo et craticulato*. Can this be the iron fence now before the monument of Humphrey duke of Glouceſter?

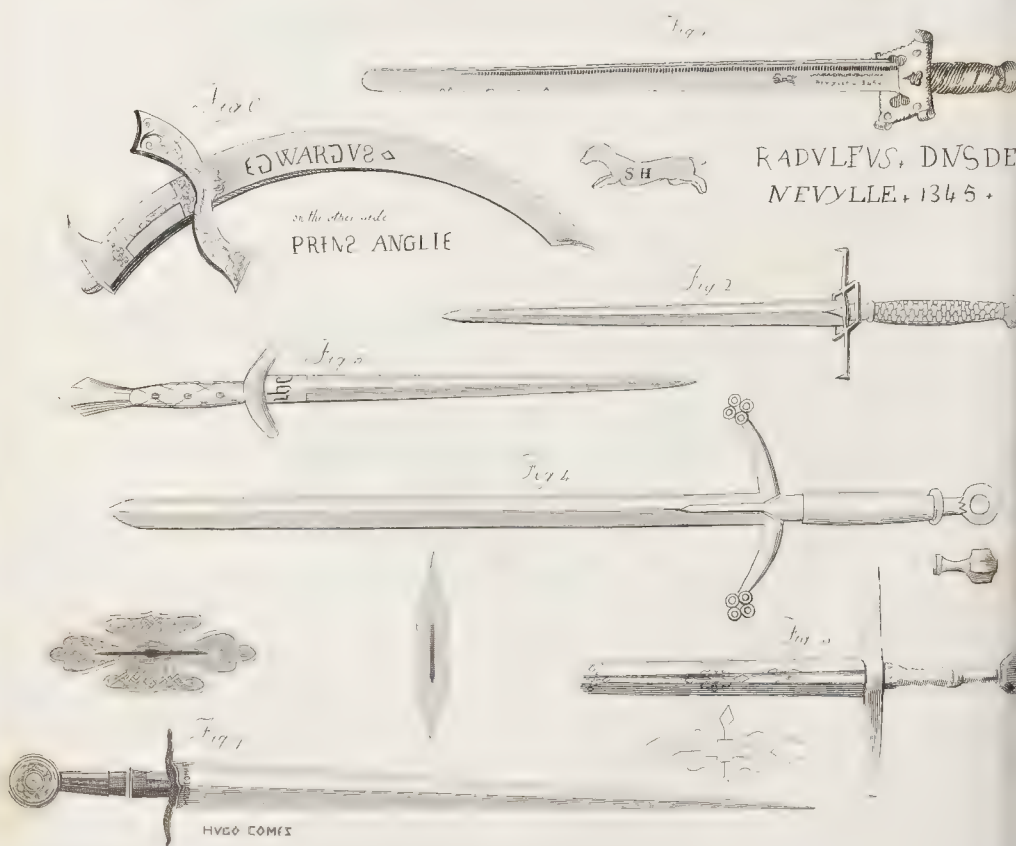
⁴ M. Paris, p. 122.

⁵ Canterb. p. 268, 269.

⁶ Voy. lit. de deux Benedicſtins, I. 22.

⁷ P. 71.





All that remains of St. William's shrine in his chapel at the North end of the cross aisle of Rochester cathedral is a large chest of Petworth marble, much defaced, the sides and top decorated with ancient ornaments, but no traces of an inscription¹. The "Ordinatio prima *ad tumbam* Sti. Willielmi², is an appointment by bishop Hethe, endowing two priests to pray daily for the souls of himself and succeeding bishops and all benefactors to this church near the tomb of St. William at the altar where the mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary hath used to be celebrated; and not an appointment of priests to officiate at the shrine of St. William³, who had probably monopolized the offerings made before his time of the Virgin Mary.

Another monument in Rochester cathedral which has very much the appearance of a shrine has been supposed the tomb of bishop Glanville, who died 1214. It is situate on the North side of the choir, is of grey marble, the top shaped like a sloping roof like that of archbishop Theobald at Canterbury, adorned with three quatrefoils, in which are busts of bishops, and between them lozenges with smaller busts. See it Pl. IX. This roof has been broken, and made up with plaister or rough stone. The North face of the tomb is adorned with seven arches supported by round pillars, and under each a large leaf as on capitals. The West end is open.

The unusual form of this monument would incline us to suspect that it was the shrine of St. Paulinus, erected by Gundulph⁴; and then, by parity of reasoning, that at Canterbury may have answered the same purpose. The penthouse roof so uncommon on tombs, and so universal in lesser shrines⁵, is one of the strongest arguments in favour of this supposition. It is true Gundulph deposited the reliques of this saint in a most precious shrine; but this does not preclude one of stone. Whoever attends to the bitter animosities between the monks here and bishop Glanville, who, to weaken their claims and power, plundered them of their estates and effects, for which they in return refused him the common exequies, alledging his dying under a general interdict, after having melted the silver shrine of St. Paulinus to carry on the suit against the bishop, will hardly suppose he was honoured with a common monument. Perhaps the stone shrine was substituted to the silver one, and then, in the confusion too frequently attendant on common tradition, by blending the stories together, what was intended for Paulinus may in process of time have been misapplied to Glanville⁶. Paulinus was third bishop of Rochester, died A. D. 644, and was buried in the vestry⁷ of his church. His body was afterwards placed in a silver shrine by bishop Gundulph, who procured his canonization, A. D. 1087. Browne Willis⁸ says, bishop Glanville was buried on the North side of the high altar, under an old stone, with a *mitred effigy*.

¹ See before, Vol. I. p. 60. Hist. of Rochester, p. 69.

² Reg. Ross. p. 549.

³ Hist. of Rochester, p. 67.

⁴ Godwin, p. 526.

⁵ See it particularly described in Matthew Paris's account of the shrine of St. Albans, before, p. cxviii. note².

⁶ I. 203.

⁷ In *secretarie*, Bede III. c. 14. Warton, Angl. Sac. II. 280. Regist. Ross. p. 22. 35.

⁸ P. 287.

In the choir of the cathedral at Worcester were the shrines of Saints Oswald and Wulfstan, between which king John is imagined to have been buried¹.

Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, though not canonized by authority, was accounted a ſaint by the monks of Eweſham, who preferred his tomb² to Becket's, and even to the Holy Land³; and his favourites the friars minors celebrated his life and miracles, and compoſed a ſervice for him. We are not however to haſtily to conclude that he had a *ſhrine*.

We ſhould carefully diſtinguiſh between feretories containing the whole body, and portable only on anniverſaries of the ſaints, or grand occasions⁴, and ſhrines, though ſometimes called *feretra*, portable and made of wood, and covered with enamelled plates of metal, of various and ſmall proportions, and containing a ſingle relique of a particular ſaint, or various reliques of different ones. Their proper Latin name was *capſa*⁵, or its diminutives *capſula* and *capſilla*, and in French *caiffe*; or *ſcrinium*⁶, Fr. *ſcrin*, whence our *ſhrine*, which is carefully diſtinguiſhed by Du Cange from the *arca lapidea* in which it was lodged. Of this claſs I ſuppoſe the Croyland and Hereford ſhrines, which, from the ſubject depicted on them, moſt likely contained a relique of Becket.

The arrangement of ſuch ſmaller ſhrines round the upper and high altar of any church cannot be better illuſtrated than by the print of that of St. Auſtin's abbey at Canterbury, copied from an old MS. in Somner's Canterbury, p. 25.

In the church of St. Paul at London Weever⁷ enumerates no leſs than ſix ſhrines.

That of St. Erkenwald, fourth biſhop of this ſee, A.D. 674—685, very ſumptuous, in the Eaſt part, above the high altar, in the Lady Chapel, on an altar dedicated to his memory, incloſed with iron rails, where he had a magnificent tomb, to be ſeen in 1532⁸. To this were bequeathed by will rings and jewels, and the dean and chapter contracted with three goldſmiths of London to work on it for a year, one at 8*s.* a week, the others at 5*s.* each; and John the captive king of France offered twelve nobles at it three years afterwards. 5 Richard II. Richard Preſton citizen and grocer of London, gave to it “his beſt ſapphire ſtone, there to remain for curing impurities in the eyes, appointing that proclamation ſhould be made of its virtues.” The repairs beſtowed on this ſhrine by the dean and chapter, 3 Henry IV. enumerated by Dugdale, Appendix, xxvi. p. 237. include the gilding of an image of St. Erkenwald, a pedeſtal for an image of a child⁹, the majeſty¹⁰; two angels, and the field of the coronations of our Lady, and the great Coronall¹¹; and ten images about the feretory, purchaſing eight and carving four; and for garniſhing the gilt chryſtals and beryls and one jewel about the feretory. *Herebright* was the name of the painter employed.

¹ Angl. Sac. l. 483. Green's Survey of Worcester, p. 38.

² *tomulus*.

³ Chron. de Mailros, p. 238.

⁴ Compared therefore with the carrying of the ark of the covenant. Honorius Auguſtod. de Miſſa, l. c. 69, 70. Du Freſne v. *ſcrinium*.

⁵ Or *capſa* from the Greek *καψα*. Du Freſne, v. *campſa* and *capſa*; general terms for a cheſt or box.

⁶ Du Freſne v. *ſcrinium*.

⁷ P. 380, 381.

⁸ See Dugdale's St. Pauls, p. 112.

⁹ *une baas a un ymage al manere d'une enſaunt.*

¹⁰ *majeſté.*

¹¹ *le graunt coronall*





Shrine from Merford.

The iron grate round it, five feet ten inches high, having locks, keys, closures, and openings, and turned over, weighing 3438 pounds, at 4*d.* a pound, cost £. 64. 2*s.* which Dugdale has engraved from the original draught made for a direction to the smith that wrought it; and that it might be kept in this beautiful condition Thomas de Ewere, dean, 1407, by his will left £. 100. for building houses in Knight Rider street, the rents to be applied to the reparation thereof, and to maintain lights about it on the two feast days of the faint, and to support a chaplain celebrating for the fraternity of that blessed Confessor¹.

The shrine of St. Mellitus, first bishop, is among the rest in Weever; but I find it not in the list of feretra in Dugdale's appendix, p. 303, only his arm, or rather a small bone of it, adorned with silver plates²: nor any notice at all of the shrine of "St. Egwulph, ninth bishop here, all beset with precious stones:" or of Richard Fitz Neal, bishop, 1189—1199; but a wooden portable feretory of Richard third bishop³, covered with gilt silver plates, the precious stones stolen. This, and several others of wood, contained the reliques of various faints; besides heads, arms, and other reliques inclosed in "*capsæ et capsule.*" That wooden feretory with the reliques of St. Laurence I take to have been what Weever places on the altar of that faint, built by Roger Waltham precentor⁴.

On that engraved in the Philosophical Transactions, and supposed by Dr. Stukeley to have belonged to Croyland abbey, the Doctor fancied was represented the history of the murder of the abbot and monks of Croyland, by the Danes, A. D. 870; but it is rather that of Becket⁵. A similar one in the possession of the late Mr. Ruffel, lecturer of Hereford cathedral, and supposed to have been placed on the high altar of that church before the Reformation, when it was removed to the nearest Catholic family of consequence, whence it came to its late owner, was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, 1775. This has been engraved poorly in Strutt's Antiquities, I. pl. XXV. and is here copied Pl. X. from a drawing bought at Mr. West's sale by Mr. Astle. I have seen a third print of it of the real size, engraved at the expence of Mr. Ruffel. It is falsely supposed to represent the murder of Ethelbert, the patron faint, by order of Offa, A. D. 793. Lord Orford has a third shrine, with figures exactly similar to those, but smaller, which he conceives to be a model, in miniature, of Becket's at Canterbury. It is less than the other two, and the plates are fastened on a block of wood of the same form. Perhaps all the three contained some reliques of this faint, who was so highly revered in every monastery⁶. Such shrines as these made part of the furniture of the high altars, and contained small portions of reliques, while the bodies themselves were lodged in costly feretories; or, as Dr. Cowper calls that at Chester, the outer stone case.

¹ Dugdale, ib. p. 20—24.

² Brachium S. Melliti *parvum*, ornatum laminis argenteis et platis in limbo deauratis et trifloriatis.

³ Third of that name, who was Fitz Neal.

⁴ No such name occurs in Newcourt, except it be R. in the reign of Henry III.

⁵ Hist. of Croyland, in Bibl. Top. Brit. N° XL. p. 95. 97.

⁶ Ib. p. 97

The height of the Hereford shrine is eight inches and an half, length seven inches, and breadth three inches and an half. It is made of oak, stands on four feet, and is covered all over, except at bottom, with plates of copper gilt and enamelled. Each side consists of two compartments, the lower perpendicular, the upper inclining to each other. The lower compartment of the principal side contains four figures three inches high, engraved in the copper and gilt; three of them are in armour, one carrying a battle ax, and the others swords, and they are pointing to each other with their finger, as if to enjoin silence. The fourth is supposed to represent Ethelbert unapprised of their approach, and at his devotion before an altar furnished with a chalice, patten, and cross. One of the armed figures is striking off his head, while a hand appears extended from the clouds to encourage him, or to receive his soul. The upper compartment contains six figures in a similar style of execution, and a corpse on a bier on a ground of blue enamel. The two outside figures are in long robes with bare feet, holding each a censer in his hand: the two next are in an inclining posture, and supporting or raising the bier, behind which are two others, one with a pastoral staff in his right hand, elevating his left with the forefinger extended, as if reciting some service from an open book or tablet held by the other figure, who is habited in a sacerdotal dress, the cape or neckband studded. On the tablet is an inscription in two lines in characters not easily defined. At each end, under a Gothic arch, is a figure with a nimbus; one holding a book. The back is covered with Mosaic, in small squares of leaves. On the top is a plate with loopholes, and at each end and under the centre three studs which were probably once surmounted by crosses as globes are. The inner part of the front, or principal side, is much stained with a red colour, to represent blood, and on it is painted a red cross. The slightest comparison of this with the Croyland shrine will shew that the same history is represented on both; three men, one armed with a battle-ax and two with swords, assault, and one of them strikes the head of a fourth officiating at the altar; the whole in such exact correspondence with all the representations of the murder of Becket, that the conjecture that Elfreda when she retired to Croyland after the murder of her intended husband brought with her this memorial of his death, including some relic of his body, will by no means hold. This fourth person could not be Ethelred, the circumstances of whose murder, though variously related, do not at all correspond with this representation. Two figures attend behind the altar on the Croyland shrine, which being twelve inches long, four inches broad, and ten inches and an half high, admitted of more, and accordingly in the upper compartment the soul of the martyr is taken up into heaven by angels.

Such smaller cases are better defined by the term *Reliquary*, by which Mr. Aftle denominates that in his possession, engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, II. 11. LII. which he supposes to have contained some reliques of Maudulf, the founder of Malmesbury abbey. It is made of oak, covered with copper, enamelled in different colours with the pictures of the Deity in an oval, at the four corners of which are the symbols of the Evangelists, and under it the crucifixion with Mary and John; eight figures, as I conceive of apostles, are placed in pairs on each

each hand of the two centre compartments. At the end where the lock is fixed St. Peter is apparently placed with his key; and a figure at the other end Mr. Aftle imagines to represent the saint whose reliques was inshrined here, or St. Paul, the joint tutelar saint of the abbey. The reverse is ornamented, in a Mosaic pattern not inelegant. The crystals at top, commonly called British beads, and worn by the Druids on solemn occasions, were transferred to the shrines and reliques of Christian saints. Such appear on the Croyland and Hereford Reliquaries; but I cannot help presuming this older than either of them. The work is evidently Grecian, and of the style of the Diptychs and other works of the Constantinopolitan empire; not improbably brought from Rome in the close of the eighth century by Aldhelm, who first taught the Saxons to write Latin, and wrote it himself, and boasted to bring classical literature into this country¹.

One of the most extraordinary cases of this sort was a small one of silver gilt with the arms of Edmond earl of Lancaster, commonly called Crouchback, who died 1296. It belonged to Dr. Ducarel, and was purchased at the sale of his coins, &c. 1785, by Samuel Tysen, Esq. F. A. S.

The form of these reliquaries, as taken from the oldest Christian sarcophagi, with a sharp or round roof, may be seen in Ciampini, *Vet. Monum.* II. pl. 3. p. 5. and it is not improbable they suggested the shape of the hearses which were placed over graves; a custom continued to this day in Yorkshire. At Ripon I saw one of black cloth standing over a common grave between the pillars of the nave. There was a hearse covered with a black velvet pall over the tomb of queen Catharine in Peterborough minster, and another over that of Mary queen of Scots, in the same church, which was removed with her body to Westminster².

Among the accounts of Henry VII's household, in the Exchequer, is, in his 18th year, "paid to thabbot of Westminster upon a bille for making of the herse £. 58. 16s. 7d."

The monument of the monks martyred by the Danes, now placed behind the altar in Peterborough cathedral, is of the reliquary form, and it may be contemporary with the event it commemorates.

In the treasury of St. Denis was a silver reliquary in form of a church, made about 1474.³ So was the shrine, containing the body of St. Denis, given by pope Innocent III. to the religious of that monastery, who came to the third Lateran council, 1215⁴, and that inclosing the bones of St. Louis, made about 1557⁵. The shrine of Corpus Christi, at York, was surmounted by a steeple⁶. So was that of St. Droctoveus at St. Germain des Prez⁷, and that of the patron saint himself over his high altar⁸. Another in that church shaped like a box on feet contained the reliques of several saints, and was adorned with their figures⁹.

¹ Camden, *Brit. Wills*.

² Gunton's Peterborough, p. 335. Something of this kind stood for a twelvemonth over the grave of Mr. Walmesley, in Lichfield cathedral. *Gent. Mag.* LV. p. 166.

³ Felibien, *descript. de l'Eglise de St. Denis*, p. 539. Pl. II. O.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 544. pl. V. B.

⁵ *Ib.* fig. 4.

⁶ *Archæol.* X. 269.

⁷ Brouillart, *Hist. de l'abbaye de St. Germain des Prez*. Pl. XXI. H.

⁸ *Ib.* Pl. XXI. D.

⁹ *Ib.* Pl. VII. and XVII.

The reliquary called the shrine, or oratory, of Charlemagne, at St. Denis, was formed of four stories¹, in the style of that of Edward the Confessor, or like the antient funeral piles of the emperors, as described by Herodian.

Behind the altar of St. Lazarus's church at Autun is a tomb of Lazarus, made in the *shape of a church*, by a monk named Martin, in the time of bishop Stephen².

St. Remi, archbishop of Rheims, who baptized Clovis and his people, A. D. 454, and died 496, was buried in the little church of St. Christopher at Rheims. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, opened his marble tomb to enclose his body in a silver shrine, A. D. 852. After Hincmar's death the inhabitants of Rheims, A. D. 882, removed the body to the church of Orbais for fear of the Norman inroads; but Fulco, successor of Hincmar, brought it back to Rheims the following year. Cardinal Lenoncourt, in the reign of Francis I. enriched the tomb, which he enclosed in a door, with ornaments, and bas reliefs and statues of kings and bishops, begun 1533, and finished 1537, being twenty-five feet high, seventeen long, and eight wide³.

Le Bœuf observes that the shrines which according to the antient disposition should have remained with that of St. Germanus, at bottom of the sanctuary, where the tomb of that saint was deposited under the high altar in the church of St. Germain des Prez, were brought forwards towards the middle, and placed round six pillars, four of the transept and two of the choir⁴. The remains of St. Clotilda were preserved in a silver gilt shrine, made 1539, in this church⁵. Till the reign of St. Louis the reliques of St. Genevieve remained in the chest in which they had been removed, which gradually, by means of various decorations, acquired all the outward appearance of a shrine, though all the while of wood, and a new one was made about 1240⁶.

There is nothing in the words of our antient historians to authorize the conjecture of Hearne, that the *cista*, or coffer, of Rosamond, at Godstow, was a present to her in her life-time from her royal paramour, rather than a shrine, unless it be objected, that she was never canonized; but, on the contrary, turned out of the church by a bishop of Lincoln. But might not the gratitude of the nuns shew itself to their patroness, who had procured them so many benefactions from the king? At least, however, it might be a reliquary presented to her by Henry for her private chapel, the ornaments being by no means so unsuitable for such a piece of furniture as Mr. Hearne's prudery suggested⁷.

¹ Felibien, ubi sup. p. 544. pl. IV. C.

² Voy. lit. de deux Bénédict. I. 156.

³ A plan and elevation of it were published by Dandel, geographer to the king of France.

⁴ Dioc. de Paris, I. 432.

⁵ Ib. 377.

⁶ Ib. 375, 376.

⁷ Higden's words are: "This wenche had a lytyll coffer scarfly of two fote longe, made by a wonder crafte that is yet seen there. Therein it semeth that geauntes fighte, beestes startle, foule flee, and fythe lepe, without any mannes mevynges:" which is a literal translation of Brompton's words Inter X Script. col. 1151. and Knighton's, ib. col. 2396. "Cista ejusdem puellæ (in capitulo monialium apud Godstowe) vix bipedalis mensuræ sed mirabilis architecturæ cernitur, in qua confectus pugilum, gestus animalium, volatus avium, saltus piscium absque hominis impulsu quasi movere conspiciuntur." Compare also Grafton, p. 77. Fabian, p. 320. Holinshed, p. 115. Do not similar figures occur on the shrines of Cantilupe and Tibba, and postures of men and animals more odd and more contrived for carrying on amours and lascivious intrigues (Hearne's words, Let. It. II. Append. p. 126.) in every place of religious worship in the kingdom? Certain it is however that Dr. Flott erred egregiously in calling this little coffer a *coffin*.

In the Inventories of reliques and ornaments belonging to St. Paul's cathedral¹ we have *reliquie, cupæ, vasa*, of crystal, some set in silver, and supported by four or more images of men or beasts of silver gilt; *capsa argentea* in form of and containing a head, others containing different bones; a *superaltare*, containing various reliques; a black chest (*cista*); an ivory one with a lock and key, and bound with silver gilt; another covered with red silk; a little one (*parva cistula*) of copper; an ivory *pixis* with relics; another of silver gilt and enamelled with figures of the apostles, a *capsa* covered with blue silk embroidered with figures; arms of saints plated with silver containing portions of the limbs; a crystal vase shaped like a bottle set in silver; a *paxillum* set in like manner: a *forier* (q. feretory) of *sprueswork*, a black cofer, and an ivory *cistula*; all containing many relics; and some of them *cum lapidibus albis impressis*; i. e. set with white stones, as before described.

Canonization itself had its rise in Pagan Rome, in the deification of emperors². The first christian saint so made is supposed to have been Suibert, canonized by Leo III. in the 9th century³.

Next to the practice of inshrining was that of burying eminent prelates or religious close to the high altar.

"On the North side of the high altar at Peterborough in two hollow places in the wall were found two chests of about three feet long each, containing the bones of a man, and of whom appeared a piece of lead in each chest whereon the name of the person was engraved. In the one was *Kynsius*; on the other *Elfricus*; both which had been archbishops of York and formerly monks of Peterborough. But as these repositories could not have been so short from the beginning, it is probable they had a removal from under ground to lie above ground in this wall so near the altar, the first place of sepulture being not thought fit to contain them any longer. The place of Elfric's burial, says Mr. Gunton⁴, I cannot tell; but for Kynsius, I have heard my father, who was well read in the antiquities of this church, say, that the marble monument now lying on the North side of the altar was his. It bears the portraiture of a shaven monk lying on the top." This may be fig. 5. the oldest of those engraved in Pl. III. of Vol. I. p. 31.

The following inscriptions, of later date, are now to be seen on the wall.

HIC POSITA SUNT OSSA ELFRICI ARCHIEPI EBORACI.

1051.

HIC POSITA SUNT OSSA KYNsii A^{ti} EB'

1059.

The bones of the six bishops of Ely and of duke Brithnoth were found in the same situation in Ely choir⁵.

¹ Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 234—236.

² Augustus received divine honours while living; Horat. Ep. II. l. 15, 16: but Romulus and other worthies of antiquity not till after their death. Pallas is represented with the Nimbus by Virgil, Æn. II. 616. III. 587. Servius defines it "lumen fulgidum vel clara nebula quæ deorum vel imperantium capita ambire fingitur."

³ Basinge, Hist. des églises reform. II. pt. IV. c. 11. l. pt. I. c. 10.

⁴ History of Peterborough Cathedral, p. 98. Bridges, II. 551.

⁵ Bentham's Ely, 285, 286. Archæol. II. 265. See before, Vol. I. Introd. p. clvi.

Among charnel houses in foreign countries the most celebrated are those of the lake of Morat, containing the bones of the troops of Charles le Hardi, 1476, and of St. Maria in Portici at Pavia, containing those of Francis I's 10,000 soldiers slain in the battle of Pavia. The bones at Waltham abbey, ridiculously ascribed to the slain in the battle of Hastings, and those at Hythe, to some other battle, are, like those under many other of our churches', only decently collected from the respective churchyards on opening graves. Places for that purpose were provided in all considerable churches, and generally accompanied with a chapel over or adjoining to them, for the convenience of saying mass for the souls of the unknown deceased.

John Salmon bishop of Norwich, 1319—1325, built a house for four priests at the West door of his cathedral, with a chapel dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, under which was a vault for the reception of all the human bones dug up from the city, of which he thus speaks in the account of this foundation in his Register: "In carnario autem subtus dictam capellam St. Johannis constituto ossa humata de licentia sacriste ejus qui pro tempore fuit dicte carnarii clavem et custodiam habeat specialem, et usque ad resurrectionem generalem honeste conserventur a carnibus integre denudata reponi volumus et observari." From the will of John Wodehouse, esq. gentleman of the privy chamber to Henry V. and one of his executors, who, with his wife, was buried in this chancel, in which he founded a chantry for a priest, it appears that it was a chapel, and that service was performed in it; for it is there called "*capella inferior vocata le charnel*." It stands on two rows of pillars fourteen feet high, and has at entering a holy water basin. The epitaph of Ralph Pulvertoft, *custos coronelle*, in the reign of Henry VII. was to be seen in Jesus Chapel in the cathedral, when Mr. Burton, master of the free school, since kept in the upper chapel, wrote the Antiquities of it in the last century¹. The Dean and Chapter, before the dissolution, by assignment appropriated a master, or keeper, of the charnel, which was dissolved 1548, when the bones were taken out and buried, as supposed in the upper clofe, the burying ground belonging to the charnel wherein the chaplains had been buried².

On the North side of St. Paul's churchyard, where in Dugdale's time was a stationer's shop the sign of The Rose, was a chapel, having under it a vault, wherein the bones taken out of sundry graves in that cemetery were with great respect and care decently piled together. It was existing in the reign of Edward I. after which several chantries were founded in it. It was under the care of a warden; and the revenues failing, a new chantry was founded in it 8 Henry VI. Several mayors of London were buried, and had monuments therein, all pulled down, together with the chapel itself, by

¹ Thus at the entrance into the present parish church of Croyland, which was the North aisle of the conventual church, is a place now walled up, but full of bones, and open on the top. There is another on the North side of the chancel of Stratford upon Avon church, the old part of the building, over which was a chapel, where was held the school for the choristers. See before, p. 322.

² Regist. IV. p. 235.

³ Printed at the end of Sir Thomas Browne's Repertorium. 1712.

⁴ Blomefield, II. 527—532.

the duke of Somerset, and the bones carried away in several loads to Finsbury Field, where they raised the moorish soil so much that three windmills were built thereon¹.

In the North wall of the church of *Alanfmoor*, in Webtree hundred, c. Hereford, was a charnel house, now converted into a vestry, and the bones buried. In the North East corner of the charnel was an altar tomb of common stone inlaid with carved alabaster now levelled. On the slab are engraved the figures of a man in armour with sword and dagger, and a lion at his feet, and a lady in her own hair. Over them pediments with purfled finials. Over hers a chevron between three martlets and a bend charged with a crescent between three martlets, and down by her right side, 1. The second coat. 2. A single martlet and 3. fretty. Over his pediment three lions rampant fingle, and impaled by the bend and martlets; down by his left side the bend and martlets and the three lions rampant fingle. Under them this inscription in one line:

**Sir andrew hert gyt pey et Johanna la femme gyt de luy.
Dieu de leur Almes feyt mercy².**

The family of *Hert* or *Herle* is mentioned in Burton's Leicestershire.

St. John's church under the Lady chapel at Hereford cathedral is a dark vault, now called the *Golgotha*, and in the epitaph of Andrew Jones, who rebuilt it, and was buried in it is called *domus carnaria*³.

A chapel called *Charner* was finished in the churchyard either of Ripley or Canterbury⁴. A charter of William bishop of Acon, 1161, speaks of a charnel house erected by private contribution in a cemetery to lay the bones of the dead in⁵; and we read of *arcæ*, or chests, probably filled with bones, solemnly deposited in the charnel house of a church⁶.

Enough has been said to establish a conjecture, that charnel houses were the common appendages of cathedral and conventual churches. Whether the chapel erected by Edward IV. on the field after the battle of Barnet, which I have elsewhere⁷ supposed to be the present parochial church at Hadley, was a repository of the bodies of those who fell in that fight, is another consideration. We do not find that Henry VII. did so much after the battle of Bosworth. Archbishop Chichele was advised by his friends to build an hospital for the sick and wounded in Henry IV's French wars, but preferred the welfare of the deceased to the relief of the dying⁸.

¹ Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 129. 130. Stowe's London, p. 356.

² Duncomb's MS. Hist. of Herefordshire.

³ See hereafter, p. 331.

⁴ Thorn, Chron. p. 1942.

⁵ Ib. ex Hist. Harcur. tom. III. p. 299.

⁶ Camden's Britannia, II. p. 31.

⁷ Du Fresnoy, v. *Carnaria*.

⁸ Wood's Hist. of Colleges, by Gutch, p. 254.

Hilshaw hill, on the East side of Ripon, is made up of human skeletons laid in regular order, greatly decayed, discernable from the top to bottom. Whether they were buried after a plague, or battle, or from the rubbish of the ruined monastery, or on what account the hill was raised, is quite uncertain. Leland¹ supposed it a British fortress. Salmon, Danish work. It had been for some time past covered with wood. In 1695 a number of Saxon ficas were found here². A hill somewhat similar is described in Carlisle parish on the Clyde. A large quantity, as if part of a charnel-house, were found on the South side; others at the depth of six feet in the centre, and the soil itself blacker than in any other part of the parish. Stones have tumbled from it, which appear to have been used on a tomb or some building of decent architecture³.

Monuments of another form are to be found in Sweden, as that of king Olaf Skirtkanving and his consort in the church-yard at Hufaby, near the tower⁴.



Regis Olavi Skirtkannings eiusq. coniugis sepulchral monumentum in cœmeterio templi Husabyensis

To this æra are to be assigned a few monuments of this kind among us: the Giant's Grave at Penrith⁵, and the two stones, or rather stumps of stone, about fourteen feet asunder, in the church-yard at Weston, in Hertfordshire, vulgarly called the Grave of a Giant, one *Jack of Legs*, a great robber, but a generous one, who plundered the rich to feed the poor, till he was blinded and hanged⁶.

¹ I. 97, 98.

² Camden, Brit. III. 57.

³ Statistical account of Scotland, VIII. 132.

⁴ Suecia Nova et Antiq. III. 57.

⁵ Archæol. II. 48.

⁶ Salmon, Herts, 184.

The antients seem to have had officers appointed to superintend their sepulchres. Thus *Aedituus sepulchri Sergie familie* occurs in Reinesius, V. 53. 55.

The church of Rome has the same persons in her mass and chantry priests.

Cicero speaks in high terms of such chapels and the family vaults to which they were annexed: "Magnum est enim eadem habere monumenta majorum, eisdem uti sacris, sepulchra habere communia." Of these *sacra privata* see Petit, p. 77. and 213.

Of Anniversaries, Octaves, Months minds, among the antient Romans, see Suetonius Aug. c. 99. Galba, c. 4. compared with Baron. Annal. An. 44. § 88. Muffard, p. 116. Of Novendialia, ib. p. 118. Lips. ad Tacit. Ann vi. 5. See Aristoxenus Pythagoricus de cultu parentum in Stobæus, 77, p. 457. and at the end of Victorius on Aristotle's Politics, p. 621. τὰς κατὰ ἐνιαύσιον ἐπιμελείας. See also the fragments of Charondas at the end of Aristotle's Politics, p. 615.^a

These anniversaries were the annual return of the day on which the person died, and were also called *annales*, or donations, for one or more years, to religious houses or the poor, for the good of the soul^b; they also had a good effect toward producing obituaries.

In the wardrobe accounts of Henry VII. we find the following funeral charges furnished by the king.

18 Henry VII. June 18; To thund'rt^c, the rest of his boke made for the burial of my lorde p'nce, £. 565. 16s. This was prince Arthur, who died that year.

March 16, same year, delivered to Sir Robert Hutton in prest at two times, for the buriall of the queene's grace, £. 433. 6s. 8d.

May 31, in full payment of £. 2832. 7s. 3d. £. 2399. 0s. 7d.

£. 2832. 7s. 3d.

This was for his mother, Elizabeth queene of Henry VII. who died in childhood, Feb 11, that year.

Another item of the same reign is,

To my lorde Herbert in lone by his bill for burying Sir Richard Pole, £. 40.

15 Henry VII. Dec. , paid for the burial of the earl of Warwick, by four bills, £. 12. 18s. 2d. ob.

May paid for the burial of my lorde Edmund, over and beyond th'abbitt and convent of Westminster unrewarded, as apperith by a boke of p'selles^d particularly £. 242. 11s. 8d.

Now we are on this reign it may not be amiss to mention that from the same account it appears, that for the tomb of this prince, in his chapel at Westminster, was paid at different installments £. 78. 3s. 2d. to master Esterfeld, as follows:

^a Offic. I. c. 17.

^b Dr. Taylor's Adversaria.

^c Du Fresne, v. *Annale et Anniversarium*.

^d The undertaker.

^e parcels.

17 Henry VII. to master Esterfeld, for the king's tomb £. 10.
By warrants for the works of the king's tomb at Windsor £. 10.
Again twice, and at last £. 38. 3s. 2d.

18 Henry VII. Jan. 20. to the same for conveying the tomb from Windsor to Westminster £. 10.

As there occur charges of £. 10. each to the same man "for works and for repa'cone" at *Woking*, where Henry VII. had a palace, may we not presume that master Esterfeld was a mason, and executed the stone work of the tomb for which Pietro Torregiano did the brass work?

It is the custom at this day all over Wales to strew the graves both within and without the church with green herbs, branches of box, flowers, rushes and flags for one year, after which such as can afford it lay down a stone¹. Mr. Grose calls this a filthy custom, because he happened to see some of the flowers dead and turned to dung, and some bones and bits of coffins scattered about Ewenny church in Glamorganshire. He had better have cleared of incumbrance the tomb whose inscription in Saxon characters he says was become illegible only by the dirt with which they were filled.

The common Welsh graves are curiously matted round with single or double matting, and stuck with flowers, box, or laurel, which are frequently renewed. See fig. 3. in next page.

Aubrey² takes notice of a custom of planting rosetrees on the graves of lovers by the survivors at Oakley, Surrey, which may be a remain of Roman manners among us; it being a practice among them and the Greeks to have roses yearly strewed on their graves, as bishop Gibson, after Kirkman de Funeribus, p. 498, remarks from two inscriptions at Ravenna and Milan. The practice in Propertius³ of burying the dead in roses is common among our country people, and to it Anacreon seems to allude, Ode 53, where he says,
ῥόδον νεκρῷ ἀνέθηκεν.

I assisted in Montgomery church at the funeral of a young man who had been drowned in bathing. The psalm was singing as I went in. The corpse was set in the middle of the church, and the female relations kneeled around it. The members of a club to which he belonged attended with knobbed staves in their hands. The whole solemnity was conducted with great decorum, and was a singularly fanciful introduction to a progress over North Wales.

In many parts of North Wales the graves are covered with a line of stones in form of a body filled up with pebbles. A tomb in the site of Waverley abbey is thus distinguished by stones and yellow tiles, and some graves in Melton Mowbray churchyard by pebbles in a border of bricks or stones, shaped like a stone coffin. See fig. 4. in next page.

In Flintshire it is customary to say the Lord's Prayer on bringing the corpse out of the house. Women mourners are hired by all families. Another custom which I heard of at Llanrwst is that as soon as a person dies in the house the minister or the clerk goes and reads the evening service to the family, and the bell is not tolled till next morning.

¹ reparacon.

² See Ray's Itin. p. 221.

³ Surrey, IV. 185.

⁴ I. El. 17.

"Funeral

"Funeral ceremonies in Orkney are much the same as in Scotland. The corpse is laid out after being stretcht on a board till it is coffined for burial. know not for what reason they lock up all the cats of the house, and cover all looking glasses as soon as any person dies; nor can they give any solid reason."

In Caernarvon churchyard are many modern altar tombs under an arch, in the inside of which, or on an upright stone, in the centre is the inscription, which is sometimes cut in raised letters, thus ranged: fig. 1.



In the chancel of Brecknock church hangs an epitaph on *parchment* framed for Mrs. Elizabeth Beiryngton, 1626, like that on Arderne at Latton, hereafter described, p. 217. and like one against the South pillar of the East end of the nave, before the late repair at Enfield, and not unfrequent in other churches, and even at the heads of the royal monuments at Westminster-abbey, recited by Camden and Weever, and their successors.

At Conway on the South side of the altar an altar with an arch as above, fig. 2. except the middle upright, and at the West end this inscription in Roman capitals.

ROBERT
WYNNEES
QUIER WAS
BURIED
THE 30
DAIE OF
NOVEMBER,
AN^O 1598.

On the floor a clumsy relief of a woman, her hands crost, on her skirt three sons and three daughters praying, and round the ledge just distinguishable:

Capit de stripe Gwillhelmorum.

We have seen the terms *portraiture* and *picture* applied to brass figures, and even alabafter statues, p. cxxxii.

! Lowe's MS. Hist. of Orkney.

On

On later monuments the portraits of the parties are actually painted. Thus at 'Fenbury, in Shropshire', and on the monument of John Stoake and wife at Trusham, c. Devon, 1697, their pictures are exhibited within gilded frames¹, and the portrait of one of the family of Hunt is fixed on the wall of an aisle in Chudleigh church². "Pictures of private persons fixed in churches are not commonly seen, and for what purpose this was placed here we cannot determine," says Mr. Polywhele, though he had mentioned the foregoing instances. There is another in Easton Gordano church, in Somersetshire³.

One might deduce the penons, helmet, sword, and other military trophies of honour wherewith our churches are decorated, from classical antiquity:

At pius Æneas urgenti mole sepulchrum

Imposuit, *suaque arma*⁴ viro remumque tubamque⁵.

Of Deiphobus,

Nomen et *arma* locum servant⁶.

Servius on Æn. XI. observes, "In antiquis disciplinis relatum esse quæ quique *ornamenta* consecutus esset ut ea mortuum eum condecorarent." The custom was adopted by Christians⁷.

But the honour of achievements is of later date than even heraldic bearings. These are of various sizes. I have one from Warwickshire on wood nine inches square, in a wooden frame. Others now hanging in Cheshunt church are about a foot or 18 inches square.

Roger governed the abbey of St. Alban's twenty years, six months: "detentus infirmitate paralitica decessit in craft animar" 1290. consequenti die St. Leonardi in sarcophago quem sibi preparaverat in choro ante mag' alt' habuit sepultura" from William de Luda bishop of Ely, the prior of Waltham, &c.

John III. governed ten years, six months, five weeks, two days, and died 14 cal. Nov. 1501.

John IV. governed six years and three quarters, and was thirteen years prior, He was buried by Richard prior of Hertford, "dei gratia abbas de Waltham in mausoleo marmoreo ante magnum altare ut apparet per scripturam quod sibi in vita sua preparaverat."

Abbot Michael built the greater part of the South part of the church and two parts of the cloister. He was born at Mentemore in the vale of Aylebury; he was *compater* to Edmund the king's son at Langley. He was buried by the abbot of Waltham on Easter Thursday.

1334, on St. Andrew's eve, the 8th of abbot Richard, violent thunder and lightning set the cloister on fire above the abbot's chamber between the chapel and the dormitory; it was soon extinguished; but the abbot never recovered it; he was buried on Monday following by John abbot of Waltham⁸.

In the North aisle of the church at Stoke Rochfort, Lincolnshire, is a singular monument, the figures of a man and woman, in a coffin-fashioned trough, covered below the elbows by a sheet; she has the long headdress and wimple; he is in a helmet, and bears a shield on his left arm.

¹ See page 79^a, 8.

² Polywhele, II. 117.

³ P. 121.

⁴ Collinson, III. 152. Gent. Mag. LXIII. 320.

⁵ i. e. says Servius (Æn. XI. 80.) "carved a representation of them;" for in l. 217, we hear the arms were burnt: and the arms of Deiphobus he explains *depicta*.

⁶ Æn. VI. 232.

⁷ Ib. 507.

⁸ Chiffet, Anal. Childerici, p. 198.

⁹ From MS. Harl.

In the bellfry at Pickering is a large tomb called the altar, and all of one piece.

Mr. Blomefield¹ describes a very fine altar slab at Kenninghall, laid level with the pavement, exactly as it stood. That at Griston², with its four corner crosses, lies in the nave; and the other two, that came off two low altars, are placed as stile to the churchyard there, crosses remaining on them.

The Nubian Geographer³ describes the seven sleepers as having at their feet the skeleton of a dog lying, his head reflex upon his tail⁴. As the story of these men is told in the legends, it is highly probable it was framed from some dried bodies found in a cave at Ephesus.

Richard Harewell, at Besford, 1576, has a hare at his feet⁵. At bishop Wykeham's feet sit three monks or choristers. At bishop Wainflete's father's head a bishop and doctor of divinity. At archbishop Chichele's two doctors of divinity; and at archbishop Moreton's side six such figures.

Mr. Thorpe⁶ considers the lion under the feet of John lord Cobham as part of his armorial bearings. So Mr. Wallis deems the lion at the feet of Ogle in Bothal church⁷. This may apply in his case, but in few others; even in the light of a rebus.

Mr. Wallis calls the dog at the feet of the figures at Bothal "the emblems of watchfulness;" but what has that to do with death? Before death it might signify the watchfulness of preparation; but nothing afterwards.

Joan queen of Navarre, 1304, in a picture of her given by Montfaucon, II. xxxvii. 3. holds a little dog in her left hand. So has Judith daughter of the emperor Conrad, on her tomb in Ryher. A little dog lies on the robe of Anne queen of Louis XII.⁸ just as on the robes of ladies on tombs, where they seem to compose and keep them down over their feet.

To the names of dogs add:

"Ran Coll our dogge, Talbot, and eke Garland⁹."

Froissart gave to his patron earl Gaston of Foix four greyhounds, called by the romantic names of *Triflam*, *Heñor*, *Brun*, and *Roblant*¹⁰.

¹ I. 148.

² Ib. 572.

³ Part IV. clim. v. p. 236. edit. Par. 1619.

⁴ "Sunt numero septem, dormiuntque super latera sua quæ sunt oblita aloë, myrrha, et Kafur; ad eorum pedes canis jacet convolutus capite ad caudam reflexo, nec videtur nisi calvaria tantum cum ossibus ejus plerisque, ita ut nil desideretur in illa." These words seem to imply that the bodies of the men were embalmed, but that of the dog reduced to a skeleton: so that Mr. Gregory (Posthuma, p. 118.) plainly misunderstood the passage when he referred it to the *sepulchres* of the Seven Sleepers, having at the feet of each of them a dog lying to the tomb.

⁵ Nash, I. 80.

⁶ Cust. Ross. p. 88.

⁷ Ib. 335.

⁸ Montf. IV. Pl. VIII.

⁹ Chaucer's Nun's Tale, I. 1492.

¹⁰ De la Curme's account of him in Warton's History of English Poetry, I. 338, n. Of dog chains and the *torrcles*, or rings that fastened them, see Ib. 363, n. Ib. 365. from an inventory of Henry VIII. Harl. MS.

How strange is the conceit that by the elevated hands of our monumental figures the party was *paying homage to God*¹, merely because the hands were in the posture of homage; but this was when the party was kneeling. It is the attitude in which the good king David I. of Scotland was found dead: "In-
"ventus utraque manus junctas simul super pectus suum versus celum erexisse".

The hands of the Egyptian and Kijou mummies are folded or crossed on the breast. See Vol. I. Intr. p. lix.

Sir Charles Frederick had a small sarcophagus, or cinerary urn, with a cumbent figure on its top.

In the South aisle at *Clebonger*, c. Hereford, is a flat stone inlaid with brass figures of a *Pembridge* and his lady a *Delabere*, and over them their arms quarterly. On an altar tomb of yellow stone the effigy of the same materials of a *Pembridge* in close armour, the body inclining to the right, the head to the left. In the right hand a short dagger sheathed, in the left a shield with the arms, and under it a sword reaching from the breast to the feet. An inscription was once on the ledge, now nearly obliterated. On a smaller and shorter altar tomb of the same materials is a lady, probably wife of the last; it has no inscription, but at the East end is the crest, a very thick plume of feathers bound about with a ring, as on *Pembridge's* tomb at Hereford².

Mr. Aubrey's observation on crowns cited vol. I. Introd. p. cxxx. is too confined. They are the *radiated* crowns to be met with on the coins of Antiochus IV. king of Syria, &c. and on the coins of the Greek cities, on those of Augustus and other emperors down to the very destruction of the various governments of the Roman empire. Constantine's head is ornamented with a fillet set with pearls, and another has precious stones. On another coin he is represented in a kind of skull-cap. Theodosius is represented in a direct helmet of pearls. Justin the younger with a radiated crown of pearls with a cross in the centre. Theodahatus wears a cap of pearls. *Focas*, as he is called on his coins, not *Phocas*, a plain low crown. The crown, wherever Harold is represented with one in the Bayeux tapestry, is a fillet, perhaps studded with pearls or precious stones: the sceptre in his hand there is ramified exactly like that borne by the Virgin Mary in a pane in the North window of the chancel of Compton church, Surrey. In her hand is the lily presented to her by the angel at the salutation, and copied by our kings, perhaps as an emblem of peace.

Charles VI. of France, in Filippo Tito's "Studio di Pittura," on a coin wears the same extraordinary head-dress as was worn by our Henry IV³.

² Observations on the Statutes, p. 207, n.

³ Fordun, V. 59. ex Ailredo Rieval.

⁴ Anecdotes of Painting, I. 32.

⁵ Mr. Duncumb.

The North front of the cathedral church of Chateaudun in France had over the principal door and on the buttresses the following statues :

1. On the right hand a man six feet three inches high holding a sceptre not surmounted with trefoils, but tufted like that of king Childebert over the portal of the abbey of St. Germain de Prez : a cap like that on the coins of Charlemagne, and of the figure over the porches of St. Denys : long hair, a mantle gathered upon the right shoulder. At the belt hangs a sword with a large hilt and an ornamented scabbard : under the feet a dragon.

The figure on the other side of the aisle, five feet nine inches high, holds a sceptre in his right hand of a more simple form, terminated by a flower with three long narrow leaves. In the left it holds a sword in a scabbard, the point downwards. The mantle fastened by a buckle, and raised up over the arms : the hair falls down on the shoulders behind, and there is no ornament on the head.

Over the plinth which divides this part of the facade are four other figures. The first on the right hand, seven feet high, wears a crown adorned with trefoils, in the right hand a drawn sword erect, and in the left the scabbard. It has long hair falling on the shoulders, no mantle, but a close coat with strait sleeves, and spurs with round rowels.

The first on the left, seven feet two inches high, bears a sceptre a little less tufted than the first mentioned, but more ornamented than the second. The top of the head is defaced ; but there appear no traces of a crown, diadem, or cap. The habit is not like a mantle, but very close, and the sleeves wide : it also has spurs.

The second figure on the right, six feet four inches high, represents a bishop with his crosier and pastoral staff in his left hand piercing the mouth of a devil under his feet : the right hand is broken off : the ornament of his head resembles a diadem rather than a mitre. It may have been the lower part of a mitre whose points are worn away by time.

The second figure on the left hand, seven feet and an half high, represents a man holding in both hands a poleax resting on his right shoulder. His cap is bordered with a fillet like a diadem ; the sleeves of his coat are somewhat wider than those of the last described but one, and he has spurs.

Of the five figures of the five buttresses four are various, which, in a drawing taken 1654, are represented whole, but three are at present headless. One, four feet nine inches high, holding in her left hand a blank scroll like those on the porch of St. Germain des Prez, in Montfaucon, inscribed with the names of the bearers. She has open shoes like those of Clovis at the above church ; sleeves straiter than the other women, and a girdle whose ends reach her knees. The second figure, five feet high, has a gown with very

wide sleeves, and her hair in tresses. The third has also wide sleeves and very long tresses, and a sceptre terminating in a flower with long strait leaves. The fourth, four feet seven inches high, represents a young woman whose tresses reach to her knees, her sleeves are wide, and her head well preserved. The fifth figure, seven feet high, is a man bearing a drawn sword erect in his right hand, and in his left a sceptre like that of the fourth figure over the porch: the top of his head broken off. He has no mantle; but a belt, to which hangs the scabbard of his sword.

In an angle of the fourth butress is a figure sitting, four feet eight inches, and at one of its feet a hand extended. Another figure, five feet one inch, stands before it, and seems listening to it. It is easy to see this groupe represents Mary Magdalen (though only her hand remains) wiping the feet of Jesus, who is recommending her conduct to the notice of St. Peter.

The first eleven figures were once painted and gilt, and their various characters suit the end of the first or beginning of the second race. They have no ornament peculiar to a late period, neither shields, coats of arms, nor purse, nor birds on their fists, nor coats of mail or helmets. The termination of the sceptres are not exactly defined fleurs de lys. Almost all of them have long hair: the women have tresses reaching almost to their knees. Their sleeves are wide and pendant. All these characteristics are found on the monuments of the six first ages of the monarchy. The tradition of Chateaudun ascribes the crowned figures to *Charlemagne*; the next to *Louis le debonnaire*; the next to archbishop *Turpin*; and the next with the poleax to *Orlando furioso*, because to this last is supposed to belong the horn, which is really carved below the plinth, and at the right side of the head of the figure below. In the uncertainty and want of guides M. Lancelot, in his *Memoire* on these three figures, inclines to believe that the figure on the right hand of the arch represents Charlemagne, his cap resembling that on his coin, and that on the left Louis le Debonnaire, these being the only figures habited in the mantle: and the horn over the latter may denote his passion for hunting, according to the character of the times. Charles the Bald had a predilection for Chateaudun; its name occurs on his coins; and he may have been the finisher of this facade begun under Charlemagne, and have placed these figures there.

This is but a small specimen of the figures illustrative of ancient habits that once adorned France. What remain in our own country have fortunately been preserved by Mr. Carter's good engravings. Such are the statues on the front of Croyland and Wells churches; the bas reliefs on the Confessor's chapel at Westminster; the paintings on the tomb of Edmund Crouchback, and on the South side of the choir of St. George's chapel at Windsor; the murder of Becket at Canterbury; the statues on the old porch of Guildhall, and over the South gate at Lincoln; the two on wooden panels in Barnack church; the

* Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, V. 285—302. 12mo.

figures on the tomb of Edward III. in Westminster abbey, and on the capitals of the four pillars that support the lantern at Ely built by bishop Howham in the middle of the 12th century; the marriage groupe in glass at Oxford; the statues of kings on the screen of York and Canterbury, and on the porch of Exeter cathedral; the portraits of John of Gaunt and Richard II. and the fine cavalier and his two ladies in the Lutterel Pfalter.

The Norman mode of conferring knighthood seems to have been by putting on a pointed helmet. So in the Bayeux Tapestry William *Arma dedit Haroldo*. There is one round helmet in this tapestry just before the battle of Hastings. Mr. Thorpe¹ seems to think the pointed were older than the round.

Matthew Paris² calls the vizor *ocularium*, for the same reason—from *oculus* as from *viser*. Sir William Marney, 1402, at Layer Marney³; John duke of Somerset, 1444, at Wimbourn⁴, has *Jefus, merci*, on the front of his helmet. A Vernon, at Bakewell⁵, and two Rosses at Bottesford⁶, have *Jefus Nazareus*. An alabaster knight in Oringbury church, Northamptonshire, has, round his helmet, in Gothic capitals, *Miserere mei Deus, Ihesu, Maria, Deus secundum . . .*⁷.

For the garnishing of a falet, 11 Henry VII. was paid 40s⁸.

The Brigandine was a coat of mail, commonly expressed by *pairs*: "payr of Bregandyryns with blew fellewet (velvet) and gylt naile⁹."

Perhaps the *brugne*, in note⁹, p. cxi. of Introd. Vol. I. may be a brigandine.

"The Hawberk was a piece of defensive armour, made of little chains or mails of iron, whence it had the name of *coat of mail*. It had at first the shape of the frock of our waggoners¹⁰, was fastened tight round the body with a belt, and reached no lower than the knees. This was sufficient in single combats, where it was not lawful to strike any where but *between the four limbs*¹¹. They soon added gloves and stockings of the same materials. There was also a hood¹², which was drawn over the head to cover it; so that a knight dressed in a hawberk had no part of his whole body seen but his face. To prevent the impressions which this iron lattice work might leave on the skin, they took care to line it within with quilting¹³. Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, some marks were made; these were called *Camois*, and were removed by bathing.

"The hawberk was sword-proof. Thick as they were, there were few persons able to cut them through; and this is one of the feats of heroes in romance. The shock of a lance was more to be feared; it might give a wound either by piercing the mail, or by driving them into the body. Against this was provided a sort of thick waistcoat strongly stuffed, and called *Gambeson*, *Gambison*, *Gaubeson*; and over and above this, commonly with a plate of iron or steel, called *plate*, next to the skin.

¹ Cust. Ross. p. 88.

² P. 297.

³ Vol. II. Pl. xx.

⁴ Ib. Pl. xlv. xlvii.

⁵ Ib. Pl. xcvi.

⁶ Nichols's Leicestershire, I. Pl. xxii. p. 90.

⁷ Bridges, II. 120. Antiquaries Museum, N° XII.

⁸ Exchequer Accompts.

⁹ Paston Letters, I. 860.

¹⁰ *farrau de nos roulers.*

¹¹ *entre les quatre membres.*

¹² *chaperon ou capuchon.*

¹³ *de se matclaffer en dessous.*

"The advantage of this armour, which continued in use two centuries, and of which the curious may see specimens in the king's armoury, was such, that the knights reserved it to themselves exclusively, and forbade the use of it to esquires, as if they reserved to themselves alone the privilege of being invulnerable. However, notwithstanding its goodness, it was so inconvenient from the heat of the ornaments which it required, that about the end of the 13th century it began to be left off, for one of complete iron, composed of several pieces fitted to the different parts of the body. This, under Philip le Hardi, was almost generally in use. But, besides the difficulty of making all these pieces play well together to follow the motions of the wearer, it was soon found to have another inconvenience, which was the enormous weight it acquired, as in proportion to the extent of the use of fire-arms it was obliged to be made stronger. This weight became so great at last that La Noue² calls it an anvil, and says, that at thirty-five years old a young man is crippled in the shoulders. This was at length laid aside, as well as the other; and notwithstanding the ordonnance of Louis XIII. which required every gentleman, under pain of being degraded, and every soldier, under pain of corporal punishment, to wear defensive armour, it was never resumed; and unfortunately for courage nothing else has been substituted in its place.

"On a march the hauberk was rolled up and carried in a bundle.

"Baronies, in some customaries, are called *Fiefs du Haubert*, because held by the service of wearing or furnishing a hauberk, helmet, shield, and complete armour of a knight¹."

Edward I. allowed Adam Campston £. 5. a haketon, and gambeson⁴.

In the Registrum Sacristæ of St. Edmundsbury is enumerated the convent's claim to the complete armour of a knight, *viz.* cum Aketon, Gambison, lorica, galea, bacinetto, cum aventayle et *pyssan*, cirothecis de plates five baleyn, scuto, lancea, quiffers, pulleyinis, jammers, five caligis de mayle, gladio, fella et freno, &c.⁵

One harness complete of *touche of millayne*, is mentioned in the Paston letters, 1450; on which the editor observes, "Milan in Italy was famous for its works in iron and steel⁶."

For the Gonfannon see the portrait of Thomas Despenfer, earl of Gloucester, and three others at Tewksbury⁷, and that of John Howard of Wiggenhal, Norfolk, in the window of East Winch church⁸.

In the fine Pfalter made by order of Geoffrey Lutterel, son, as I take it, of the last baron of that family, in the possession of Mr. Weld of Lulworth castle, he is represented on horseback armed at all points, his gonfannons on his shoulders, that on the right charged with his arms, a bend between six martlets,

¹ garnitures.

⁴ Dife. Polit. et Milit.

² Le Grand, Fabliaux, I. p. 17—19.

⁶ Wardrobe Account, p. 181.

³ Antis, Register of the Order of the Garter, p. 176, n.

⁵ L. p. 60.

⁷ Carter, N° 22.

⁸ Weever, p. 847.

that on his left shews the inside lined with red ¹. In the martyrdom of Becket, represented with historic precision, at the bottom of one of the pages, Fitzurse has his gonfanons and shield charged with his coat, G. three muzzled bears' heads A. and with his right hand aims a blow at Becket's head, which is received on the arm of his cross bearer, while, with his dagger in his left, he stirs the brains. An English knight, tilting with another knight, a Saracen by the Blackmoor's head on his shield, has O. three lions passant guardant on his shield and gonfanon.

Mr. Grose says, plate armour was completely introduced both here and in France about the end of the 14th century.

Chaucer ² describing a yeoman says :

"Upon his arms he bare a gay *bracer*;" i. e. armpiece, from *bras*.

The greaves are called *legbarneye* in the Paston letters ³.

A pryck spur was found at Mountforrel ⁴.

See a rich spur with a motto found in Towton field. *Archæologia*, X. Pl. XXI. p. 429.

To the children at Windsor for the king's spurs 4s. 11 Henry VII ⁵.

Archibald Douglas dismounted and held before his face a long sword whose blade was *two ells long*, and another man could scarce lift it from the ground; but it cost him nothing to manage it, and with it he dealt about such heavy blows that he bore down all before him ⁶.

On the hilt of the sword of John duke of Somerset, at Wimborn, 1444, and on that of John Delapole, at Wingfield, 1491, is inscribed *ih̄s*.

Adam Lawfon de Cardonnel, esq. well known for his beautiful views of monastic and other ruins in North Britain, and for his history of the Scottish coinage, communicated to me the drawing engraved Pl. IX. fig. 1. of a sword which he lately discovered at Durham. How it came into the hands of the persons from whom he got it he knows not, but believes it was some time ago shewn to strangers among some other things in the cathedral there. He heard that a sword of this description was kept for a considerable time in Lumley castle, where Neville resided after the famous battle in 1346, and it was said to have been left there by him. The figure of the dog is punched on both sides of the blade, and appears to be the maker's mark. The letters seem to have been cut with a sharp instrument. The gripe is wood, but has been covered; towards the pomel and next the guard it is ornamented with brass wire. The guard and pommel are of iron, and have the appearance of having been once covered with brown leather. There were several notches on the edge, as if done by another sword. The size of the letters and dog is the same as in the drawing.

¹ Carter. N^o 23.

² Prologue, l. 111.

³ Gent. Mag. LVII. 790. Nichols's Leicestershire, under Mountforrel.

⁴ L. p. 60.

⁵ Exchequer Accompts.

⁶ Froissart, II. 10. Lord Hailes, Remarks on Hist. of Scotland, p. 126.

A sword said to be John of Gaunt's, Pl. IX. fig. 2. has a strait cross bar, and on the broad part of the blade is some ornamental work. Another sword, ascribed to the same nobleman, formerly in Thomas Martin's collection, has a square frame for a guard, fig. 3.

The sword of Hugh Lupus earl of Chester, engraved by Dr. Gower, for his History of Cheshire, has the hilt and pommel much ornamented, and on the blade this inscription, *HUGO LOMEX*. See Pl. IX. fig. 7.

The two-handed sword of Strongbow, in the possession of the earl of Ely, at Loftus hall, c. Wexford, is mounted in steel: the handle covered with black varnished leather somewhat wormeaten, the blade ten inches and an half wide. Tradition informs us that Strongbow at his landing ordered his men to go forward and not to look behind them on pain of death, that his son was guilty of looking behind, whereupon with this sword he cut him transversely in two, as an example to the rest. How it came into lord Ely's possession is not known. See Pl. IX. fig. 4.

Fig. 5. in the same plate, is the sword of John Delapole, at Wingfield, 1491.

Fig. 6. is a sword in the possession of Sir Thomas Delves of Doddington, bart. supposed to have belonged to prince Edward. It has much the appearance of an Eastern sword, perhaps a present to him by some Sultan during the crusade.

Paid for a *gerpe* (gripe) for the king's (Henry VII.) dagger, 11s. 6d.¹

The battle-ax and round shield are well expressed on a tomb in the South aisle of Malvern church: the figure is in the oldest mail armour, over which is a long surcot².

The beard was not a Norman appendage, for Hugh de Montfort is distinguished by the appellation of *cum barba*, which his descendants retained for several generations³.

A barber that did shave the king [Henry VII.] had 4s.

16 Henry VII. Maffly, for shaving the king, from March 25 to June 25, was paid 52s.⁴

Collars in pictures have been mistaken for badges of knighthood. They were officially worn by the knights bannerets and even lords in the king's service; but were not the insignia of their several ranks.

Collars were appendages to every officer of the rank of Esquire in the royal household; and thus the serjeants of every denomination down from the serjeants at arms to the serjeant of the scullery wore collars, expressive of their rank, and are all at this day esquires by virtue of their posts. The injunction contained in the ordinances of Edward IV. obliging every officer in the

¹ Exchequer Accompts.

² Collinson, I. 146. III. 351.

³ Engraved in Carter's Antient Sculpture, II. p. 13.

⁴ Exchequer Accompts.

king's service of or above the rank of esquire to wear their collars daily, is to be construed as a reprimand to those who neglected to do it, and moreover was accompanied with a penalty for contumacy. Mr. Selden is clearly of opinion, though he seems not to have seen this order, that esquires in the king's household were created by the imposition of a collar by the sovereign, and cites the old ballad of the Tanner of Tamworth, wherein Edward IV. puts a collar on the tanner, saying,

"Lo, here I make thee the best esquire

"That is in the North Country."

Spelman is of the same opinion, adding, that the collar was used by inferior branches of the blood royal, in their establishments, as appears from a computation of the Great Wardrobe of Henry of Lancaster earl of Derby, 20 Ric. II. from which it seems that the duke wore a collar himself, and gave collars to his esquires; not collars of the garter, for they were not added to the insignia of the order till the reign of Henry VII.

The official collars of the serjeants at arms, and of the kings and heralds, seem to have been discontinued for some time previous to the Restoration; after which Mr. Ashmole says they were renewed to the parties by Charles II. These are all that remains of the king's collar, except those worn by the Chief Justices and Chief Barons. The Lord Mayor of London's was the gift of Sir John Allen, knight and alderman, in the reign of Henry VIII. when it was enacted that no person, unless he be a knight, should wear any collar of gold named a collar of SS. The lord mayors of that time were mostly knights and serjeants. Allen was a privy counsellor. These collars were not tied with ribbons on the shoulders, as at present, but hung from the nape of the neck down the breast. Those of the serjeants at arms had formerly a medal with all the king's coats blazoned on it.

To these collars succeeded gold chains, so much worn by gentlemen, both in public and private characters, as presents from princes to ambassadors or otherwise; and the custom was grown to such a height among such as affected to be considerable gentlemen in the reign of Henry VIII. that a sumptuary law of his twenty-fourth year limits them to such as could afford to dispend £. 200. a year. They appear however in portraits of the 16th and 17th century in most families of merchants. They were afterwards worn by men in every public line, particularly civil magistrates, and it is thought formerly by all the aldermen of London, though now appropriated to the lord mayor, sheriffs, and such aldermen as have passed the chair. The mayor of York has only a chain worn differently from that of the lord mayor of London, whose chain is triple, each row of links longer than the other, so as to fall on the breast in three distinct ovals; whereas the latter is formed of an assemblage of rows of links hanging from the neck down the breast without any division, and returning is suspended by a hook placed in one of the upper button holes of his coat. The lady mayors of London likewise wears a chain of small links made an ornament to the robes of her gown, as does the lady mayors

of York. Till within a very few years the latter preserved, or usurped, the title of lady for life; and in the minster are monuments of aldermen who have passed the chair whose wives retain the name of lady. Chains are mentioned about women's necks in the time of Edward III.

The lady on the Salkeld monument at Wetherall² has a collar of SS. round her neck like her husband's.

On the Ratcliffe tomb at Crosthwaite³ both the effigies are brass, in the dress of the times, and both the knight and lady have the crosses of Malta or Jerusalem appendant to chains about their necks, the effigy of a knight of which order in his proper habit remains in one of the windows.

In Wantage church is a tomb for Sir Fulke Fitz Warin, one of the first knights of the garter, his effigies crosslegged with the garter buckled round his left leg. His lady by him; but no inscription.

Similar figures of priests to that in Lewis's Thanet may be seen in Henry Sergeant, in St. John's church, Stamford, 1497⁴ John Scofflyd, in Brightwell church, Oxfordshire, 1507. See also John Gower, at Orpington, and John Sundrefsh at Wrotham⁵.

The habit of a priest, supposed to have been that of Cardinal Pole, in the MS Library at Lambeth, consists of a red and white fatten cope; a like habit with a cross; a scarf; a white silk cord with tassels; two bands, and a square piece of linen laced: a gold cross three inches long; a silver crucifix adorned with three emeralds and a long string of agate beads⁶.

Archbishop Stigand holds out the maniple in his left hand at the coronation of Harold in the Bayeux tapestry. Abbot Parker at Gloucester has a plain staff.

The chasuble of St. Urfin first bishop of Bourges is round at bottom⁷. So is that of St. Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, preserved on his shrine in the cathedral of Auxerre⁸.

In Seafgain churchyard, in the isle of Arran, is a figure called *Mael Joos*, or the *servant of Jesus*, in the habit of a priest, with a chalice in his hand and a crozier by him⁹.

The figure in Dowdswell church in a long robe seamless with roses and fleurs-de-lis Mr. Bigland, from tradition, gives to Robert abbot of Hayles, from 1302 to 1402, who died 1420.

Richard Etclesfey, who died rector of Peckham East, 1426, has an outer garment like the surplice now worn, with a short capuchin cloak with the cowl hanging behind¹⁰.

² Burn, II. 18.

³ Ib. II. 336.

⁴ Peck's Annals.

⁵ Thorpe, Customale Roff. Pl. XXVI. fig. 2. p. 258.

⁶ Ducarel, MS.

⁷ Voy. lit de deux Bened. I. 31.

⁸ Ib. 57.

⁹ Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 184. Mr. Pennant calls this the figure of a *saint*; whereas it is only that of a priest.

¹⁰ Thorpe, Cust. Roff. Pl. X. fig. 3. p. 139.

The figure of Henry Sampson rector of Tredington, in Worcestershire; which I have seen since the account of it was printed, Vol. I. p. 276, is a beautiful specimen of its kind. He is represented kneeling, his hands elevated, the tonsure shewn on his head by his hood falling behind, his mantle or cope fringed. In the same chancel is the figure of another rector, which Mr. Habington described as in a *cope* and *surplice*, praying, surrounded with the inscription, as before given, p. 87, but now gone, in old letter, but the date not to be made out; no more of the inscription remained, July 14, 1792, than the words incorrectly given by Mr. Bowen: *cu' X'po quia incido demit isto* (3 griffins heads) *Gaudia semp' habens hoc roget ista legens* (3 griffins heads) N. one of 3 griffins heads, *henrici quinti*. The East and West end gone. Below, two shields with griffins heads erect and a chevron, and between them on a very neat brass trefoil *ad laude' dei*. On the facing of his robe in rounds the initials of his name, *R. G.* and flowered lozenges alternately, and on his breast a cross within a lozenge in a square.

Perhaps as extraordinary an instance of adherence to Popish customs are the saints cut on the robe of Bishop Heton at Ely, who died 1609. On the left face are St. Bartholomew, St. Matthias, St. Andrew, St. Peter, St. John the Evangelist; on the right two others; and the robe tapering off close to the wall had not room for more. The *foreshortened* figure on this monument is paralleled by that of Plowden, 1584, in the Temple church.

A tipett of Somerset for my lord of York cost 4s. 4d. 13 Henry VII.¹

Clement Paston had six gowns at Cambridge: a short gown, a short *murdevellers* gown, a short blue gown that was raised (lengthened) and made of a side gown, *a side russet* gown, furred with beaver, *a side murry gown*².

De penulis & pelluris Baccall'.

Anno D'ni 1414, 24 die Maii, nos Stephanus Le Scrope, in legibus licentiatius, archidiaconus Richmondi, cancellarius Universitatis Cantuariensis cunctisque unanimis magistrorum Regentium et non Regentium in eadem in propria congregatione nostra ad hoc specialiter celebrata volentes antiquas et laudabiles consuetudines in dicta universitate hactenus approbatas, eas præsertim quæ gradus honestatem concernunt, de cetero inviolabiliter observari, statuimus et ordinavimus, sub poena suspensionis, inhabilitationis, et excommunicationis, quas transgressor hujus statuti incurrat ipso facto, quod nullus baccalaureus cujuscunque fuerit facultatis in scholis processione, aut aliis actibus quibuscunque, uti præsumat penula aliqua vel pellura aut duplicatione de serico, sindone, aut veste altera, et consimilibus precii seu valoris in tabardo, caputio, aut in alio habitu quocunque scolastico, sed tantum furruris buggeis³ aut agnibus quibus in suis caputibus solummodo uti debent, exceptis magistris et gremialibus filiis dominorum, necnon aliis ad beneficia ecclesiastica vel aliunde promotis, quorum redditus seu proventus ad valorem annuatim 30 marcarum,

¹ Exchequer Accounts.

² Paston Letters, I. 145.

³ These words *furruræ buggeæ* are a vindication of Milton from the charge of tautology brought against him by Mr. Warton, in his edition of his poems, p. 219, for saying, Budge doctors of the Stoic fur.

si hujus beneficia canonicatus seu præbenda fuerint; fin autem ad valorem annuum 40 marcar' ad firmam de claro deductis omnibus se extendant, ac temporali-
bus personis quibus in hac parte major p' regentum et non regentum per
eorum consensu ex p' duxerit deferend'. Inhibemus et sub poenis superscriptis
ne quis Baccalaur' in aliqua facultate in lectura seu actu aliquo scolastico utatur
birreto, pileo, aut tena, seu aliquo consimili capitis ornamento. Et ad præmis-
sorum observationem firmiorem volumus q'd quilibet ad gradum Baccalauriatûs
in aliqua facult' de cetero admittend' in admissione sua hujusmodi ad omnia supra
scripta specialiter sit juratus." Proctor's Book, Part II.

Dress of the Clergy. 37 Edward III. The clergy which have a degree in
the church, cathedrals, collegiate, or in schools, and the king's clerks who
have such an estate that requires furre, do use according to the constitution of
the same, and all other clerks which have above two hundred merks rent per
annum use and do as knights of the same rent, and others under that rent as
squires of one hundred pounds rent.

Bishop Andrews's articles, 1610, inquire, Art. 28, Whether doth your minis-
ter in his journey wear a cloak with sleeves, called a priest's cloak, without
gards, with long buttons or cuts?

Art. 29. Whether he wears a wrought night-cap abroad, or doth he wear any
cut or pinkt apparel? doth he in public go in his doublet and hose without
a coat or cassock, and doth he wear any light-coloured stockings?

Archbishop Courtney, 1385, dispensed with his canons from wearing high
black leather boots¹, whose dirt and grease² daubed their white habits, to the
great offence of the beholders; and permitted them to wear shoes³ of black or
brown cloth⁴ not exceeding 20d. a yard; but they were not to go out of the
monastery in them, but in their boots⁵.

The acknowledgement made to Ralph de Rayner by the monks of Belvoir,
for his grant of lands was a monk's pellice⁶, and certain boots⁷, value 6d.
annually⁸.

The monks of Vieuxpont near Auxerre wore wooden shoes within their
house⁹.

By drawings in a sacramentary of St. Gregory at Autun it appears that
the dalmatic of the deacon had sleeves, reached to the feet, and had fringes or
orfrois, whereas the tunic of the subdeacon reached only to the middle, and had
neither fringes nor *orfrois*, and the sleeves were tighter than those of the deacon's
dalmatic¹⁰.

Among the tombs of abbots in the church of St. Martin at Tours John
Petit, the last regular, is represented as naked, and the mitre off his head¹¹.

On a tomb at Cîteaux, 1301, was represented a religious, with the ancient
habit of the Cistercian order, the cowl and hood all of one piece. All the ab-

¹ An answer to examination pretending to maintain the apparel described against the declaration of
the London Ministers, 1566, 12mo. LL. 29. 9. 7.

² *botis alius de corio nigro.*

³ *immunditia et pinguedo.*

⁴ *caliga.*

⁵ *niger panniculus.*

⁶ Wilkins, Concil. III. 193.

⁷ *pellicium.*

⁸ *botis.*

⁹ Nichols's Leicestershire, Vol. II. Appendix, p. 7.

¹⁰ Voy. lit. de deux Bened. I. 59.

¹¹ Ib. 152.

¹² Ib. 158.

boots in the chapter-house to 1387 have the same. The first who wears the *chaperon* separate is in 1419, which shews that the order did not change their habit till within about three hundred years¹.

Abbot Richard gave to his monastery at Croyland a red cope adorned with gold and jewels, called *ibi ubi*. John Freston the sacrist had a handsome garment wrought there, called *Jeffe*, and gave a rich cope of Venetian blue embroidered with golden eagles, commonly called *Verbum Caro*². These several inscriptions were probably embroidered on the vestments, and on the second perhaps the root or tree of Jeffe. See an inscription commemorating the donor of a cope at Salisbury, in the Antiquaries Museum, N^o XII.

Abbot Warrin, in the time of Henry II. changed the strap laced shoes (*sotulares corrigiatis*) of the monks of St. Alban's into boots of leather, commonly called *Bazan*, which Mr. Newcome, p. 86. translates *Basilis*, or tanned calf-skin, that they might move more quickly to the service, and not entangle themselves with one another in the procession, and that they might appear with clean hands, which perhaps would be more dirtied by lacing their shoes than by drawing on their boots, which however retained the former roundness in front, or at the toe, and width of the shoes, as an expression of their ancient humility. But this was altered by the next abbot to *dhuta* or *cordovan*, which was made in favour of lacing. He also ordered, that instead of sleeves they should have openings in their garments to thrust their arms out³. He directed that no servants should wait in the refectory without frocks⁴, and no servitor monk wait at dinner or be let blood without his frock; and finding that all the novices were without hoods⁵ before profession, used only frocks with capuces⁶, sown on, and never wore hoods till they were fully profest, he directed that the novice should assume the full monkish habit as soon as he received the tonsure. He gave his church a rich purple chesible⁷, embroidered with birds looking behind them, and richly set with pearls⁸.

Mr. Walker¹⁰ says, Felim O'Connor king of Connaught, who built and endowed the Dominican abbey at Roscommon 1253, and dying 1265 was buried in it, is represented on his tomb on the North side of the altar as drawn 1787 by William Ousley, Esq. in a *monastic* habit, with an *otter* at his feet." Both this and Mr. O'Connor's drawing, which I have seen in the valuable collection of the Hon. W. B. Cunningham, exhibit him in the same robe as the old kings of France appear in; his hair curled, and no tonsure, a sceptre in his right hand, and the beast at his feet too much damaged to be exactly ascertained, but most probably a *lion*. The eight armed men in niches on the front of the tomb are also differently represented in the drawing and engraving, for in the former the man with the battle ax makes the fifth, but in the latter

¹ Voy. lit. des deux Bened. I. 227.

² Hist. Croyl. Contin. p. 501—512. Hist. of Croyland, Bibl. Top. Brit. N^o XI. p. 64, 65.

³ *subbrachiales habuerent aperturas.*

⁴ *monachus servitor.*

⁵ *monachus servitor.*

⁶ *monachus servitor.*

⁷ *monachus servitor.*

⁸ *monachus servitor.*

⁹ *monachus servitor.*

¹⁰ *monachus servitor.*

¹ *caputia.* ² *caputia.* ³ *caputia.* ⁴ *caputia.* ⁵ *caputia.* ⁶ *caputia.* ⁷ *caputia.* ⁸ *caputia.* ⁹ *caputia.* ¹⁰ *caputia.*

the fourth. The bearings of the half angels are distinct in the first drawing, being the harp and a cross, in the upper quarters of which are crosses,

Under an arch in the wall of the North aisle at Ashby de la Zouch is a figure of a man in a close cap and gown with sleeves out of flits; round his neck a collar and an inner one of SS. and in his left hand a staff: a dog at his feet looking up: under his head a double cushion¹. There is no tradition to determine whom this figure represents; but I incline to think it was some person of authority, perhaps a keeper of the castle or a mayor of the town.

One would think the censuring angels were borrowed from the winged victories with trophies in the splendid arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine at Rome, and other monuments of classical antiquity. Perhaps one of the oldest instances among us is a bishop in the cathedral of Ferns, on the South side of the nave; supposed St. Edan, founder of the see, who died A. D. 632. See Pl. XI. fig. 1. It seems contemporary with the abbots of Peterborough or bishops of Old Sarum.

Two angels censuring the Deity on each side in the pediment of the fine West door at Elgin are by Mr. Gordiner mistaken for presenting a *cornucopia*; perhaps expressing the *bounty of Providence rendered for the support of the temple*. Such are the quaintly expressed vagaries of men whose attention has been more directed to metaphysical enquiries than historical facts; and to the same source must we ascribe all that this gentleman suggests on the ornamented stones so frequent in Scotland, deducing them from Egyptian rites; and his unaccountable reveries about the Pluscardin paintings and the figures carved at the back of the monument of Alexander Ogilvie master of Finlater at Cullen, 1554.

I take the custom of placing angels at the head to be derived from the angel that sat at the head of our Saviour's body in the sepulchre, clothed in a long white garment, Mark xvi. 5. John xix. 12. The latter evangelist mentions another at the feet also, as on the monument of William Wykham and Henry VII.

A hand like that on French monuments points from heaven to St. Peter's church, Westminster, on the Bayeux tapestry, and is common in the mosaics of the Italian churches.

Sables were in great use at Henry VII's court. Paid to Harman Ring for seven tymbers of sables, after £. 22. 10s. the tymber £. 53. 6s. 8d. to John Flee for a tymber of sables £. 30. A tymber was forty sheets².

Livery gowns were also worn in noblemen's families by the young gentlemen who were brought up in these families³.

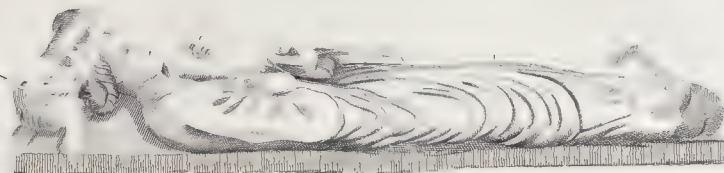
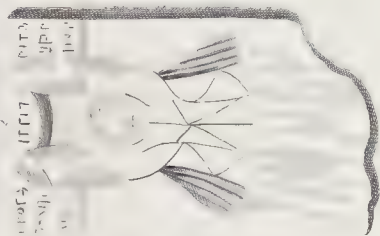
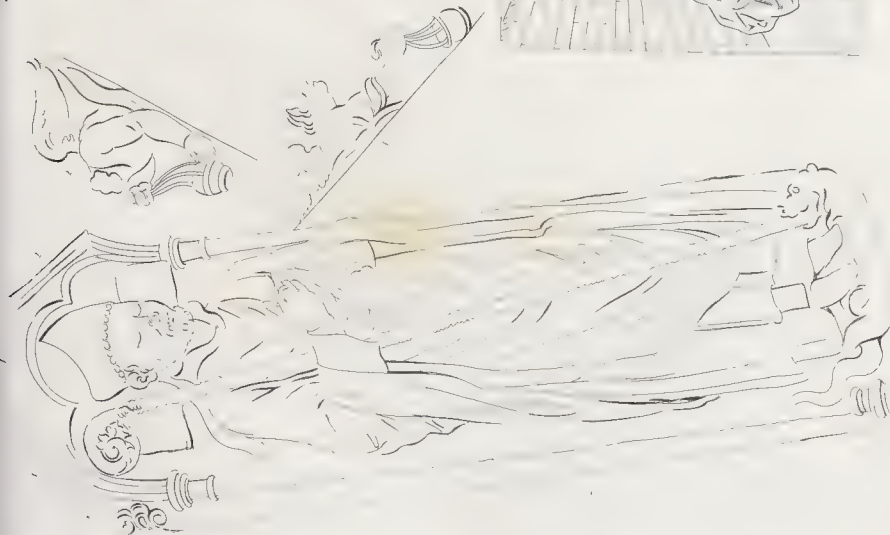
The cloth bought for the soldiers and archers in Stirling castle, in the reign of Edward I. was *pannus rad*, rayed cloth⁴. There follows a charge *pro tonsura ditor pannor*, which are afterwards called *radiata*, in opposition to others *de colore*. Q. cloth with the *nap on*, opposed to cloth *died in grain*.

¹ This figure is engraved, under Ashby de la Zouch, in Mr. Nichols's *Leicestershire*.

² Exchequer Accounts.

³ See *Palton Letters*, I. 268.

⁴ *Wardrobe Account*, p. 143.



1. Monument in the Temple of Edfu

Kendal green and *Coyntrey (Coventry) blue* are celebrated in the reign of Elizabeth¹. The shepherd's breech (*breeches*) were of the latter.

"The shepheard ware a sheepe gray cloke,

"Which was of the finest loke

"That could be cut with sheere."

To a man for a present of *Pescodds* Henry VII. a. r. 11. paid 3*s.* 4*d.*²
Q. Cloth embroidered with them.

In the accounts of Henry VII's household, a. r. 12. is a charge of £.19. 6*s.* 4*d.* for 20 jacquetts of the best sorte, and £.18. for browderus of the same jacquetts.

Elles of Verdour 175 at 4*s.* 4*d.* the elle £. 29. 3*s.* 4*d.*

Elles of Counterpoynts 101 at 5*s.* the elle. £. 113. 16*s.* 6*d.*³

Mr. Thorpe⁴ gives instances of a forester's horn near the head of the brass figure of Sir William de Bryene, in Seale church, Kent, and under a shield of the Atthalls who occupied Hall place in Bexley till 41 Edward III. and had park and warren.

The horn on Bryene's bras is his crest, and as such placed on his helmet.

A horn he bare, the baudrik was of grene;

A forster was he foothly, as I gefs'd⁵.

Thomas Braten, in Northfleet, and Paul Iden, in Penshurst church, have the purse or scrip hanging to the girdle on the right side⁶.

Covetise in Pier's Plowman had

"A hode on his head and a lousy hatte above⁷."

Spelman confines the *abcocket*, or *abacock*, to kings. Mr. Pennant gives John of Gaunt, on his tomb in Old St. Paul's, an *abacock*, or cap of state.

For the king's hattebande of filke, 10 Henry VII. 4*s.*

Chaucer's Reve was rewarded by his master with "thanks, a cote, and a hood⁸."

The shepherd in Dowfabell had,

"His cocker's of cordvin⁹."

A pair of flippers, in 1467, cost 8*d.*¹⁰.

A statute of Edward IV. restrained the long pointed shoes from passing two inches, on pain of curbing by the clergy and forfeiting 20*s.* one noble to the king, one to the cordwainers of London, and one to the chamber of London¹¹.

Charles V. of France issued a severe edict against the long pointed shoes called *Poulaines*, which were sometimes only turned up, and sometimes wreathed or twisted, and are by some supposed the *Pigaces* of Ordericus Vitalis, formed like

¹ Drayton's Dowfabell, in Percy's Reliques, I. 310. Q. Elizabeth's Progress to Kenelworth.

² Exchequer Accounts.

³ Custumale Ross. p. 78.

⁴ Warton, I. 276.

⁵ Percy, I. 310.

⁶ Stevens's note on Hamlet.

⁷ Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Prolog. 116, 117.

⁸ Prolog. I. 614.

⁹ Paston Letters, I. 296.

¹⁰ Thorpe, p. 77.

scorpion's tails, *i. e.* I suppose like the mail shoes, of plates or joints. They projected six inches or more beyond the toe, and were much affected by the clergy; but, as they did not suit long garments, the habits of that reign were the shortest ever seen in France. They cost sixty or eighty francs, which used to be the rent of a valiant squire. In the beginning of the 14th century a good knight's dress cost but forty Paris sols, and now, says Maïfieres, addressing himself to the young king, Charles VI. a common servant will spend in shoes only forty or sixty francs¹.

At the funeral of lady Joan duchess of Bretagne, half sister to Richard II. in St. Paul's cathedral, 27 Nov. 8 Rich. II. 1384. a payment was issued, "ad facturam. gown. and C. capuc. de pann. nigr. pro C. hominibus portantibus et tenentibus torchios in vigilia et die exequiarum in ecclesia S. Pauli, London. die Dominico 27 Nov. anno 8vo pro ducissa Britanniae foreore ipsius domini regis."

Among the indignities offered to Thomas earl of Lancaster, before his execution, was the putting on his head "a broken or pilled hatte or hooode"². They took off his armour, and put on him a ray (*array*) cote or gown, one of his mens' liveries³.

Chaucer represents his wife of Bath as riding with a pair of spurs⁴:

"And on her feete a paire of spurres sharpe."

Of *writing* on garments see Ciampini Vet. Mon. c. 13. tom. I. p. 9, &c. Sarti de caful. diptic. 3. 3. § 6. Capece bishop of Trani de vetust. altar. pall. in opusc. I. p. 133.

The headdress pointed at the top is most predominant in the 15th century. It appears on a lady at Euston, Suffolk. Another in St. Mary Magdalen's church at Oxford has with it the long mitten sleeves, but her gown shortened to her knees and her girdle dropped so low that the rosary and purse fall to her knees.

Pl. XI. fig. 2. represents the headdress of a lady on the monument of one of the Fitz Patrics, in Ireland.

The *tanoura* or cylindrical oven, employed in baking their cakes, and the *tantoura* or silver cone, a kind of headdress worn by the women among the Druids, are evidently the same as the Jewish oven and Judith's mitre⁵.

For the following observations on headdresses I am obliged to Mr. Ord:

"I have observed the following different kind of headdresses:

The hair flowing, as queen Matilda in Sandford.

Curling about the forehead and covered with a veil, as Joan de Cobham.

Zig zag, as Maud de Cobham.

¹ Le Bœuf, Dissertations sur l'Hist. de Paris, III. 417—419.

² Packinton's Chron. in Leland's Coll. I. 461.

³ Froh. I. 475.

⁴ Fages, Voyage, II. 219.

Plaited in a bunch at the temples above the ears, and veiled, as Burgate's wife¹; or,

Plaited in large plaits down the side of the face, with a veil, as in Miles Stapleton's wife²; or without, as in Harfick's wife.

All these are often reticulated.

Thomas Chaucer's wife³ wears a veil covering the whole of her head.

That of Brian Stapleton's wife⁴ I take to be an early specimen of the mitred.

The headdress of Matilda wife of Sir Ralph de Rochford⁵ seems to be a veil raised in front and studded, resembling so much that of Margaret Pembridge⁶ that its age cannot be doubted. The extraordinary exhibition of the ears in this last figure I do not recollect to have observed in any other. Mr. Wright, in his Travels, says he was struck with this appearance among the Venetians.

The dress of the hair in the figures of Margaret Kerdifston⁷ and Margaret Totton (the latter from Berkhamsted church), is very unusual.

The flowing tresses of judge Nottingham's wife⁸ are similar to those of the wives of Richard II.⁹ and his nephew Thomas duke of Gloucester¹⁰, who are so represented on their tombs; but this fashion soon ceased; for the wife of Henry IV.¹¹ and most of the female figures of her time have their hair collected in a net, forming not a very elegant protuberance at the ears.

The zig zag, and that of Kerdifston and others of that sort, may be some kind of cloth gathered up in that manner, as we may judge from the monument of lady Clarence, at Tewksbury; and one of a Beauchamp, at Warwick; in which such plaits as these evidently appear to come round and finish in such a facing.

The incle, fillet, or kind of mortier, continued in France on the daughter of Francis I. on her monument at St. Dennis.

The pedimental headdress came in the time of Henry VII. and is common on stone figures, brasses, and pictures.

The wimple is either plain or plaited: plain, in Joan de Cobham; plaited, as in Chaucer's wife. Any other sorts I have not met with."

In the funeral procession of Sir Philip Sidney, 1587, the *nobiles matronæ ac virgines equestris ordinis* have the wimple up to and over the point of their noses.

Drayton's Dowdabell wears

A hood so neat and fine,

In colour like the Colombine,

Ywrought full featously¹².

In the inventory of Henry V's plate, jewels, and apparel, delivered by his executors to John Stafford high treasurer, 1423¹³, is mentioned, "1 furcote overt over 1 mantill, and 1 cote-hardy d'escarlare."

¹ II. Pl. xii.

² I. Pl. xlv¹⁰.

³ II. Pl. xxxvi.

⁴ I. Pl. xlv¹¹.

⁵ II. Pl. iii.

⁶ II. Pl. v.

⁷ I. Pl. xxxix.

⁸ II. Pl. lxxxviii.

⁹ I. Pl. lxiv.

¹⁰ I. Pl. lx.

¹¹ II. Pl. xvii.

¹² Percy, Reliques, I. 309.

¹³ Rot. Parl. IV. 215.

Chaucer's Reve,

A long furcote of perfe upon he hade¹,
where *perfe* signifies *blue*.

One would not have expected to find the origin of the furtout in old records ! but Du Cange² gives *superiotus*, as a great coat worn on horseback, and forbidden to the Benedictine monks in the province of Narbonne, 1226; and the expence of embroidering³ one was limited to *gd.* by the statutes of Arles.

As the furcot is called by Du Cange *superhumorale*⁴, because hanging over and falling from the shoulders, so the mantle is the *superpellicium* of the legatine mandate cited hereafter.

The queen, but not the dukes, has the furcot in the Dance of Death in wooden cuts at the side of "Horæ in usum Sarum," printed by Pigouchet, 1502.

It is on the figure of Elizabeth countess of Worcester, at Windfor, after 1526⁵.

Among the beautiful illuminations of a MS. of the "Romant de la Rose," in the Harleian Collection, N^o 4425. at fol. cliv. b. under the title⁶.

"Comment nature propriement

"Devise bien certainement

"La verite, d'ont Gentilleffe

"Vient, et en enfuyte l'adrefse."

is a women seated in profile, reaching out of the white furcot her right arm in a green sleeve with a cuff like that of a man's frock, a necklace round her neck, and the reticulated headdress. See pl. XI. fig. 3.

Under the North window of the chapel of the hospital in the Newark at Leicester lies on an embattled tomb, on the North side of which are four blank shields, a handsome figure of a lady in a mantle and veil, standing cape, and at bottom of a necklace a pendant, long sleeves to wrist, garment folded at feet: angels hold two cushions under her head, the undermost tasseled. This monument in the late repair and alteration of the building has been so bedaubed with white wash that it is impossible to say to whom it belongs: whether to Isabel wife of the founder Henry duke of Lancaster, who died 1360, or to any other benefactress, or was removed at the dissolution from the collegiate church of St. Mary within the castle⁷.

Sir William Pafton was desired to buy a gown of "godely blew or elys a bryght fanguyn," for his intended daughter in law, to which her mother would give a godely ffurre⁸.

Margaret Pafton receiving Henry VI's queen at Norwich, 1452, "borrowed her cousin Elizabeth Clare's *devise* or ornament for the neck, for she durst not for shame go with her beads among so many fresh gentlewomen as here were

¹ Frol. 619.

² *in voce*.

³ "Si dominus voluerit *hastari* facere *superiotum* habeat sartor 1x den." Hence our taylor's word *hastle* and *hasting* thread.

⁴ *In voce*.

⁵ Sandford, I. 339.

⁶ II. p. 291. l. 19490—3. edit. Par. 1735.

⁷ See Mr. Nichols's Leicestershire Collections, 1790, p. 750; and a most miserable view of it in Throsby's History of Leicester.

⁸ Pafton Letters.

at that time; * *i. e.* she thought it proper to be fuller dressed among so many fashionable ladies †.

When Jane Shore did penance she was "out of all arraie save kirtle only ‡." Payne's wife was plundered by Cade's men to her *kyrtill* and her *smock* §.

William Smith and Roger Dexter, two Lollards admitted again into the church, were to walk in their shirts and breeches ¶, and Alice Dexter only in her shift §, at the head of the procession of our Lady of Newark, Leicester ¶.

Among the Egyptian ladies the shift is a habit of ceremony over all the rest, and resembles the French *chemise*, except the neck. The Arabic name is *camis* †.

In Long Melford church are two of the finest specimens of the mode of bearing arms on ladies' dresses. Clopton who married Harleston and died 1440 bears the Clopton coat on the mantle, and Harleston, a saltire between four plain crosses on the kirtle; Francis, who married Clopton, and died 1424, the first coat on the mantle, and, quarterly, Clopton on the kirtle. See Vol. I. Introd. p. cv.

The arms of Clopton on the mantle, and on the kirtle for Francis, fix this figure to be for Margery daughter of Oliver Francis, wife of William Clopton; and this figure § confirms the observation of Sandford, who says, that whenever you find the figure of a woman painted or carved, those on the mantle or upper garment are the arms of the husband, who, as a cloak or mantle, is to shroud the wife from all those violent storms against which her tender sex is not capable of making a defence; and those on her kirtle (under covert of the husband or upper garment), the ensigns of her blood and family. This passage may perhaps ascertain the meaning of the word kirtle, which Minshew, Johnson, &c. make an upper garment, and which Steevens is doubtful about, in the second part of Henry IV. act II. scene 4.

Wolpher the Mercian prince wore gloves, and essayed to hang them on a sunbeam §.

Among the accounts of Henry VII. a. r. 13. is to Scottish Bessie for two pair of gloves, 5s. and to one that gave the king gloves 12s. and a. r. 11 is an entry for gloves †.

A brass figure of a woman in Lutterworth church ‡ has long gloves half way down her arms, like hedging gloves.

Eustathius observes, that Laertes in Homer § put on gloves (*χειριδες*) to protect his hands from the bushes when he was working in his garden; that they were made of skins (*δεγματων*), and worn also (*επεργων ευχρησιμων*); for that archers wore them; and also *οι πολυνοηες και οι ζυμουνηες*. But Feith remarks †, that

* Paston Letters, II. 62.

† *camisia et braccia*.

‡ Savary, Lettres sur l'Egypte, I. 168.

§ The figure of Joan Harcourt, wife of Sir Everard Digby, nearly of the same age, in Tilton church, Leicestershire, engraved in Mr. Nichols's History of that parish, agrees with this remark. She has the arms of Digby on her mantle, and of Harcourt on her inner garment.

¶ Gunton, Hist. of Peterborough, p. 3.

§ Exchequer Accompts.

† Engraved under that parish, in Mr. Nichols's Leicestershire.

‡ Odyss. xxiv. 229.

§ Antiq. Homer, III. p. 243.

gloves were unknown to the antient Greeks, because Xenophon¹ mentions them among articles of Persian luxury, that people covering, not only their heads and feet, but their hands and fingers with gloves, against the cold: *αλλα και περι ακραις ταις χειρσι χειριδας δασειας και δακτυληθρας εχουσι*. Perhaps the Persians first divided the glove into fingers, and the Greeks wore it like our hedging glove, in one piece, or only with a thumb.

The shepherd in the song of Dowzabel wears,

—mittens of *bausen's* skin².

Matilda daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland, afterwards married to Henry I. had been educated in a nunnery, and her aunt Christiana put the black hood on her head, to make her pass for a nun, as a protection of her chastity against the prevailing passions of the Normans³.

Of the ladies trains see Warton's History of Poetry, II. 324—326. "In England, as we are informed by several antiquaries, the women of quality first wore trains in the reign of Richard II. Dr. Gafcoyne says in the time of Anne queen of Richard II. and not before the ladies dresses reached down to the ground "*cum caudis*, i. e. *trains Anglice*;" a novelty which induced a well-meaning divine of those times to write a tract, *Contra caudas dominarum*, against the tails of the ladies. Whether or no this remonstrance operated so far as to occasion the contrary extreme, and even to have been the distant cause of producing the short petticoat of the present age, I cannot say. As an apology however for the English ladies in adopting this fashion, we should in justice remember, as was the case of the Scotch, that it was countenanced by Anne, Richard's queen, a lady not less enterprising than successful in her attacks on established forms, and whose authority and example were so powerful as to abolish, even in defiance of France, the safe, commodious, and natural mode of riding on horseback hitherto practised by the women of England, and to introduce side-saddles."

The gown worn by the queen of Scots at her execution was a gown of black fatten *printed* with a train and long sleeves to the ground, set with acorn buttons of jett, trimmed with pearl, and short sleeves of black cut fatten with a pair of sleeves of purple velvet whole: under them her kirtle whole of figured black fatten; her petticoat *upper-body* unlaced in the back, of crimson fatten; and her petticoat *skirts* of crimson velvet; her shoes of Spanish leather, with the rough side outwards; a pair of green silk garters, her *netter* stockings worsted coloured *watched* and *clack'd*, with silver, and edged on the top with silver; and next her leg a pair of *jersey* hose white. A veil of lawn was fastened to her caul bowed out with wire, and edged round about with bon-lace⁴.

¹ Cyroped, VIII. ad fin.

² Percy, I. 310.

³ Eadmer, p. 48, 49.

⁴ See Collectan. hist. ex Diction. MS. T. Gafcoigne in Hearne's, Walter Hemingford, p. 512.

⁵ Mackenzie's Scotch Writers, III. p. 349.

"In a statute of James II. of Scotland, about 1460, it was ordered that no woman come to church or market with her face *muffled*, i. e. muzzled or covered. Notwithstanding this seasonable interposition of the legislature the ladies of Scotland continued *muzzled* during three reigns, as appears from a passage in Sir D. Lyndsfay's 'Complaynt of the Papingo,' who adds, that this is quite contrary to the mode of the French ladies :

'Hails ane France lady quhen ye pleis,

'Scho wyll discover mouth &c neis.'

"The enormous excrescence of female tails was prohibited in the same statute : 'That na woman wear tails unfit in length.' The legitimate length of these tails is not however determined in this statute : a circumstance which we may collect from a mandate issued by a papal legate in Germany in the 14th century : 'It is decreed, that the apparel of women, which ought to be consistent with modesty, but now, through their foolishness, is degenerated into wantonness and extravagance, more particularly the length of their petticoats, with which they sweep the ground, be restored to a moderate fashion, agreeably to the decency of the sex, under pain of the sentence of excommunication.'

"The orthodoxy of petticoats is not precisely ascertained in this salutary edict ; but as it excommunicates those female tails which, in Lyndsfay's phrase, *keep the kirk and causeway clean*², and allows such a moderate standard to the petticoat as is compatible with female delicacy, it may be concluded, that the ladies who covered their feet were looked upon as very laudable conformists : an inch or two less would have been avowed immodesty : an inch or two more an affectation bordering upon heresy !"

Our ancestors, or at least the ecclesiastical part of them, entertained very different ideas of the length of female apparel from Homer, who celebrates his countrywomen, *εὐπεπλῆι*, well veiled³, and the Trojan ladies as *ἐλκυσσινεπλῆι*, wearing long training veils : *longa firmata pephorum trabentes*, in Clarke's translation ; or, as Mr. Pope,

"Troy's proud dames, whose garments sweep the ground."

This veil, as among the present female inhabitants of the Archipelago and other parts of Greece, is a covering of the finest and richest materials thrown over the rest of the apparel, like a cloak, but including the head. It appears very distinct from the mantle on tombs.

The complaints of extravagance in dress are the same in Spain, by an Arabian writer at Granada, 1378.

¹ "Velamina etiam mulierum quæ ad verecundiam designandam eis sunt concessa sed suum per insipientiam earum in lasciviam et luxuriam excreverunt et immoderata longitudo superpellicorum quibus privorem trahebant, ad moderatum usum sicut decet verecundiam sexus per excommunicationis sententiam cohibeantur. Ludewig. Reliq. Diplom. II. 441. It should seem however that the *velamina* here mentioned were strictly and properly the *veils*, and the *superpellicea* the mantle.

² This complaint that the common people imitated their superiors in this extravagance is applicable to all times.

³ See notes to Ancient Scotch Poems, p. 256.

⁴ II. V. 424. Od. XXI. 160.

Instances of two men on one tomb we have at Berkeley, II. Pl. LXXVII. p. 201. the Horseys at Sherborne¹, and some of the barons of Greyfok in the chancel at Greyfok, where "two knights, one of an *enormous size*, clad in armour and girt with his sword, the other a lesser one, in a different armour, who rests his feet on a lion, lie upon an altar tomb richly ornamented with angels under Gothic canopies holding shields, on which have been painted the cognizances of the deceased²."

Corps Croffes, as they are called in Cumberland, are set on the common where the corps rested in its way to the church, and, according to the antient formulary, a short prayer was offered up³. Such, on a larger scale, were the Eleanor crosses among us, and the similar beautiful ones erected where Philip III. rested when supporting the body of his father, St. Louis, in its way to St. Denis, 1271⁴.

At the East end of the South aisle in Cowarne church, Herefordshire, was a monument of the Pauncefort family, ascribed to one Grimbald, of whose wife it is storied that she consented to part with her left hand to ransom her husband, in the crusades of Edward I. though it is most probable that the mutilated state of the figure suggested this tale; and Mr. Duncomb, the Herefordshire antiquary, describes the man's figure as cross-legged on an altar-tomb, in close armour and mail; and the woman's left arm couped at the wrist. Though only some despoiled fragments of the effigies and monument now remain, I shall give the words of Silas Taylor, who, "to gain say the report about it, diligently viewed the accord which might have been between the two figures, the female laid next the wall of the South aisle, on her right side; by which means his left side might be contiguous to her right, the better to answer the figure; also the stump of the woman's arm is somewhat elevated, as if to attract notice, and the hand and wrist cut off are carved close to his left side, with the right hand on his armour, as if for note."

The tomb of Alan lord of Galloway was lately to be seen in a niche in the cross aisle on the East side of the North door in *Dundrennan* abbey, Galloway. It is now demolished, but the mutilated trunk of his figure remains cross-legged, in mail-armour and surcoat; a belt across his right shoulder, and another round his waist. His lady, it is said, lay on the other side of the door⁵.

It is said the tomb of Alice, prioress of Emanuel nunnery, Sterlingshire, 1296, was to be seen there, on which was her figure, with a *distaff*⁶: undoubtedly mistaken for a *crozier*.

At the head of the figures of Ferry III^d duke of Lorrain, on his tomb in Beaupre abbey, two angels carry away his soul crowned and praying.

¹ Hutchins's Dorset, II. 380.

² Hutchinson's Cumberland, I. p. 41. The word *enormous*, misapplied here, may be explained by looking at the plate of the Berkeley monument above referred to, where the difference in age between a father and son is expressed by the difference of proportions in the figures.

³ Ib. I. p. 320. n.

⁴ Felibien, Hist. de l'abbaye de St. Denis, p. 249.

⁵ Grose, Scotland, p. 183.

⁶ Harl. MS. 6726.

⁷ Ib. f. 236.

At the heads of dukes Thiebant II. and Ferry IV. in the same abbey, four angels lift up their crowned praying souls in a sheet¹.

In the "Bible des Pauvres," art. 69, is "La Beatitude ou la Sauveur porte les ames dans un drap²."

On the tomb of Gerard d'Alface, first of the name, count of Vaudemont, and Hadvide his wife, founders of the priory of Belval, near Chatel sur Moselle, formerly in the cloister, were their figures embracing each other³.

The following testamentary direction for burying in a religious habit I transcribed from the registers at Lincoln⁴.

"Ieo Marie de Seintpol, comtesse de Pembrok, dame de Weiseford et de Montignayt⁵ say favoir a tous q en mon bon sens et en ma bone memoire fais et ordene moun testament deinz et ma darreine volonte en la maniere q fenfuit. Premièrement ie donne et je commande l'alme de moi a mon creatour mon seignor Ihu Crist, &c. Et effiz sepulture a mon corps en l'esglise de suers meismes de deneye, dedeinz leur coer ou ma tombe est fait, et est ma volente et mon desir q mon corps soit vestu et enterez en habit come une seur du dit ordre. Et la man⁶ de mon enterment se vueil quel enfort a la volonte et ordonnance de mon confesseur et de trois et de deux de mes executours sans faire custages outrageux p' cause de mon dit enterement. 1376, a mon manoir de Braxtede⁶ en la comte d'Essex."

It relates to the third wife and widow of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, who was murdered or killed in a tournament in France, 1323, and buried in Westminster abbey; and whose sumptuous monument there is engraved, Vol. I. Pl. XXIX. XXX. p. 85—88. in which last page some corrections must be made from this extract. Add, that the late Mr. Brooke expressed his doubts about the tomb of Aymer and his father William, in St. Edmond's chapel; because "the son's arms were on the father's tomb, and the father's on the son's." He could not determine the question from the authorities referred to: Camden, in his *Britannia*, and the three editions of his *Westminster abbey monuments*; Dugdale, Sandford, and Dart.

This lady founded, 15 Edward III. at her manor of Deny, in Cambridgeshire, a house for minorettes. At the dissolution here were twenty-five nuns, whose annual revenues were between £.172. and 218. She also founded Pembroke hall, Cambridgeshire.

She was buried in a tomb of touchstone in her abbey of Denny, between the choir of nuns and that of the seculars¹.

¹ Calmet's *Hist. of Lorraine*, III. Pl. II.

² *Idee des estampes*, p. 304.

³ Calmet, pl. I.

⁴ Bp. Buckingham's *Memorandums*, p. 150.

⁵ Parker, in his *Sceletos Cantabrigieusis*, rightly files her countess of Pembroke, baroness of *Veiffer* (Weiseford) and *Montenait*.

⁶ Great Braxted came to Aymer earl of Pembroke in right of his marriage with Joan de Montcheny, and was his wife's dower till her death. *Morant*, II. p. 138.

⁷ Leland, in *Blomefield's Coll. Cant. MS.* penes me.

A singular figure of a lady holding a child in her arms on a monument in the church of Scarcliff, Derbyshire, is engraved, Pl. XI. fig. 4 and 5. She wears a kind of coronet, holds a scroll in her right hand, and has a beast under her head as well as at her feet.

A swaddled child, with its father, in the aisle near the chancel at Cranbrook church, Kent, Pl. XII. may belong to the Sharpeighs lords of Flushinghurst in the reign of Henry VIIth, and have been removed from the private chantry chapel belonging to the owners of the estate.

The bowels of Frederick IV. were buried at Lintz; his body at Vienna^a.

Upon the most attentive examination of the figure of bishop Pateshull, in the South aisle of the choir at Lichfield, this summer, I cannot see any reason to persuade myself that the holes on the back of the hands and feet have the reference assigned to them to the wounds of Christ; but were rather marks of jewels on the gloves and shoes, which, in later times, have been wantonly worked into holes.

To the account of charnel houses, p. cci. add from Leland^b: "There is a fair chapel on the North side of St. Mary abbey church at Winchester, in an area thereby, to which men entre by a certain steppes; under it is a vault for a carniarie. One Inkepenne, a gentelman that berith in his shield a schecker sylver and fables, was founder of it. There be three tumbe of marble of pretes *custodes* of the chapel."

Under the most Eastern part of Hitchin church, East of the altar, is a cellar or charnel house, with a strong door and stairs from the North chapel. In it is a sort of chimney, but no funnel visible. Mr. Salmon supposes this served as a prison in former wars, as well as those of the last century; on which account the chimney was stopped up. It is more probable the chimney was the site of an altar where mass was said for the souls of those whose bones were here promiscuously collected; unless we suppose the chapel above served for that purpose.

Under the East end of the choir at Winbourne Minster is a noble crypt, which Leland^c calls "an old peace of work."

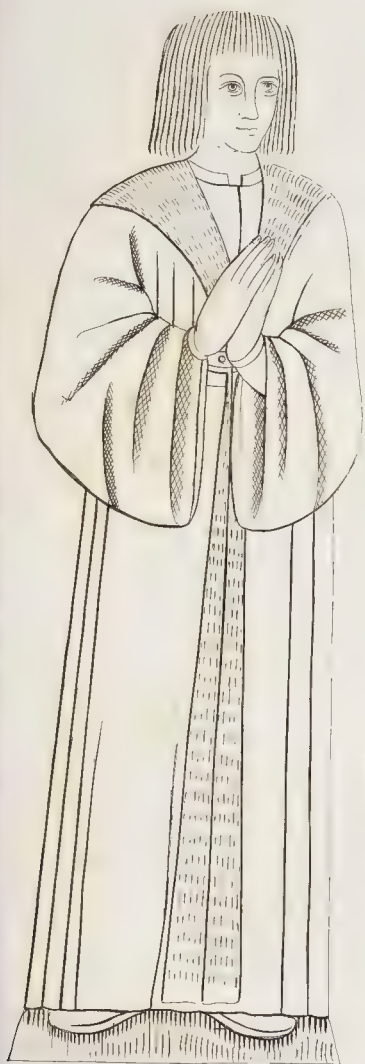
Bishop Blythe's monument was placed North and South at the North end of the great transept of Salisbury cathedral. When it was taken down, and the pavement removed, an arch was observed, which was obliged to be lowered, and under it was a walled (*brick*) grave, in which lay a skeleton, in the usual way, East and West, immediately under the centre arch, at the centre of the present chancel, where the old altar stood. This monument was at the back of the screen, which terminated the choir, and was, no doubt, placed North and South, for the sake of convenience. Many instances might be produced where effigies are placed in the same manner. The Somerset monument is one in this cathedral.

^a Hassel, III. p. 47.

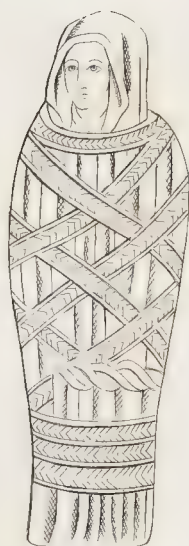
^b Engelhus. in vit. imperatorum e domo ducum Brunsw. in Madin, Antiq. Brunswic. p. 41.

^c Itin. III. f. 70.

^d Itin. III. f. 55.



GAS



Robes in Cranbrook Church, Kent.

The monuments in Salisbury cathedral as removed since the late repair: from Dodsworth's Guide, 1793.

Bishop BEAUCHAMP's monument, described II. p. 270. is placed now on the South side of the nave, near the East end, with his remains.

On the same side next is that of ROBERT lord HUNGERFORD, removed with his remains from the North wall of St. Mary's chapel, where he was buried, 1459. II. p. 186.

On the North side, opposite, is the monument of JOHN DE MONTACUTE, earl of Salisbury, removed from the same chapel¹. On the same side, next, is the gravestone of bishop OSMUND, from the centre of the same chapel¹.

On the North side, opposite, is the monument of Lord STOURTON, from the same chapel.

Next on the same side, is the monument of a bishop in *pontificalibus*, removed from the middle chapel of the North aisle of the great transept, conjectured to be that of WALTER DE DA WYLE, 1271¹.

On the opposite side are the two tombs of the HUNGERFORD family, over which formerly stood the iron chapel, described II. p. 159.

On the same side, next, is the monument of Sir JOHN CHENEY, removed, with his remains, from Beauchamp chapel, II. p. 374.

On the opposite side is the wooden tomb and stone figure of WILLIAM LONGESPEE earl of SALISBURY, 1226, removed from St. Mary's chapel⁴.

In the baptistery of the morning chapel, which is now in the North end of the East transept, instead of the Lady chapel, where it originally was, is the monument of bishop POORE, founder of this church, who died 1237, removed, with his remains, from the North wall of the former altar⁵.

In this chapel are the three gravestones of bishops WYVIL, GUEST, and JEWEL, removed from the choir when it was new paved, 1684. Near the above is the monument of bishop BINGHAM, 1246⁶.

On removing the pavement of the Lady Chapel, for repaving the same with marble, several stone coffins were discovered, only covered by the pavement, and lying near the surface. In them were perfect skeletons, and at the head of each a chalice and patten: one was of silver gilt, the design and workmanship by no means inelegant. In the same coffin was found a ring of curious device, set with an agate, likewise a crozier of wood, but, from its *pungency*⁷, some supposed it to have been *cork*. In the centre of the patten is engraven the hand of a bishop in the act of giving the benediction; and on the same are evident remains of linen, which probably had covered the wafer, and, as it decayed, adhered to it. The ring is supposed to be the official, or pastoral ring, or that of investiture; the stone is perforated, from which circumstance it might probably have been a bead, and part of the rosary. The most probable conjecture is, that these belonged to bishop LONGESPÉE, buried near this spot,

¹ I. p. 41.

² I. p. 57.

³ I. p. 43.

VOL. II.

⁴ I. p. 13.

⁵ I. 41.

⁶ Ib. p. 44.

⁷ Springiness.

‡297. Another ring was found in the tomb of bishop BEAUCHAMP, which is a much ruder piece of workmanship than the former, and the stone appears to be a saphire. These antiquities were deposited in the muniment-house of the cathedral.

The figures of relations at the sides of altar tombs are called *mourners* and *weepers*. This term is more particularly applied to those on the monument of Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick, in his beautiful chapel at Warwick, in the indenture of contract for making it given by Sir William Dugdale. Notwithstanding it will easily be seen that both these and those on the other monument of the family in the same church, and in innumerable other instances, are in the common habit of the time or their condition, and by no means a *mourning* one. What that would have been may be seen in the funeral procession of the several centuries.

The scroll held in the hands of these and other figures was called a *reason*. Thus at the coronation dinner of Henry VI. and Catherine of France the *sotyltye* of a pellican sitting on his nest had the image of St. Katharine holdyng a book, and in his right hand a *reason*, sayinge *Madame la royne*, and a pellican as an answer :

*C'est la signe et du roy.
pur tenir joy
et a tout sa gent
elle met sa entente.*

Another *sotyltye* called a panter (*panther*) had an ymage of the same saint, with a wheel in her hand, and a *rolle* with a *reason* in the other hand, saying :

*La Royne ma file
en ceste ile
per bon reson
aves renount*

A marche payne garnished with dyvers figures of angelles, amid the which was set an ymage of St. Katheryne holdyng thys *reason*.

*Il est escrit
pur vou et eis
per marriage pure
cest guere ne dure:*

And lastly, a *sotyltye* named a tigre lokyng in a mirour and a man fyttyng on horsebacke clene armed holdyng in his armes a tigre whelp, with this *reason*

Per force sans reason je ay pryse ceste beste.

and with his owne hand makyng a countenance of throwing of myrrours at the great tigre the which held this *reason*.

Gile le mirroure ma fete distour¹.

¹ Fabian's Chronicle, fol. 366.

Attributes of Saints.

Peter is distinguished by the keys and a triple cross, and sometimes also holds a church, as on Bakewell font, engraved by Mr. Carter.

Paul, by the sword, and sometimes a book, as on the font, or drawing a sword crosses the knee¹.

Gabriel holds a lily, a flower pot full of which is frequently placed between him and the Virgin².

Joseph also bears a lily-stalk.

John Baptist is clothed in a long mantle, and bears a long wand surmounted by a small shaft forming a cross, and a lamb is generally at his feet, or crouching, or impressed on a book in his hand, or on his hand without a book.

John Evangelist, a chalice, with a serpent or dragon issuing out of it, alluding to the legend of his driving the devil in that form out of a cup of poison. On the tomb of the lady at Worcester³, and of Henry VII. he has an eagle and an open book.

The other apostles bear the instruments of their martyrdom.

Andrew, a saltire cross. As patron of Fersfield he is painted over the West door of the church⁴.

James the Great a club and a saw⁵,

Thomas, a spear⁶.

Simon, a saw: in a boat⁷,

Matthias, a fuller's club.

St. James of Compostella, or the Less, a pilgrim's staff, book, scrip, and hat with an escallop shell on it⁸.

Bartholomew, the knife wherewith he was flead alive⁹.

Philip has only a crossier¹⁰.

Anthony has a rosary on his mantle, a tau cross, or staff of that form from his girdle; and at his feet a pig with a bell round his neck¹¹. The monks of his order wore this cross in blue on their black habit, and this with the bell is sprinkled over the chimney-piece of the dining room of the bishop's palace at Exeter, erected by bishop Courtney between 1477 and 1488.

Nicholas has near him a tub, with three or four naked infants in it. As patron of Eccles church in Norfolk he is painted on the walls¹².

George on foot or on horseback, a lance, with or without a banner, and a dragon under his feet.

Laurence, the gridiron¹³.

Blaise, a woolcomber's comb.

Margaret treads on, or pierces, a dragon with a cross, and sometimes holds a book and wears a crown¹⁴.

Catherine holds a sword, and treads on a wheel, near or under which is an ill-favoured bust of the tyrant: or she holds only a wheel¹⁵.

¹ Blomefield, I. 193.

² Blomef. I. p. 67.

³ I. p. 193.

⁴ Ib. III. p. 649.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ Blomef. II. 739.

⁷ I. p. 193.

⁸ I. p. 171.

⁹ I. 193, and on Ramtidge's tomb, Ib.

¹⁰ Blomef. I. 277.

¹¹ I. 171.

¹² II. 179.

¹³ I. p. 171.

¹⁴ She is mistaken for St. Helena at Walpole.

¹⁵ P. 197.

Clare holds the expositorium.

Sythe, a bible, and keys ¹.

Apollonia, a palm branch and tooth ².

Barbara, a palm branch and book ³; or, on the tomb of Henry VII. a tower wherein she was confined ⁴.

A female faint, crowned, holds a sprig of flowers, with a bird, in her right hand, and a book in her left.

A woman holding a palm branch and a bird on a book on a tomb at Berkeley.

Another also crowned holds a bell or casket.

Mary Magdalen, with dishevelled hair, and a box of ointment.

Christopher, with the infant Jesus on his right shoulder, and in his left hand a tree for a staff ⁵.

Elizabeth has St. John and the lamb at her feet ⁶.

Anne, with a book in her hand, on the tomb of Henry VII. in the East window of the chapel at Haddon house, in the chantry at Latton, and in the Bedford Missal teaching her daughter the blessed Virgin to read ⁷; as the latter is represented teaching Christ ⁸.

Dorothy ¹⁰ holds a basket of fruit which she produced miraculously, with flowers, to convert a Pagan.

Edward the Confessor, crowned, with a ring on his right hand, and sometimes a short spear ¹¹.

Edmund, with an arrow.

Among the female saints on the old altar-piece of St. Peter's Mancroft at Norwich, engraved by Mr. Carter, we distinguish Helena, crowned, supporting a cross ¹². Margaret, crowned, piercing a dragon with a crossier. Ursula, with a book and arrow. A crowned figure with a sword, point downwards, sup-
posed Justina; two unknown: *Hildegardis*, with a book and pastoral staff. A third unknown. Barbara holding a palm branch and tower, and not as Mr. Carter, Mary Magdalen.

Sir John of Beverley, pontifically habited, his right hand blessing, his left holds a cross ¹³.

Thomas the Martyr, or Becket, has a mitre and crossier, his hand elevated to give the benediction ¹⁴.

On the cope of John Sleford at Balsam are ten saints, with their names ¹⁵; eight without names on that of John Prophete, at Ringwood ¹⁶.

On that of John Bludwell in the same church we have a saint with a cross patonce piercing a dragon.

¹ II. 330.

² P. 301.

³ Ib.

⁴ See Carter. Blomefield, I. 652. Walpole screen, Antiq. Mus. N° III.

⁵ II. p. 201.

⁶ Bibury, Gloucester, Bigland, 180. Blomef. III. 201. 239. Gent's York, 159, 160. His monstrous statue twenty-one feet high at Abergavenny cut out of an oak root. Pointed on the door of the chantry at Latton.

⁷ II. 333.

⁸ Ib. 172. 230.

⁹ Blomef. IV. 1042

¹⁰ At Walpole; Antiq. Mus.

¹¹ P. 172.

¹² See also II. 330.

¹³ I. 154.

¹⁴ II. 330.

¹⁵ II. 9.

¹⁶ Ib. 49.

Afaph, a bishop with a crozier a hand elevated.

Bridget, a book and crozier.

Winifred, a crozier and sword¹.

St. John Almoner (Elemosinar) habited as a pilgrim with a nimbus, a loaf in the right hand, pilgrim's staff in the left, and a large rosary².

In the Bedford missal are represented several foreign saints, described p. 112. of this volume.

Three saints on Ralph lord Cromwell's brass at Tattetal³. One in armour, with a banner charged with *ihs* crowned, and under him a name like *Canditus*: another in armour, with a battle ax, and under him a name like *Floryn* or *Moryce*. A third has a falcon in his right hand, a bow in his left, to which a dog leaps up, a buck with a cross between his horns, an archer behind his feet: These seem the attributes of St. Hubert⁴.

In the windows of the old mansion of the Trenchards at Wolverton near Dorchester, Dorset, were beautiful whole lengths of St. Anne, St. *Flower*, St. Erasmus, and St. Thomas de India. St. Flower holds her head in her hand, and a flower sprouts out of her neck⁵.

On the most elegant of the monuments in Harwood church, described Vol. I. p. 172. is the completest and most perfect collection of saints I recollect to have seen. At the feet George and Christopher. At the South side St. Anthony, two bishops giving the benediction, and holding, the one a crozier, the other a plain cross. John the Evangelist, with the palm-branch, chalice, and serpent. Laurence, with gridiron and book. Edward the Confessor, crowned, with ring and book. At the head: Edmund, crowned, with arrow and book. John the Baptist, in a camel's skin, holding a lamb in his left hand, and pointing to it with his right. On the North side a thorn monk, holding in his right hand six lozenges, or loaves, and in his right a book: a bishop blessing and holding a plain cross; another holding a crozier and in his right hand a head with a crown, representing probably St. Denis, who, in the window at Grafton Regis, c. Northampton, is headless, carrying his mitred head in his right hand⁶. The remaining three niches on the side of the tomb are occupied by a woman and two knights of the family.

On a tomb in the South aisle at Harwood are similar figures of Laurence, John Evangelist and Baptist, Anthony, James of Compostella, and St. Michael weighing souls.

On the tomb of Thomas Howard third duke of Norfolk, at Framlingham, 1554, we have the twelve apostles. On the North side, one holding three loaves; a second, a fish; a third, a ship or boat or rudder; a fourth, an ax. At the East end, St. Peter with a book and keys: another with a roll: St. Paul with a book and sword. On the South side, Andrew; one with a scroll; St. James the Less with pilgrim's staff and hat; St. James the Great with a book and fuller's club. At the West end two broken, and John the Evangelist with his cup and serpent⁷.

¹ Ib. 177.

² I. 154.

³ II. 172.

⁴ See n. 172.

⁵ Hutchins. I. p. 456.

⁶ Antiq. Museum, N^o VIII. A statue of St. Denis is also over the tomb of Henry V. at Westminster.

⁷ Hawes's account of this castle and church at the end of Leland's Collectanea, I. ii. p. 685.

In the spandrels of the North door of Chich church, Essex, is St. George with the cross on his shield, a monstrous sword, and the dragon. In the bas relief in the mansion-house at Appleby, Leicestershire, he is riding a tilt at the dragon, having his cross on the pennon of his lance. On a brass early in the 16th century, in Goudhurst church, Kent, he appears as a companion to the Virgin Mary, and over them the Deity in glory, holding in each hand the soul of the man and woman praying below.

The office of weighing the souls of the good and bad against each other was generally assigned to the archangel Michael, who is so represented on the tower at Glastonbury, on the old altar-piece of Enfield church in my possession, on the tomb of Henry VII. at Westminster, where the good preponderates, but the devil is stretching out his cloven foot to make the evil do so; on the brass of Maud Willughby, at Tattefal¹; in Dr. Pegge's MS Manual in the Antiquaries Museum, N^o IV; and the little stone figure found in a stone coffin in Monmouthshire². Of the weighing good works and sins against each other we have a famous story related of the emperor Henry II. When he was dying, 1024, a hermit heard a noise of devils going for his soul. He adjured them to let him know, at their return, how they proceeded: one of them told him, St. Lawrence, while his sins were weighing against his good works, put into the balance a chalice, which outweighed all his sins; and so the devils lost his soul: provoked at the disappointment, one of them broke off an ear of the vessel, which was afterwards found to be missing on the day of the emperor's death, and the cup is still shewn so in the treasury of the church of Moreburg³.

No large cemetery was antiently built without an altar to St. Michael, who, in every mass for the dead, was named *Signifer* for the resurrection⁴.

In the rude bas relief in Southwell church⁵, and in the East window of the chapel at Haddon-house, Derbyshire, he is a perfect angel with a sword and shield combating a quadruped dragon, or a shaggy beast with six hydra heads.

At Birley, in Gloucestershire, he is driving the falling angels⁶.

Saints are painted in sets on screens of parochial churches in Norfolk and Suffolk⁷, and other counties.

Angels are represented with four or six wings⁸. Gabriel and Michael on the brass of John Bludwell⁹, in the arch of the East window of the Beauchamp chapel at Warwick, and in various windows winged and feathered both bodies and limbs, or in white mantles. Of this last kind the groupes of them playing on musical instruments in the tracery of the Beauchamp chapel windows are most beautiful specimens. The instruments of the passion, musical instruments, censers, scrolls, and shields, are their most usual accompaniments.

¹ II. Pl. cxvii.

² Camden's Britannia, II. p. 490. Pl. xv. 5g. 4.

³ Engelhus. ubi sup. 73.

⁴ Lebeuf, dissert. I. p. 303. et Pref. des Ant. d'Auxerre, 1723. p. 28.

⁵ Hist. of Southwell, p. 68.

⁶ Carter, Vol. II.

⁷ Bigland, 191. His insignia, Blomef. III. 430. 438.

⁸ These are the cherubim and seraphim of the Old Testament.

⁹ P. 197.

¹⁰ See Blomefield, III. 144. 300. 301. 403. 508. 554. 560. 733. IV. 489.

Another appendage to sepulchral monuments was the painting of History or Legend on the wall within the arch over them, or on the stone or wood-work of the chapel wherein they stood. Of the first we have a beautiful specimen within the arch over the tomb of dean Borew, in Hereford cathedral; Pl. LXXVI¹; and some of the oldest on Fitz Hamon's chapel at Tewksbury²; over the arch of the children of Henry III. at Westminster, 1257; on the tomb of Edmund earl of Lancaster, in the same church, 1296³. I. Pl. XVIII. within the arch of St Oliver Ingham, 1350⁴. and on another in Weston Bagard church, c. Hereford⁵. On the walls of the Hungerford chapel, Salisbury. The figures of the Deity or crucifix on the canopy over the tomb of Richard II. The martyrdom of Becket on a board at the back of Henry IV's chapel at Canterbury. Later instances are in the Hastings chapel in St. George's chapel Windsor; containing the history of St. Stephen, to whom it was dedicated, in three compartments drawn and engraved by the late Mr. Longmate, Pl. CIIth. In the chapel of St. John Baptist in the same place are three compartments, of St. John preaching, beheaded, and his head presented, and the date 1522. Over the altar in the chapel of St. Blaife in Westminster abbey is a beautiful and well preserved whole length of a female saint holding a gridiron or carding comb, and a monk with a label from his mouth imploring her protection.

Instances of two epitaphs, nearly similar, in distant churches.

"Among the monuments erected in Tongue church, in the county of Salop, is one erected in remembrance of Sir Thomas Stanley, knight, who died, as I imagine, about the year 1600. In the visitation it is thus described by Sir William Dugdale: "On the North side of the chancel stands a very stately tomb, supported with Corinthian columns. It hath two figures of men in armour thereon lying, the one below the arches and columns, the other above them, and this epitaph upon it:

"Thomas Stanley, knight, second son of Edward earle of Derby lord Stanley and Strange, descended from the familie of the Stanleys, married Margaret Vernon, one of the daughters and coheires of Sir George Vernon of Nether-Haddon, in the county of Derby, knight, by whom he had issue two sons, Henry and Edward. Henry died an infant; Edward survived, to whom those lordships descended, and married the lady Lucie Percie, second daughter of the earl of Northumberland; by her he had issue seven daughters. She and her four daughters Arabelle, Marie, Alice, and Pricilla, are interred under a monument in the church of Waltham, in the county of Essex. Thomas her son died in his infancy, and is buried in the parish church of Winwick, in the county of Lancaster. The other three, Petronilla, Frances, and Venesfia, are yet living."

At the East and West ends are six lines, said to have been written by Shakespeare. With a view to ascertain the date, the churches of *Great and Little Waltham*, in Essex, have been examined for the monument said to have been erected to the memory of lady Lucy and her four daughters; but in vain: no trace of it remains, nor could the time of their respective deaths be ascertained, the

¹ Also the portraits of Bishops, &c. at Ely, I. Intr. clvi.

² I. p. 17. ³ Ib. p. 74. Carter's Specimens, N^o V.

⁴ I. p. 120. ⁵ I. p. 195.

register of both parishes having been lost¹. The errors respecting this monument are surprizing; Sir William Dugdale, whose accuracy is so commended by Mr. Malone, must have left out all after Waltham, for in Walthamstow church is the monument alluded to. Sir William does not give the burial place of this Thomas in his Baronage². The last edition of Collins's Peerage³ buries *him* at Walthamstow, instead of his wife. The following epitaph, copied from the North aisle of Walthamstow church, will remove all difficulty. The ages of the four deceased daughters are put over their names.

Under an arch on the North side of the church at Walthamstow is an elegant figure of a lady in a gown and farthingale, mantle trimmed with Ermine, stiff ruff, hair strained high on her forehead, kneeling to a book open on a pedestal, on the South sides of which is this inscription in capitals :

Tho. Stanley, knight, second sonne of Edw.
Lo. Stanley and Strange Earle of Derby,
Descended from the familie of the Stanleis,
Maried Margaret Vernon, one of ¹⁶ daughters
And coheirs of Sir George Vernon of Nether
Haddon, in the countie of Derby, knight, by
Whom he had issue 2 sonnes, Henri and
Edw; Hen'ie died an infant, Edw. survived.
To whome thes Lordships descended, &
maried the La Lucie Percie, second daughter
to Tho. Earle of Northumberland. By hir
He had issue 7 Daughters & one sonne. Shee &
Hir 4 daughters ¹⁶Arbelia, ¹⁵Marie, ¹³Alis, and
¹¹Priscilla are interred under a monument
In the Church of Walthamstow, in the
Countie of Essex. Tho. his sonne died an
Infant, and is buried in the parish church
of Winnicke, in the countie of Lanca.
Ye other three, Petronella, Fravncis, and Venetia,
Are ¹Livinge.

On the North side of the pedestal :

Sir Edward Stanley erected this
monument for a testimonie of his
love which he bare to his wife
Ladie Lucie and his foure Daughters
Deceased,

On the North face of the tomb :

The Souls of Saintes
Live.

In the spandrils on each side a setting sun and a dial.

Over the first: *Occidit ut oriatur.*

Over the second: *Qualibet expectet tamen.*

Which I understand thus :

"It sets to rise again at any [hour], yet is waited for."

Whether the lines by Shakspeare are on this monument I could not discover when I examined it, Nov. 19, 1795.

¹ Malone's Shakspeare, I. 33.

² II. 250.

³ III. 62.

E P I T A P H S.

IN treating of that inseparable appendage to Sepulchral Monuments, EPITAPHS, I might go back with them to the same period to which I have carried the Monuments themselves.

The Greeks, who improved on and perfected the invention of letters by the Phœnicians, and the Romans who copied the Greeks', exercised their talents in an almost endless variety. I suppose there does not exist such a collection of inscriptions of every kind among all the nations of the globe as has been transmitted from these two. 'Sparing of perishable paper' they committed every circumstance and transaction to marble and stone. If to the number of inscriptions preserved in the Thesauri of Reinesius, Gruter, Muratori, and lesser collections, we could add the thousands that ever since the downfall of these empires have been pounded into lime, the mass must have been immense.

It is sufficient for the present purpose that our Roman Conquerors taught us among other arts that of communication by letters. We must go back for the first inscribed funeral monuments in Great Britain to those bearing the names of Romanized Britons in Cornwall or Wales: *Cirufus*, *Cunoworus*¹, *Quenatavus*, *Io Divinus*², *Riolebran*, *Cunoval*³, *Cnegumus*, *Enans* or *Emanus*⁴, *Lexit*⁵, *Alfosen*, *Aloron* or *Aldroen*, and *Vilicus*⁶, *Donert*⁷, *Tefroit*, or *Dubritius*⁸, *Boduocus*, *Catot*, *Irnus*⁹, *Marcus Caritinus*, *Bericus*¹⁰, *Punpeius Carantopius*¹¹, *Paulinus*, *Talor*, *Adventus*, *Maquierag*¹², *Vitalianus*¹³, *Safranus*, *Cunotamus*¹⁴, *Janert*, *Caius Artius Ennius*¹⁵, *Corbaleng*¹⁶, *Wledermaes Odeleu*¹⁷, *Paſcentius*¹⁸, *Calixtus*, *Monedo*¹⁹, *Porius*²⁰, *Aemilius*²¹, *Conceann* or *Congen*²², *Brockmail*, *Eliseg*, *Cunrianus*, *Catamanus*²³, *Given Hoedla Dervon*²⁴, *Donfrid*²⁵, *Severinus*, *Severus*, *Menvendanus*, *Barcunus*, *Ulcagnus*, *Senomacilus*²⁶, *Pabo*²⁷; that of *Julius Julianus* a Roman veteran at Caerleon, not improbably mistaken or intended to pass for a memorial of *St. Julius* the Martyr, and patron of one of the churches there, for it was found fastened with four iron pins to the foundation of a church at Tre Dynog²⁸, which is said by Eſſon to be dedicated to *St. Andrew*²⁹;

¹ Mr. Afle, in what may be called his *Pedigree of Alphabets*, p. 50. makes the Roman a lineal descendant of the Pelasgian, and the Etruscan with those of the most ancient nation of Italy only collateral.

² *Periuræ parvæ chartæ*. Horace.

³ Borlase, *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 392. Pl. xxxv. 2. Camden's *Britannia*, new edit. I. 16. Pl. I. fig. 8. *Kirgi* son of *Kynver*, whence *Polkirig*, within half a mile of it had name.

⁴ Borlase, *Ib.* 394. Pl. xxxv. 4. Camden, I. 13. Pl. I. fig. 3. *Kynadhu* ap *yeb dinow*.

⁵ Borl. *Ib.* 393. xxxv. 3. *Rhiwalluran Mab Cynwal*. Camden, p. 13.

⁶ Borl. 395. xxv. 4. Camden, p. 14. I. 4. These characters Borlase says are of the 9th century.

⁷ Borl. p. 441. Pl. xxxvi. Camden, p. 14. I. 5.

⁸ Borl. p. 376. Camden, p. 16. I. 6. 7.

⁹ Borl. p. 396. Camden, p. 17. I. 9.

¹⁰ Camden, II. p. 498. ¹¹ *Ib.* p. 495. 502. ¹² *Ib.* 502. ¹³ *Ib.* p. 495. 502. Pl. xviii. 3.

¹⁴ *Ib.* p. 508. ¹⁵ *Ib.* p. 521. ¹⁶ *Ib.* p. 522. ¹⁷ *Ib.* p. 527. ¹⁸ *Ib.* p. 529.

¹⁹ *Ib.* p. 541. xix. 8. 9. ²⁰ *Ib.* xix. 7. ²¹ *Ib.* p. 542. ²² *Ib.* p. 542.

²³ *Ib.* p. 544. ²⁴ *Ib.* xx. 3. p. 575. ²⁵ *Ib.* p. 582. xxii.

²⁶ *Ib.* p. 570. ²⁷ *Ib.* p. 554. ²⁸ *Ib.* III. P. 89. pl. iv. 4. ²⁹ *Ib.* II. p. 510. ³⁰ *Ib.* p. 572.

³¹ Camden, II. 490. xv. 6.

³² If that near *Caer Gwrys*, (Camden, III. 590. Pl. xxi. fig. 2.) is to be read as by Mr. Pennant, (Wales, I. 425.) I would correct it mulier *Ro[mana]*; though I rather think it refers to a man slain in the battle commemorated by the tumuli.

What Wallace (Orkney, p. 111), supposes a monument of *Belus*, *Balus*, or *Bladus*, king of Orkney, Mr. Lowe (MS) says, is a piece of broken monument, with the letters S & BELLVS engraved on it, worked up in the church wall at Birsá.

† *Oreus*, in Yalminton church, near Plymouth; that on the Danish general *Magnus*, at Lewes¹; and others to be seen in Camden's *Britannia*²; many of them incorrectly copied and interpreted by vague conjecture, and many copied from Roman models, if not actual Roman work³.

In Voelas garden, c. Denbigh, is a tall stone with an inscription in memory of prince *Llewellyn ap Sisfyllt*, slain 1021, explained in the additions to Camden, p. 817, to mean that it was erected by John of the house of Dolan Ghywdhelen, and that that excellent prince was buried there; but the copy given in the last edition II. 578. Pl. xx. fig. 1, 2. seems to exhibit a different reading.

The form of all these letters bespeaks them of Roman origin. The best and most perfect of them resemble those on the Roman wall, and in the many Roman inscriptions found in Britain. That on *Wledermus Odelen*, in Llanvihangle Traethew churchyard, Merionethshire⁴, has the ligatures and intelineation of letters on the famous Roman inscription at Middleby⁵, adopted on the tombs of libert de Chatz at Monkton Farley⁶; and of bishop Roger at Salisbury⁷; that in the steeple of St. George's church, Southwark⁸; that on Oddo, at Deerhurst⁹, in some measure on that at Postling church¹⁰; that on William Deincourt at Lincoln, after 1092, Pl. XIV¹¹; in the legends of some old tapestry of scripture history, which before the late splendid repair graced the walls of the state apartments at Hatfield house, and in those similar ones of the arras hangings of the lobby of the House of Lords.

See an epitaph at Aquileia of the 12th century¹², and three others wrought in Mosaic there¹³, and that of Hilperic at Cologne.

I have not met with an instance of this kind in MSS. which may perhaps be thus accounted for, that the materials to be written on were more plentiful than those to be engraven on.

Some of the oldest inscriptions in capitals I have seen among us are on the walls of Canterbury cathedral collected in Pl. XV.

¹ Camden, I. 200. Pl. xii. f. 3.

² Camden, II. p. 527. 541. 578. Pl. xix. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 18. See also *Archæologia*, I. p. 304. and the plate explained, IV. p. 24. to be *Brackmael*, commemorated on the pillar at Val Crucis, Camden, II. Pl. xxii. p. 582. Pennant's *Wales*, I. 373.

³ It must however be remembered many of these are given from no better copies than Mr. Lloyd's, and the originals of many are now lost.

⁴ How rudely many Roman inscriptions in this island were cut may be seen by those on bricks at Chesterford, (Camden, II. p. 62. Pl. i. fig. 17.) and Reculver (*Archæol.* VIII. p. 79, 80.) and on a stone near Manchester (*Archæol.* II. p. 190. Pl. xiii. 2. Camden, III. p. 136. Pl. vii. fig. 15.) Two stones in Wales, given *Archæol.* IV. Pl. i. fig. 1, 2. as *sepulchral*, are supposed by Mr. Ashby to be milliaræ.

⁵ Camden, II. p. 541. Pl. xix. 8, 9.

⁶ *Ibid.* III. p. 323. Pl. xxi. f. 2.

⁷ *Gent. Mag.* XIV. p. 139. Camden, I. 101. Pl. ix. fig. 2. *Archæol.* II. p. 190. Pl. xiii. f. 2. It is said to be still at Lacock.

⁸ *Archæol.* II. 188. Pl. xiii. Camden, I. p. 101. 105. Pl. ix. 1.

⁹ *Archæol.* II. p. 189. Camden, II. Pl. ix. 3.

¹⁰ *Marm. Ox. Maittaire*, N° cxc. Camden, I. p. 270. Pl. xiv. 6.

¹¹ Pegge's *Sylloge*, p. 12. N° 13.

¹² *Ib.* 27. N° 17. Camden, II. p. 252. Pl. iv. 5. Dugdale, *Bar. I.* 386. *Sepulchral Monuments*, I. xlix. l.

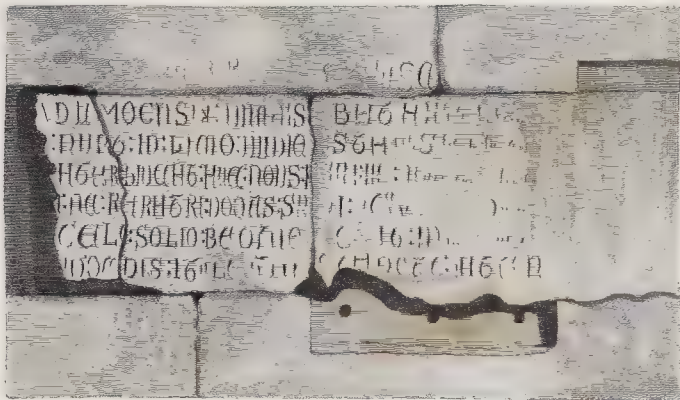
¹³ Bartoli's *Aquileia*, p. 339.

¹⁴ *Ib.* p. 343. See also p. 344. 358. 374—376. 380. 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 409—413. One of 1164. p. 377.

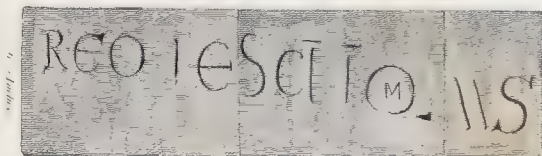
† HIC IACE TW
 FILP VAI TIA EN M
 SIS E SANGVINEIRE MIGIE
 EEOLENSIS Q HANCEE LEAM
 FECIT PEAT WILE M REGIA STYR
 PF CENIT DVI EVRIA REGIS WHE
 RI AGNI REGIS WHE Q LAH
 GEATQS IVITA LERET
 L NOV B OBIT

Inscription on a leaden plate at Lincolu

On a South Buttress near the Cemetery Gate in the Park

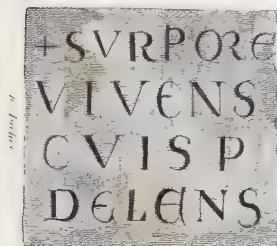


On the outside near the Exeter Room is written: N. 10.



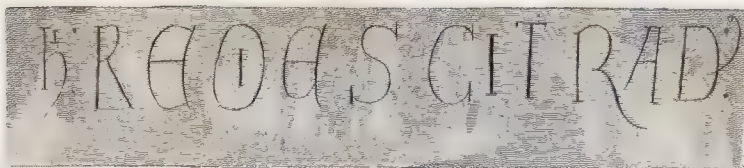
1 Foot 6" Inches

Entrance of Henry IVth Chapel on the outside



10" Inches

On a Buttress between Henry IVth Chapel & the last Crown



10" Inches

Inscriptions at Canterbury

Mr. Lethieullier, in a correspondence with bishop Lyttelton, proposed, as highly worth the attention of British Antiquaries, a collection of our inscriptions on a plan like that pursued by Gruter and others for Roman antiquities.

As his letters contain a variety of ingenious remarks, and have not appeared in any publication of the Society, I shall give them here at length :

“ Among all the searches that have been made into the Antiquities of former ages, none perhaps has been more cultivated than the study of antient inscriptions. The rich and powerful have spared no cost in collecting them together ; and the learned in many parts of Europe have bestowed their utmost labour and skill in publishing and explaining them. The prefaces and preliminary discourses prefixed to Gruter, Muratori, and other collectors, are so full of the real benefits which true learning has received from them, that I need add nothing upon that subject ; but, as a proof of the great diligence which has been used in collecting them, it may be worth your observation, that the first book of this nature that was ever published, was by one Mazochius a printer in Rome, anno 1522, who compiled a small folio volume of them, entitled, “ *Epigrammata Antiquæ Urbis*.” From so small a beginning have arisen those numerous volumes which already fill the libraries of the curious ; and more are every day collecting and digesting in many of the principal cities in Europe.

Perfect inscriptions, cut in marble, relating to the mythology of different nations, to the actions of kings or emperors, or the history of famous cities, have not only been admitted into these collections, but those of every nature and on every kind of material have been sought after, and learnedly criticised upon, and even fragments are preserved, as frequently tending to the illustration of other more entire inscriptions.

Many learned men both in France and Italy have not disdained to add to their collections of Greek and Roman monuments those of a more modern date, by which many particular facts have been recovered, the memory of many eminent persons revived, and materials provided for future historians.

As antient inscriptions are rarely found with the dates of any particular æra upon them, their commentators have always looked for other criteria by which to judge of their antiquity.

The names of kings or other supreme magistrates among the Greeks, and of the emperors or consuls among the Latins, are esteemed the surest guides ; but as neither of these occur in many thousands now published, recourse must be had to the forms of expression, the spelling of words, the manner of stopping, and even the shape of the letters, by which the century at least may be ascertained in which any inscription was wrote.

It were to be wished that the example of other countries would induce the lovers of antiquity in this nation to collect into one body every thing that is found here of the like nature. And as a Society is now established, under the

Royal,

Royal Protection, on purpose to search into and illustrate the different parts of polite literature (with a more especial regard to what concerns our own country), I conclude that the learned members of that body will not think such an undertaking unworthy their attention. By a collection of the inscriptions now to be met with in Great Britain I do not mean the copying every trivial rhyme or short memorial with which our common churchyards are almost universally crowded; nor those voluminous flattering epitaphs which cover huge tables of marble, and too often deface the inside of our most antient and venerable temples. These are frequently wrote in a style equally applicable to any other, as well as to the person on whom they are bestowed.

The tender expressions of conjugal affection, the duty of children to their parents, and the gratitude of servants to their masters, frequently occur in antient inscriptions; but expressed in short and elegant forms; twenty of them not equal in length to what we now meet with on every such occasion.

It will perhaps be objected, that the Roman inscriptions hitherto found in Britain have at different times been published, and commented upon, by many learned Antiquaries, and of late collected into one body by the industrious Mr. Horsley; but doubtless there are some which have escaped his utmost diligence, and new ones very probably will frequently be discovered. But have we had no princes, statesmen, soldiers, ecclesiastics, or other eminent persons, since the Roman age, whose memories, if perchance they are preserved in any kind of inscription, are not unworthy of our attention and illustration? Is not the memory of a British or Saxon saint, whose name perhaps is latent in many of our towns and villages, as worthy our enquiries as the names of every local deity of the towns and villages in Grece or Italy?

Are not the founders of our temples, palaces, courts of justice, bridges, high-ways, and such like, as memorable to us, as the like benefactors to other countries? The gravestone of a king Arthur, the memorial of an *aldermanus totius Angliæ*, the boundary stone of the possessions of Crowland abbey, are surely not to be despised; nor ought the gravestone of Bishop Mauritius, that magnificent founder of Old St. Paul's, to lie still in the oblivion with which it has hitherto been covered.

Gruter has bestowed a whole book on the monuments of the several artificers in Rome, regarding either their private capacities, or any public work they concurred in. Why should the merit of any of our eminent mechanicks, or the munificent acts of any of our bodies corporate, be neglected as not worth reading?

The monument of Cossutius (who I apprehend was no more than a common mason at Rome) was greatly admired by our learned Professor Greaves, as preserving the divisions of the Roman Foot, and other implements of his trade upon it; and why may not the gravestone of a *cementarius cathedralis Lincolnie* (a structure of so great magnificence) be thought worthy preservation, since there are likewise the implements of his occupation engraved upon his tombstone?"

In a former letter I troubled you with on this subject, I hinted at the use I thought might be made of a general collection of all the antient inscriptions which are any where to be met with in these kingdoms, and am farther convinced that by such a body of them being brought together they would greatly tend to the illustrating one another.

I am sensible that the great difficulty in reading and decyphering many inscriptions is what deters most gentlemen from such an undertaking, and a prepossession, that they are of no moment to enlighten any part of history renders the neglect of them (as they think) the more justifiable. This difficulty however has not deterred foreign antiquaries from such attempts: many curious inscriptions, wrote even in the most extravagant character, have by their industry been rendered comprehensible by every capacity.

Nor have we wanted some very learned men of our own nation who have applied themselves this way; as the learned Dr. Nicolson, Dr. Hickes, and others. The strange variety we meet with in the characters in our antient inscriptions has arisen from different causes. The decay which appears even in Italy so early as the third century in the formation of the true round Roman letter made way for several innovations there; and can we expect it should be better preserved in so remote a province as Britain? The inscriptions of that age which are found here prove the contrary.

The irruption of the Northern nations was another great cause of this barbarism in writing; add to which the ignorance and capriciousness of the workmen, together with the ignorance of the times, and it is no wonder to find as great rudeness in their characters as in their sculptures.

A humour likewise of putting Latin inscriptions in Greek letters sometimes prevailed; and many monograms, cyphers, rebuses, and such like fancies, have contributed to these difficulties. There is one circumstance however which contributes to the reading of inscriptions with more ease than antient MSS—the former having, to the best of my knowledge, been always wrote in capitals, whereas a small hand being introduced about the 7th century, for the more expeditious writing of books, the varieties and difficulties springing from thence are visible to this day, and are the causes of great disputes and various readings. A number of alphabets therefore of capital letters, formed from writings or inscriptions where dates are known, must greatly contribute to the reading and ascertaining the age of such as have no other criteria to judge of them by. The capitals suffered much less alteration in their formation during a space of many centuries than the smaller letters; and indeed have remained to this day the same with the Roman letters, except a few slight variations, and the introduction of a very few Northern ones.

I must except from this position that age when the square German letters were stretched from their original size, and use, to be employed as capitals. These cause the greatest confusion of any; since the number of single lines which compose the *m n i r u* are all similar, and frequently joined together.

I do not pretend to say that the certain age of any inscription may be determined by the form of the character it is wrote in. We have many instances to the contrary. There are two inscriptions in York cathedral, where the square capitals would induce one to judge them of the age of our two first Norman kings; and yet their dates prove them to be much later.

I have an inscription which I copied from the outside of a window in Burford church, in Oxfordshire, which is wrote exactly in those round Saxon capitals which prevailed here in Henry III's time and in which his own epitaph is wrote; but yet I am convinced, by the building of the church, and make of the window, that this inscription is little more than three hundred years old. I think however that wherever we meet with a square German letter used as a capital, or some other criteria which I could point out to you, we may safely conclude that inscription to be posterior to such a practice, and consequently shorten our enquiries into its age and meaning. We have little grounds to believe that the antient Britans made use of any kind of Writing. The learning of the Druids was probably transmitted to their disciples by tradition, or shadowed out in mystical emblems in the nature of the Egyptian hieroglyphicks. The Romans, we know, spread every where the polite arts with their conquests; and it is highly probable they first taught the inhabitants of this island the use of letters.

On their abandoning the island at the beginning of the 5th century, all things we know ran into ruin and desolation; the few Romanized Britans who knew any thing of letters, retained no doubt the Roman character, though daily debasing.

I must acknowledge, that I always thought the Pagan Saxons were ignorant of letters when first invented in this island; but finding some hints in Mr. Wanley's preface to his catalogue of Saxon MSS, and in Sir Andrew Fountaine's Dedication of his Treatise on the Saxon coins, which shew these two learned antiquaries to be of a different opinion, I will not presume to dissent from them. But Mr. Wanley allows that after the arrival of Austin the Monk the Roman letters came generally into use; and therefore I can look upon the Runic letters occurring on the font at Bridkirk in Cumberland, and in one or two more instances which may be met with in England in that character, as no proof of it having ever been established here, any more than the Arabic or Hebrew inscriptions which have casually been met with, the effects of a foreigner's residing here, or the caprice of some whimsical person.

Among the numberless proofs of the superiour genius of our great king Alfred we are assured he applied himself to the restoring of the alphabet; that is, as I suppose, to the reforming the extravagant barbarism into which it was fallen during the confusion of the Heptarchy, and bringing it back to a nearer compliance with its true mother the Roman letter; and indeed among the capitals I see none that are of mere Northern extraction but the Ð (Th) and the ƿ (W), and one or two which were small letters at first, but admitted and used among the capitals in after times, and perhaps by ignorant scribes or workmen.

However,



Fig. 1

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1 A.C.E.H.I.L.H.O.P.R.S.T.V.X
 2 A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.I.K.L.M.N.O.P.Q.R.S.T.U.U.U.X.
 3 A.B.C.E.G.H.I.L.M.N.O.P.R.S.V.T.V.
 4 A.C.D.E.F.G.H.M.N.O.R.T. ð Æ.
 5 A.C.D.E.F.G.H.L.M.N.R W.(*)
 6 A.A.α- C.C.D.d.E.ε f.F.G.γ.A.I.γ.
 L.I.M.Π.N.Π.O.P. R.P.ζ.ς.T.U.V.W.
 7 A.B.C.D.E.G.H.h.b.i.L.M.N.O.P.Q.R.S.T.V.W.X.
 8 A.B.C.D.E.F.C.h.i.L.M.N.O.P.Q.R.S.T.V.W.Y.
 9 A.C.D.E.E G.H.h.i.L.M.Π.M.N.O.Ο. R.S.T.V.W.Z.
 10 A.B.C.D.E.G.h.i.L.M.Π.N.Π.O.P.Q.R.S.T.V.X.Y.
 11 A.B.C.D.E.F.G.h.i.L.M.Π.N.Π.O.P.Q.R.S.T.ς.V.
 12 a.b.c.d.e.f.Ϛ.b.i.l.m.n.o.p.q.r.ς.ε.u.w.x.ϣ.ζ.

Fig. 2

A Λ A O A Æ
 B
 C
 D
 E E E E E F E E
 F Γ
 G
 H
 I
 L
 M T
 N
 P
 Q
 R
 S
 T
 U
 V
 W
 X
 Y
 Z

NN
 O O O O O
 P
 R P R
 P P P P P
 U U U U U
 X X X X X X
 Y Y Y Y Y

Σ Σ
 X
 Y

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Fig. 3

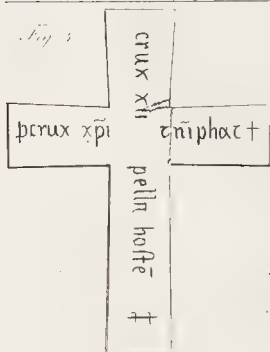


Fig. 4

R E A Q.
 I N R Y. E

Fig. 5

A E C M
 I N B I

Fig. 6

✠ F B T E D. T E C A H E A X R E D M E E F X R O K L

Fig. 7

✠ A L M S T ✠

However, as I think examining originals, and observing what was really practised, must be preferable to any reasonings upon this subject, I send you some alphabets formed from monuments of undoubted antiquity, between the 6th and 14th centuries, by which you will observe what characters were really made use of in those ages. Some observations I have made upon the particular inscriptions where they were met with would extend this letter to a greater fault than what it is already too guilty of. See Pl. XIV. fig. 1.

1. Alphabet from the leaden plate found in king Arthur's grave at Glastonbury.

Here the letters B. D. F. G. K. M. Q. Y. do not occur. And as I have no better authority than the draught given of this plate in Dr. Gibson's edition of the *Britannia*, I cannot answer for the true shape of the original letters.

2. From a charter to Berking abbey, about A. D. 670, in the Cotton Library, Aug. II. 26. Pl. I. in Casley's Catalogue.

Here we have the whole alphabet, except (y) and (z) in a charter (from a Saxon prince) of undoubted antiquity, where the capital letters, in which the whole is written, differ very little from the true Roman ones.

3. From the boundary stone at Croyland, about A. D. 730.

4. From a Saxon inscription on a gold ring; see Dr. Hickes.

5. From a gold relique supposed of the time of king Alfred. Hickes' *Thef.* I. 142. Camden, Somerset.

In these two inscriptions the letters vary very little from the Roman ones; and though it is not to be expected that they are so sharp and well formed on stones or other monuments of so great antiquity, yet their true shape is easily discoverable.

In the *Britannia* we have five inscriptions copied from stone monuments in Cornwall. From them all I have extracted the sixth alphabet, where some variations in the shapes of the letters is observable.

These are plainly Christian monuments, and must have been cut after the Saxons were established in that county, there being several letters which the Cornish Britains could know nothing of.

7. From the tapestry at Bayeux in Normandy, temp. William I.

8. From a leaden plate preserved at Lincoln, wrote temp. William II.

9. From the great Seals of the three Norman kings.

10. From the great Seals from Henry II. to Edward I.

11. From the great Seals of the Three Edwards.

12. From the great Seals of Edward the Black Prince and Richard II.

As I make no doubt but the originals from whence I have copied the foregoing alphabets are sufficient evidences of the shapes of the capital letters used in the ages they were wrote in, so I think some use may arise from comparing any inscription which accidentally occurs with these alphabets."

A third letter from the same learned antiquary relates to an inscription over the porch of St. Austel church in Cornwall, engraved from a different copy in the last edition of the *Britannia*, I. Pl. II. p. 16.

"After the tedious length to which my two former letters are extended, I wish I could apply the subject of them to clearing up the inscription at St. Austel; but though I must acknowledge I am there deficient, yet I hope I shall point out some criteria by which its age may be guessed at, and consequently the less room left for bewildering our future enquiries.

A

A copy of this inscription was sent me by the Rev. Dr. Milles, with an assurance of its being faithfully copied; of which there seems little reason to doubt, since all the letters are plainly intelligible, and appear to be as represented in Pl. XIII. fig. 4.

The Doctor informs me that the letters are not cut into the stone as usual; stand out in relief from it: a practice not often met with.

As the four first letters in the second line seem to be I. N. R. I. probably the initials of Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum; so I conclude that the letters in the first line are to be considered as initials, and that the language of the whole is Latin.

You informed me that you had communicated a copy of this inscription to the Society of Antiquaries, and that many of that learned body judged it to be coeval with our Norman kings. Had you informed me of any reasons on which they grounded such an opinion, I should have long hesitated before I differed from them; but as it seemed to be only a kind of guess work, I hope I shall meet with your excuse at least for offering my reasons for thinking it of a much later date.

The letter K, if you look back to the foregoing alphabets, never occurs but in the Saxon charter to Barking Abbey, and is there used only in the word *Kartula*, and formed exactly after the Roman model. And I think I may safely affirm that in the few instances where that letter is to be met with till the middle of the 14th century, it rarely, if ever, differs in its form when used as a capital letter.

The Y likewise was not a letter in common use as a capital in the early ages, and when it occurs it is formed of two straight lines, a long one and a shorter, which coincides with it about the middle; but not twisted and curled, as it appears in this inscription. But the last letter in the first line puts the age of this inscription beyond all doubt, since I believe no antiquary will affirm, that he ever met with the square German H, as it is here wrote, in its full deformity, used as a capital letter before the latter end of the 14th century. If this observation is true (as I really believe it is) then this inscription cannot be of the Norman age, since the letters it is cut in were at that time unknown.

The same objection will lie against the round N in Nazarenus and the R in Rex; since their forms do not agree with the practice in early times; but enough of this subject. When I first viewed this inscription I recollected that I had seen the same kind of capitals elsewhere; and calling to mind the famous horn by which the manor of Pusey, in Wiltshire, is held as a grant from king Canutus the Dane, I immediately turned to Dr. Hickes's *Thesaurus*, where I remembered the inscription on that horn was engraved, and found almost every one of the letters the same with those in the inscription from Aufel. This might at first sight seem to tend to prove its antiquity; but take the learned Doctor's opinion of the Pusey inscription in his own words¹. After telling us that this horn was produced as an evidence in the Court of Chancery before the Lord Jefferies, where it had its due weight, and was admired by all as a piece of venerable antiquity, he adds—"Quod tamen non esse, saltem non posse evinci esse illud ipsum Cornu quo Canutus R. prædia Pyfeyensia donabat,

¹ *Thesaurus*, pref. p. xxv.

"inſcriptionis ſermo, quo ante tercentum vel ccc. annos Angli locuti ſunt;
"Et characteres quibus ea circiter tempora uſi ſunt, demonſtranti."

The ſame ſort of letters are, he ſays, on the horn at Queen's College, in Oxford, and prove it to be of much the ſame age; and I think the St. Auftel inſcription cannot claim a greater antiquity.

I wiſh I was as well ſatisfied as to the right interpretation of the letters in the firſt line: I am at preſent too much at a loſs to hazard any conjecture, I ſhould be glad to know what emblems there may be in carved work on the porch; what ſaint the church is dedicated too. Perhaps ſome circumſtances may ariſe upon farther ſpeculation which may tend to unravel this myſtery. *Adhuc ſub judice lis eſt.*"

With all due deference to this learned antiquary, I beg leave to enter a caveat againſt N° 1. 3. 6. 8. We know not whence the firſt comes, nor whether faithfully copied. We find it in the five firſt editions of Camden's *Britannia* uniformly cut in wood, the letters broad and thick, and ſome of them conjoined. In the ſixth and laſt edition published in Mr. Camden's life-time, the letters are ruſer and ranged on a rude figure of a croſs, which they retain in both editions of Holland's tranſlation, and in every ſucceeding one. In the edition at Francfort, 1616, it ſtands in common Roman capitals. There is too ſtrong a ſuſpicion of a very modern recutting of N° 3. to admit its authority; and the letters copied by Mr. Lethieullier differ materially from the laſteſt copy in the laſt edition of the *Britannia*, I. p. 236. The inſcription on Doniert firſt appeared in the *Britannia*, 1607; and Dr. Borlaſe has given a very different representation of it, as indeed he has of every other inſcription in Cornwall. We need only compare the modern copies in the *Archæologia*, V. and VI. of the inſcriptions in Wales, taken by Mr. Llyud for biſhop Gibſon to pronounce on the fallacy of truſting to haſty copies; and it is hoped the copy here given of N° 8 will be accepted as more genuine than the former ones.

The St. Auftel inſcription, of which a correſt copy is given Pl. XIII. fig. 5. from the laſt edition of the *Britannia*, I. 16. Pl. I. fig. 11. ſeems rather to be read:

Kyrie Jeſus Nazarenus Rex Judeorum.

The oldeſt funeral inſcriptions after thoſe on ſtone cippi were on leaden plates¹, of which that in Arthur's coffin may be deemed the earlieſt inſtance. That in the tomb at Lincoln at the cloſe of the eleventh century. One on Becket in the twelfth. Others will be given hereafter. And on the continent we have one on the tomb of Richeza daughter of Ernfrid founder of Brunvilar's abbey near Cologne²; and of Conſtance wife of Alan Fergant; and of the empreſs Maud, at Rouen³.

In a ſtone coffin containing a ſkeleton dug up near Clopton's hoſpital a St. Edmond's Bury, in November 1794 was a leaden croſs, inſcribed on the ſhaft, *Crux Xpi pellit hoſte.*

And on the tranſverſe,

Crux Xpi triumphat.

See it Pl. XIII. fig. 3.

¹ The *Εγνα και Ημεραι*, the only genuine work of Heſiod, were inſcribed on lead, near Hippocrene or Helicon; but almoſt worn out in Pauſanias' time. *Borot.* c. 31.

² Lebeuf, *Hiſt. de la Ville et Dioc. de Paris*, I. 175.

³ Vol. I. p. 47.

An instance of a leaden plate with an inscription we have in the case of the emperor Lotharius, whose monument at Lutter in Saxony was opened 1618, and this inscribed plate found, now preserved in the Guelferby Library :

LOTHARIUS D. I. GRATIA
ROMANORUM IMPERA-
TOR AVGVSTVS
REGNAVIT ANNOS
XII MENSES III DIES
II NONAS DECEM-
BRIS VIR IN X^{PO} FIDELIS-
SIMUS, VERAX, CONSTANS, PA-
CIFICVS, MILES IMPERTERRITVS
REDIENS AB AULIA SAR-
ACENIS OCCISIS ET EJECTIS¹.

Two gilt plates, containing the life, titles, and portraits of the emperor Frederic IV. were deposited with his body on its removal from the vault of the princes of Austria, in the church of St. Stephen at Vienna, into the magnificent mausoleum of white marble and porphyry, which he began, and his son and successor Maximilian finished in that city, 1513².

A round silver plate with an inscription in the mixt Roman and Lombardic capitals was in the mausoleum of the empress Constance at Palermo, dated 1222³.

It was customary, in the reign of Henry III. to fasten plates of lead with inscriptions on the breasts of the parties interred.

In 1662 was found a body in a stone coffin under the arch West of lord Basset's monument at Lichfield, on whose breast was fastened a plate of lead of an oval form, the corners rounded off, inscribed :

Anno ab i^carnacio⁴ Dⁿi M^{CC} XXIII. obiit Wil.
Coventr⁵ & Lichfeld Eps XIII kal. Septembris
Regni Regis Henrici fil R. Joh. XII. sub honore
p^p III J. Stepho Cantuar Ecclie archiepo & Rex C⁶
A. C. eccliam istam VIII annos F. . . . menses.

This commemorates William de Cornhill, bishop from 1215 to 1223.

The connection between inscriptions of every kind is so close that it is impossible to separate the sepulchral from others which occur on our ancient monuments.

On an inscription in Bartoli's collection at Aquileia we see the long capitals like those in the leaden tablet of Deincourt at Lincoln.

¹ Meibom. jun. in not. in Henr. Rossæ Heringbergans Opp. Helmstadt, 1688. I. 798. Slivogt. de Sepult. imp. p. 60.

² Cuspin. p. 412. Slivogt. 73, 74.

³ See before, p. lxxxii.

Some of the earlier recited in Dr. Pegge's valuable Sylloge not being in fac simile it is impossible to say what was the form of the letters. Neither is it clear that they were of the age they commemorate. That concerning Lucius the first Christian king in St. Peter's church, Cornhill, might not have been in an older hand than many of the parchment tablets in Westminster abbey, St. Paul's, and other cathedral and conventual churches, which were disputable both in their facts and writing'. Many more may have been renewed in a different hand; as that over the West door of Lichfield cathedral; and this has, I believe, been universally the case where the inscription was painted on the wall, when every new whitewashing would remove it farther from orthographical verity.

All the early bishops of Hereford have their inscriptions painted over them in the same black letter. See Vol. I. Pl. III*.

We may therefore, with Dr. Pegge¹, fairly presume the inscription in honor of Bede, in Jarrow church, which is to be dated A. D. 684, to be one of the first; but whether the original form of the letters is retained after so many refreshings may be doubted, or whether we have an exact copy.

The next are those at Deerhurst abbey, commemorating its foundation by duke Dodo, or Oddo, in the middle of the 11th century; and the second dedication of the church by Ealdred bishop of Worcester, 14 Edward Confessor, 1058², to which date they must be referred. The letters of these are like those of Ilbert De Chatz and others before mentioned, and round the little crofs at the tomb of St. Germain in the abbey church of St. Germain des Prez³.

Contemporary with these is that fine one in Saxon capitals at Kirkdale church in Rydale, in the North Riding of Yorkshire⁴, the oldest existing specimen on stone of the intermixture of Saxon and Roman letters, and to be dated between 1056 and 1065.

My learned friend Dr. Pegge⁵ is of opinion that the Saxons when they first came into England could not write, but borrowed their alphabet from the Britons. The Britons were finally expelled from their country by Crida, about A. D. 584; but it may be presumed that, though the bulk of the people fled beyond the Severn, a number of them continued in Mercia, and became subjects to Crida, and from these the Saxons may have learnt their characters.

St. Chad's Gospel, as it is called, at Lichfield, once belonged to the church of Landaff. It is supposed to have been written about A. D. 760⁶; and has some annotations written in Wales about A. D. 800⁷. This will afford us the British character at that time.

¹ Pegge's Sylloge, p. 36.

² *Ib.* p. 16. N° 8.

³ *Ib.* p. 16. Camden, I. 270. Pl. xiv. fig. 6.

⁴ Boullart, Hist. de l'abbaye de St. Germain, p. 283. Pl. xv.

⁵ Archæol. V. p. 188. Pl. xiv. Pegge's Sylloge, p. 20. N° XI. Camden, III. 86. Pl. xiv. 6.

⁶ In a MS memoir on the subject.

⁷ Llyod's Archæol. Brit. p. 4. 226.

⁸ Hickes's Thes. III. p. 290.

The Saxon characters may be seen on their coins about the time of Offa; whence may be formed the alphabet in Pl. XIII. fig. 2.

These coins are some of the late kings of Mercia; but the oldest may best be relied on in this matter, because we cannot tell what improvements might be made in the after ages, by borrowing from the other neighbouring states of the Heptarchy¹.

The letters peculiar to the Saxons are *þ* *f* *g* and *i* undotted, *p* *r* *u* *ö* or *þ* *p* *y*.

It is observable, that R, the great letter, is used for *p* in the second annotation from the textus S. Ceddæ, in Hickeys' Thes. III. p. 289.

The peculiar letters *f* *g* *p* *r* *u* and *i* undotted occur also in the MS. of the first book of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, in the Bodleian library, a British MS. supposed by Mr. Llyud² to be as old as St. Chad's Gospel, and *ö* occurs in a piece of Ninianus, which may be of the same age.

In the inscription at Vale Crucis are some letters of Saxon form; as *a* *ö* *f* *g* *r* *u* *y*³.

It is much to be regretted that no spirited antiquary's curiosity has been strong enough to raise this pillar from the ground, and make a fac simile of them.

The same letters occur in the MS of Juvenius, in the public library at Cambridge, which Mr. Llyud supposed one of our oldest MSS; and the oldest Irish and Scotch agree in the *f* *g* *h*, and in all the rest of the letters⁴.

The Cornish Glossary in the Cotton library gives *ƿ* for W, which Mr. Llyud esteems a Saxon letter; but if the Saxons borrowed this letter from the Britons, who had not this letter antiently, it will be difficult to say whence the Saxons had it.

Mr. Wanley, in Dr. Hickeys' Thesaurus, III. 289, 290. calls the letters of the Textus S. Ceddæ at Lichfield *Anglo Saxon*, and yet he acknowledges the book was written in Wales. But the testimony of Mr. Llyud is very express: "The antient Cornish letters were (besides the old Roman) the same with those used by the other Britons and Scots, which being also used by the antient English, are now best known by the name of Saxon letters⁵."

Mr. Asple concurs with Dr. Pegge in opinion, but deduces the knowledge of letters among the Britons from the Romans, after whose departure the Saxons who were invited hither by the Picts, and arrived here about A. D. 449, learnt them from the Britons. The characters which they afterwards used were adopted by them in this island, and though the writing in England from the 5th to the

¹ The Numismatic alphabet rather declined than improved in the 9th and succeeding centuries; witness the coins even of Alfred among the Saxon ones in Camden's Brit. I. p. cxv.

² Archæol. p. 226.

³ Llyud, ib. It is remarkable that Mr. Llyud, who here gives a small portion of this inscription, places it at Maes yr ychen in Landiffilo parish, Denbighshire; but in his letter printed from the Bodleian Library in the new edition of Camden, II. p. 582. where the inscription is engraved at length, he calls it the Vale Crucis inscription.

⁴ P. 332.

⁵ Archæol. p. 225.

middle of the 11th century is called *Saxon*, it will appear that the letters used in this island were derived from the Romans, and were equally Roman in their origin and Italian in their structure at first, but were barbarized in their aspect by the British Romans and Roman Britons¹. The writing which prevailed in England from the coming in of St. Augustine in 596 to the middle of the 11th century is generally termed Saxon, and may be divided into five kinds². It is with the first of these divisions, the *Roman Saxon* only, that we are now concerned.

Roman Letters corrupted occur on
Ethelwulph's jewel³ and Ahlstan's ring⁴.

A ring of Ethelred prince of the Mercians, in the possession of Sir Hans Sloane; engraved Pl. XIII. fig. 6.

Roman and Saxon capitals intermixed.

Ovinus's crofs at Ely⁵.

Cuthlac's crofs at Croyland⁶.

Braithwell crofs⁷.

Base at Durham⁸.

Those letters which depart from the Roman form are

Æ. Å. G. V. L. M. O. R. S. J.

The additional ones are Ð. Þ. for Tþ. P. for W. U for Ö.

The ligature HE for HE.

CNÖ for Cing.

A few instances of inscriptions in the pure Saxon capitals are preserved on various small fragments of their jewelry: the bijou found in the isle of Athelney neatly engraved by Dr. Hickes, Thes. I. 40. Mufgrave, Belg. Brit. Gibson's Camden, Somerset, Marmora, Oxon.; the shrine, Gent. Mag. XLIX. 536. L. 128. perhaps on the jewel, Archæol. VII. 421. Pl. xxx. 8, 9, 10.

The Saxon E is that of the oldest *Greek* MSS. such as the Cottonian⁹ and Vienna MSS. of the Old Testament¹⁰, the Bodleian MS of the Acts¹¹, and others given by Mr. Aske, and referred to the beginning of the 6th century, as also in Latin MSS of the same period¹², continued to the 8th and 9th centuries, in smaller proportions¹³. The G turns up in the 6th century MSS. brought by

¹ Aske, p. 96.

² Ib. p. 98.

³ Archæol. VII. p. 421. Pl. XXX. fig. 8, 9, 10.

⁴ Archæol. IV. 47. See the letters, Pl. XIII. fig. 7.

⁵ Camden, II. 141.

⁶ Ib. 236.

⁷ Ib. III. Pl. II.

⁸ Ib. Pl. VIII. 2. p. 118.

⁹ Aske, p. 70. Tab. III. Dr. Owen on the Cottonian MS. of Genesis, 1778.

¹⁰ Aske, Pl. III. p. 71. Dr. Holmes' specimen of the Vienna MS. just published.

¹¹ Aske, p. 72. Tab. IV. Hearn's edition of that MS. Ox. 1715. ¹² Aske, p. 80. Tab. VII. 1, 2.

¹³ Ib. p. 82. Tab. IX.

On some Roman inscriptions, A. D. 586. in Bartoli's *Aquileia*, p. 345, 346. we have

Æ. V. G. E. O. for Q. E. for ET. A. for AN.

The following letters in an inscription of the middle of the 8th century are called by Bartoli *latino-barbari* (p. 351), which are the only difference from the 6th century, Q. Q. V. L.

St. Augustine into England¹. The lower turn of the S forms a volute at the same time². The A assumes the same form as in the Kirkdale inscription among the *Lombardic* letters some centuries before the 9th³, of which class is the R become irregular, the semicircular part almost absorbing the stroke which distinguishes it from the P, the L with its horizontal stroke declining upwards or downwards. The O assumes a lozenge fashion in MSS. about the end of the 7th of century⁴. where also we meet with the S shaped like Z revert N^4 .

In the Poffling inscription the R is written like the text R , or perhaps OR.

In that on Deincourt the M first appears together with the Roman M; the round G and the small h are retained. In other respects the letters are Roman capitals or *Lombardic* intermixt with Roman. The present inscription over the little door of the Temple church in London⁵, broken 1695, favors of recutting. If this be not the case, it has more Roman letters in it than those at present remaining at Ashborne or Caister⁶. The latter of these is one of the fairest specimens of its kind, and faithfully given in Gent. Mag. Vol. LXIV. p. 980.

That in Ashborne church, Derbyshire⁷, may be admitted as original, and has the *Lombardic* $\text{D. G. h. P. R. T. X}$. The d. n. and P are however of St. Augustine's age.

The letters inlaid on the shrine of the Confessor, 1282, are of true Roman origin, and are the largest uncials preserved on monuments⁸.

The *Lombardic* characters are supposed to have been introduced by the Lombards into the country which they overran, and to which they gave their name, as well as throughout Italy, instead of the Gothic character⁹. M. de Vannes¹⁰ considers this, and even other later characters, only as a corruption of the Roman by the Barbarians, "not by introducing new characters, but by disfiguring old ones." But when in his distinction of all writing into *capital*, *uncial*, and *smaller* (minuscule) and *runningband*¹¹, he confines inscriptions in stone and metal to the first class, or says that it belongs regularly to them, he seems to have forgotten the innumerable specimens of the last class in such inscriptions all over the continent as well as in our own country.

On the fragments at Kirkby Over Cair¹² the Saxon and *Lombardic* are intermixt; so on that in Corbridge church, where I doubt not Mr. Wallis has misrepresented the E .¹³ They are also in Clee church, Lincolnshire, 1192¹⁴; the Munassing hinge¹⁵, and others.

¹ Aftle, Tab. x. 1.

² Ib. p. 81. Tab. viii.

³ Ib. p. 95. Tab. xiii. 4.

⁴ Ib. Tab. xiv. 1.

⁵ Pegge's Sylloge, 28. xviii.

⁶ Pegge, lb. p. 30. xx.

Camden, II. p. 143.

⁷ Pegge, p. 32. xxii. Mr. Peck gives another dedication inscription at Lincoln. Desid. Cur. viii. p. 321, but does not say in what letters, and this is the case with N° xxvi in Dr. Pegge's Sylloge.

⁸ See Vol. I. p. 3.

⁹ Diction. Diplom. I. 432. Bartoli gives several inscriptions in what he calls *Tentonic* letters, which are our *Lombardic*. Aquileia, 361—363.

¹⁰ Dict. Diplom. p. 433.

¹¹ Ib. 434.

¹² Camden, III. 83. Pl. iv. 3.

¹³ Camden, III. 250. Wallis, 119, &c.

¹⁴ Sylloge, p. 67. Pl. xiv. Camden, II. p. 275.

¹⁵ Camden, II. 53. Pl. I. 6.

The letters on Gundreda's tomb in Lewes abbey, 1082¹, have fewer depairures from the Roman form than could be expected.

The intermixture of Saxon and Lombardic capitals appears so late as the middle of the 14th century, in the two inscriptions in Egham² and Bookham³ churches, the first dated 1327, the other 1341; and even in the 16th century, on the battlements of Broxborne church⁴.

They are on the Aldborough dish of German manufacture⁵. Those on the Soulfston⁶ and other dishes⁷ are different.

The Lombardic alone on the fascia of the South arch over the steps leading into the choir at Canterbury⁸.

We are now arrived at the 13th century, when the use of the Lombardic capitals became general on tomb-stones. The following instances occur in the first volume of this work :

Abbot Alan, 1202, Tewksbury⁹.

Robert de Vere, 1221, Hatfield Broad Oak¹⁰.

Sir William de Tracy, 1223, Devonshire¹¹.

The monument at Beaulieu¹², 1298.

Henry III. 1272, Westminster¹³.

William de Lexington, 1272, } Lincoln.

Bishop Gravescend¹⁴, 1279, }

Queen Eleanor, 1290, Westminster¹⁵. Her bowels, Lincoln¹⁶.

Elias de Bekingham, 1291, Bottesham¹⁷.

Lady Narburgh, 1293, Narburgh¹⁸.

Prior Basing, 1295, Winchester¹⁹.

Urian de St. Pierre, 1295, Mathern²⁰.

Bishop de Luda, 1298, Ely²¹.

Ralph de Hengham, Old St. Paul's²².

Thomas de Lincoln's gift to an altar at St. Mary Coslany, Norwich, is recorded in such capitals over it. He died 1298²³.

Ela Countess of Warwick, Ofeney²⁴, 1300.

Simon Flambard, Much Hadham²⁵.

One of the Greys, in the reign of Edward I. Stroud²⁶.

Robert de Gravele, same time, Wotton²⁷.

Bishop Bubwith, 1309, Wells²⁸.

¹ Vol. I. p. 1.

² Pegge's Sylloge, p. 100. App. N^o vii. Pl. xvi.

³ Ib. p. 70. App. N^o xlix. Pl. xvi. fig. 1. ⁴ Ib. p. 90. Pl. xxvi.

⁵ Camden, III. p. 59.

⁶ Nash's Worcestershire, II. p. 367.

⁷ Gent. Mag. LXIII. p. 187.

⁸ Sylloge, p. 130. Pl. xxx.

⁹ I. 36. Pl. ix.

¹⁰ I. 39. Pl. viii.

¹¹ I. 39.

¹² I. 42. Pl. xiv.

¹³ I. 58. Pl. xx.

¹⁴ I. 160.

¹⁵ I. 64. Pl. xxiii.

¹⁶ Ib. 66.

¹⁷ Ib. 76.

¹⁸ Ib. 67.

¹⁹ Ib. 63.

²⁰ Ib. 68.

²¹ Ib. 75.

²² Ib. 78.

²³ Biomet. II. p. 840.

²⁴ I. 79. Leland, Itin. II. 19.

²⁵ Dugdale, Bar. I. p. 73.

²⁶ I. 78.

²⁷ I. 204.

²⁸ I. 209.

²⁹ I. 82.

Adam de Franton, 1325, Wyberton ¹.

John de Frevile, Long Shelford ¹.

Joan prioress of Romsey ², 1333, or 49.

John Sutton, abbot of Dorchester, 1349 ³.

An abbot at St. Albans ⁴, about 1333. q. John.

Robert Hungerford, 1354, Hungerford ⁵.

Joan and Maud de Cobham, Cobham ⁶.

Robert de Buers, at Aston ⁷, 1361, is the latest instance I have met with; so that we may presume that when the text hand was introduced on the tomb of Edward III. about seventeen years after it would become the fashionable character, and be universally adopted, which was the case throughout the rest of the century to the end of the reign of Elizabeth; one exception in Philippa lady Mohun duchess of York, 1431. Vol. II. Pl. XXXIII. p. 99. and dean Langton in York minster, II. p. 75.

To the instances already given of the Lombardic letter may be added the following:

Clarice de Bolleit, at St. Buriens ⁸.

Reynold de Argentein, at Baldock ⁹.

Baldoke, at Tempsford ¹⁰.

Mahaud de Mortimer, Tiltey ¹¹.

Leger de Parr, Tewksbury ¹².

Anastasia de St. Quintin, Hinton St. George ¹³.

Rothwell ¹⁴ and Geddington ¹⁵.

An abbot of Waltham, in my possession.

Robert and Cecily Colles, at Foulsham ¹⁶.

Walter Skirlaw's bowels, at Howden ¹⁷.

Elizabeth Stanton, at Kirklees ¹⁸.

Godstow stone ¹⁹.

Peyton, at Stoke.

Elie Vineter, and another, St. Alban's.

St. Mary's abbey, York.

Elenor de Clive, in Cliff church, Kent ²⁰.

In a window at Fawkeham, Kent ²¹.

In the windows of Peterborough minster, before the late repair.

The following now first engraved in Pl. XVI.

Richard de Lindone, in Easton church near Stamford.

William Glover, and another broken inscription on the steps of Geddington chancel.

² I. 89.

³ Ibid.

⁴ I. 94.

⁵ I. 101.

⁶ I. 206.

⁷ I. 117.

⁸ I. 106, 107.

⁹ I. 113. Pl. xlii.

¹⁰ Gibson's Camden, I. 12. If not corrupted from the pure Saxon.

¹¹ I. cxvii.

¹² I. 212.

¹³ Introd. Pl. V. fig. 8.

¹⁴ I. 196.

¹⁵ I. 200.

¹⁶ Antiq. Mus. N° XI.

¹⁷ Pl. XVI. 2.

¹⁸ Gent. Mag. LXIII. p. 25.

¹⁹ Vet. Mon. I. Pl. XV.

²⁰ I. Pl. IV. of crosses, fig. 5.

²¹ Camden, III. 38. Pl. ii.

²² Leland's Itin. II. p. 130.

²³ Marm. Oxon. Pars III. Tab. V. cxi. cxli.

²⁴ Gent. Mag. LXIV. p. 809.

²⁵ Thorpe, Custom. Roffen. p. 114. Pl. XVIII.

Fig. 1

† LAS: DORS: SIRE:

RICHARD: DELINDONE:

† EDAME: IVE TE: SAFAME

GISENT: DI: PRIS: :

† PVRLAS: AMES: RE: DAVS

EN: EIT: MERQI:

Fig. 2
 * WILLELMVS GLOVERE DE GAYGREGTON APPELLAVS FECIT SCARRA ELLA
 PORTS PFC SGI ARNO DO INT MADI LIX ANVS ARIDE PROPICVI OBIIT INFES AMAN
 YGIDBOVR * ROBERGVS LAR GELYN MIVS ANIMA PROPIC ANOELLVM AVFECIT

Fig. 3

† RANDDOLK DE BORTON: GYT: ID
 DEVI: DE SA: ALMA YC: MERQ: AMEN

Fig. 4

ROBERT: DE TODENEILE FVDEV

Fig. 6

† CONCEDENTE
 UR: AT: CONFIRM
 ANTVR: P: ALA: WIL
 ELMI: DE TOTTEL
 MD: CC: XL: DIE S
 INDULGENCIE:

Fig. 5

† MORIBVS: ORNATA: IACET

† HA: BONA: BARTARO SAT A

Fig. 7

RIC: ISOET IONARNES: DE NORAITBOVR OT ORDM
 DIVIS: LINCOLNLE

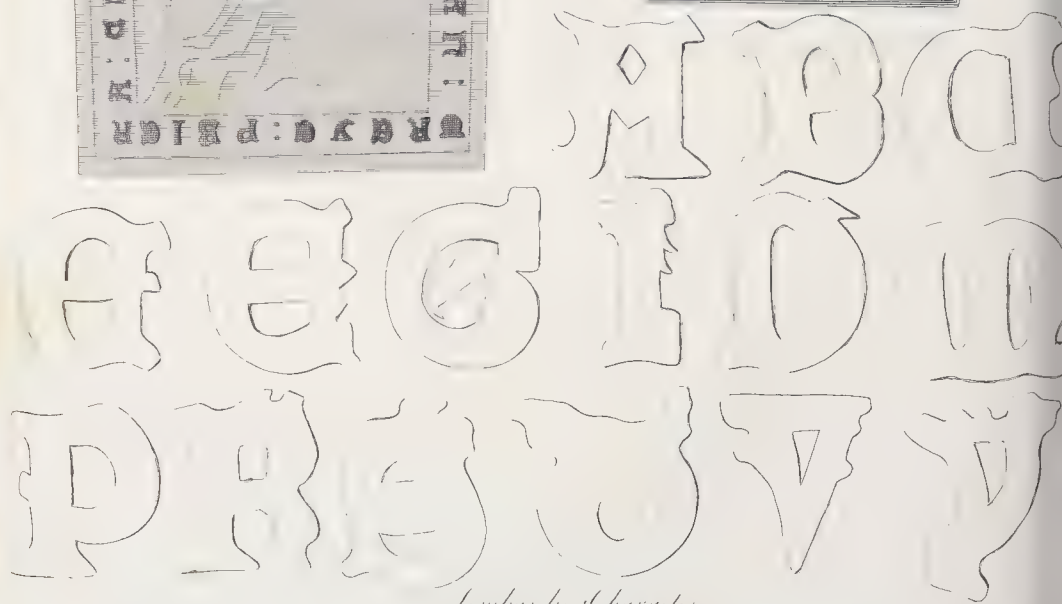
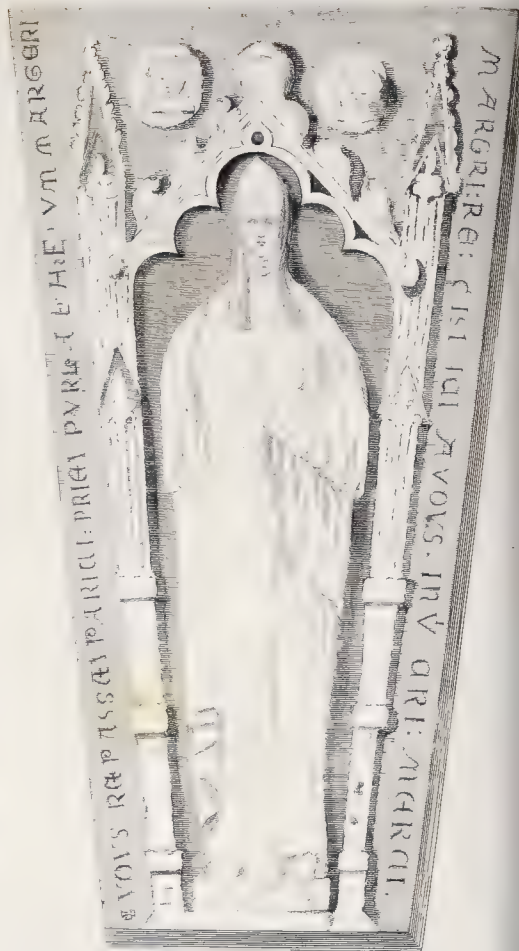
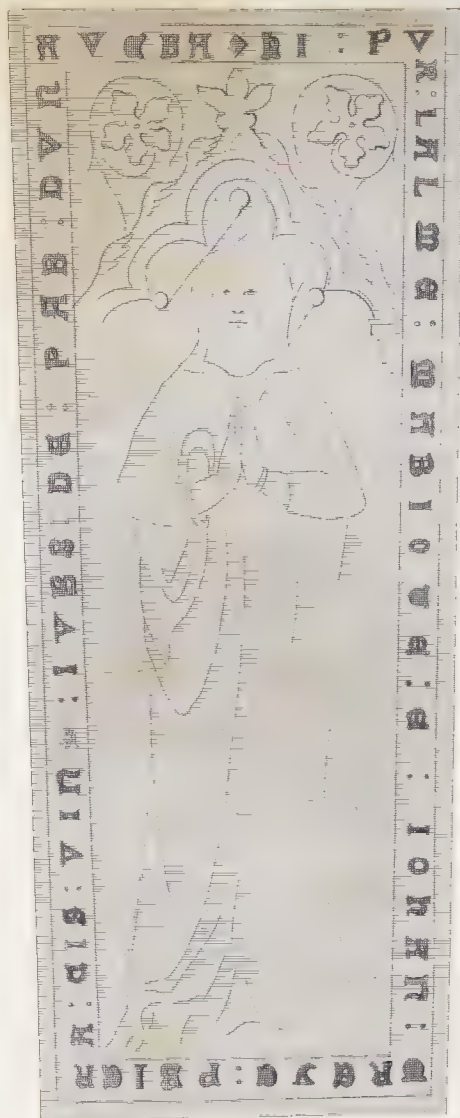
Fig. 9

Fig. 8
 RAVOLIVS: IOLYF: SVR: ADIVX: AD: AMISTA
 SIML: NVSNAT: QIB: ISCA: APEN: LA: PAR: AD
 REBIZ: MATEAR: THEOS Q' SIBI: SALVET: EDS:
 O: Q' B3: ORBIS: OP: Q' QVSNQ' VI DEBIS.

Fig. 10

† RIC: IACET DNS: WILLELMVS DUBOTDVA TC: QVONDA M
 PRIOR
 + RIC









TWINS: SC:RKRBRBI
PRIOR: NORWID:RE:
POSIT: CVF: AIA
APLOTCTVR: DS

[illegible]

†PVRLALOE:IEHYN:
PE:PV?TADIEPRIEZ:
E?:TRAEIN?RS:DE:

AUGUSTI FILIUS
D. C. X. III. ET
REGNI HENRICI
OCTAVI REGIS
ANGLIAE XXII. ANSIS
VIRO IVNIORIS
POSITVM
FLOTTENTIAQVAM

IOHANNES CARL

SHOOTING STAR

A lady in Wistow chancel, near Selby, Yorkshire¹; and another lady in Stroud church, Kent². See Pl. XVII. in which is given an alphabet of capital letters, rubbed from different brasses where the metal is gone.

Round the crosses, Pl. IV. 3. 7. 9. 10. Pl. V. 7, 8, 9. VI. 2. 5. 7. and VII. 2. of Vol. I. and Pl. XVIII. 1. 4. 5. 6. 11. of crosses in this volume³.

Randolph de Borton, in the wall of the Whitehart inn, below hill at Lincoln, Pl. XVI. fig. 3.

Robert de Todeney, in the site of his abbey at Belvoir, fig. 4.

Berta, an abbess or nun, in the old nunnery chapel at Jesus College, Cambridge, fig. 5.

Date in the wall of Northington chapel, Hampshire, fig. 6.

Four inscriptions in Lincoln churches, fig. 7, 8, 9, 10⁴.

Four inscriptions in Shropshire, from Mr. Bowen's papers, Pl. XXX. fig. 3, 4, 5; where fig. 6. represents one with variations from Dr. Ducarel's Norman tour, on the outer face of the church-wall at St. Stephen's abbey, Caen⁵.

William de Breftowe, in King's Somborne church, Hampshire, Pl. XXI. fig. 3.

On the bell, at Whittington church, Derbyshire, Pl. XXV. fig. 15.

Mr. Blomefield gives one, 1311⁶, where John Neupert, *perfone*, has no date. 1272. A stone at the S. E. corner of Bexley chancel⁷.

Another commemorating William Kirkby prior of Norwich 1280, at Trowse⁸. Pl. XIX. fig. 1.

¹ See Gent. Mag. XXIV. p. 309. where the busts above the arch are called her children.

² Not (as Mr. Thorpe, Cultum. Ross. p. 737) a religious person. The inscription is, ki : pur : l'alme : mariote : e : johan : creye : priera : cis : vins : jurs : de : par : dun : avera.

³ The crosses engraved in this plate are from

1. Tyd St. Giles' church, Norfolk.

2. In the chancel at Woodkirk, als W. Ardesley, in the West Riding of Yorkshire: cut in black lines on a white stone.

3. In the same church, middle aisle.

4. Dug out of the ruins of Kirkstons priory, Yorkshire, May 11, 1744, now placed on a raised tomb, and injudiciously new cut; so that the antient form of the cross is scarcely discernible.

5. In the aisle between the South and North doors of St. Neot's church.

6. Near the entrance of the chancel of St. John Baptist's church, New Windsor.

7. In the chancel of Tankerley church, Yorkshire, 1780.

8. In the chancel of Wentworth chapel, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The family of Skyris or Skiers, were of Skiers-hall, near Wentworth, the seat of the Rokebys, barts, 1780.

9. In the church-yard at Southwell on a raised tomb of freestone at the East end of the chapter-house.

10. In the South aisle of Teverfall church, Nottingham, on a raised alabaster-tomb, scored and inlaid with lead; the aisle and manor of Teverfall belongs now to the family of Molineux as coheirs general to the Greenehalghs, 1779.

11. Felley priory, c. Nott. on the tomb of Richard de Thurgarton, prior there, now cut into a chimney piece, and placed in a chamber, Sept. 22, 1779. The two ends are perfect, but covered with mortar. Felley priory sometime belonged to Gilbert Millington the regicide, which may account for this stone bearing a cross, the symbol of popery with the fanatics, being made this use of.

12. Tankerley chancel. Arms A. on a bend between 6 martlets G. 3 bezants.

⁴ Fig. 7.

Fig. 8. On an arch over a tomb between the South side of the chancel and a chapel adjoining in St. Peter's at Gotes.

Fig. 9. In St. Peter's at Arches.

Fig. 10.

⁵ Thus to be read,

Guillimus jacet Petrarius summus in arca.

Iste novum perfecit opus. Dat premia Christus. Amen.

⁶ Ill. p. 242.

⁷ Ib. p. 307.

⁸ Ib. p. 314.

A stone from the ruins of St. Mary's abbey at York, which I saw about 1760, in an upholder's yard, in Lendall, fig. 2.

On a buttress in the West front of Wells cathedral, fig. 3.

On the South side of Joseph of Arimathea's chapel, Glaffenbury, fig. 4.

On tiles on the floor of Merton college library, fig. 5.

Sir Roger Borne's, 1330, had the Lombardic capitals; but his brass figure was succeeded by two figures in shrouds¹.

If Mr. Blomefield rightly copied the epitaphs of Sir William and lady Bernak, at Hetherfet, they bear date 1339 and 1341².

The E was used in the writing within the vault of Edward IV. at Windsor³, and as an initial in a few instances in the 16th century, as on Ramridge's monument at St. Alban's; but changed into a Roman E in the beginning of the same century, as on the same monument, where the Lombardic capitals are intermixt.

Weever⁴ found in the North chapel at Eynesford in Kent, engraven in a wondrous antique character, "Ici gis - - - la femme de la Roberg de Eckingford." Mr. Hafted⁵ says nothing of the inscription; but mentions the arms of the family on the roof of the cloister at Canterbury. Mr. Thorpe⁶ thinks it should be read *Eynesford*; and that it is hid by the boarded floor; and that it was in the square capitals of the 12th and 13th century, which is highly probable.

Mr. Thorpe has the following observations on this subject:

"These old Gothic square letters will nearly ascertain the age of the church in which they are found. Sit William Dugdale calls them *Saxon* capitals, but Mr. Gough, in his account of the gravestone belonging to Roger, third bishop of Salisbury, in that cathedral, says, that they are rather a mixture of Saxon and Roman." From some copies which Mr. Thorpe had taken of these early French epitaphs cut round stones, he has inserted such of the letters that best agree with capitals of the Saxon alphabet, in his Pl. XIII. 2.

A specimen of Lombardic letters, on two tombs, under the North pillars of Belgrave church⁷, co. Leicester. One charged with two similar crosses among stars cut in has:

"hic jacet Rogerus de Belgrave, Suffanna uxor ejus quorum animabus
"propicietur deus. Amen."

The other with a short cross under a bust: (Q. formerly brass plates)

"hic jacet Henricus de naurs, quondam rector hujus ecclesie."

The Lombardic mixed with Roman capitals form the circumscription of our seals to the 16th century. On a seal of Wilton remaining appendant to an obligation from Cecilee Willoughby to Thomas cardinal of York for a visitation legatine, dated Sept. 18, 1526, the S has this form Z.

"To the Lombardic capitals succeeded inscriptions in text letters, with abbreviations engraved on brass, of which I shall only give the following example from

¹ Blomefield, III. p. 128.

² I. p. 202.

³ Vetus Mon. III. Pl. viii.

⁴ P. 331.

⁵ I. 306.

⁶ Custom. Ross. p. 107.

⁷ Engraved under that parish in Mr. Nichols's Leicestershire.



robertus Serkefel quod
 rector istius ecclesie anno domini
 millesimo ccc^{to} et regis Ricardi quod
 iudex maris quibus rector istius ecclesie
 suet obitu herici Sappson athenore
 iudator amicus istius ecclesie et robertus Serkefel
 viator in capella beate marie cum iudici
 pullanbaet una die in quibus septem die
 memio vi melius dicitur cu. lere et postea
 iudici iudis quod aualis iudiciis a me

benignus gehdo bebbre sub marmore putreus
 Bollit a mundo nature debita solutus
 Pileus insignis pastor fuerat q benignus
 Unus omis morte sua flet sub tegmine ante
 Quem coluit vniuersa ortu de virgine casta
 Xpc euicpiens sit dando tempa leta &

An dom^o hec floruit quideholz s^t regimine thome
nⁱ bonis fructibus merces h^{ab}et diuina liab

[illegible]

State pro aia dñi Ricardi ffrystby p'm Decan illius
Collegii qui obiit Adm M. 1660

hic facit Johes Edward quidam dñs canern de Rodmanton
 & becu & patronus & exaltor stat omis apprentici in lege pñtus. qui
 obit. die. Januarii. A. dñi. m. cccc. lxi. cuius sepulchrum de ante

erunt beati Engelli i iudicat. Ir. ruis ammae. iuuu uuluerat deus obit
Mici in aute tith in ealeamus. Wir pucis. Anuo dñi. nullm. CCC. lxxx. tñu.

၁' သံ မိ' ခု' လူ' ဝါ'
 မိ' ပုဒ် ၆၈ မိ'

hat non mit dieas
vede wa ane maria

... the wheche that dyd the zere of our lord willmō cccc the day of reynit
paul auncō the wheche hylabeth good haue mercy on the soule and on al cristin.
saulys Amen 2 Ihu xpi dei miserere mei amen.

Aug 11. Comes quondam Henrici Courtenay Marchionis Rou. et mater Edwardi Courtenay uxor Do

Abbas itamofus · bonus ⁊ viuenda pbatus ⁊
 In Shakley Natus · qui iacet hic Cumulat ⁊
 Thomas dictatus · qui xpo fit sociatus ⁊
 Rite gubernant · Ifū qz locū pnamunt ⁊

mod il all

if that value had been written upon them.

a good help
from above

a plate formerly on a gravestone in Darent church, and now affixed to the wall on the South side :

**Hic jacet Joh'es Crepehege et Joh'na ux'r ei' q'r arabs
p'piciet' Dr'.**

At last the old letters being discontinued, the Roman round hand took place toward the end of the reign of Henry VII. and the first I meet with of any account in this diocese is the one in Roman capitals on a brass plate at the head of the stately tomb in Hever church for Sir Thomas Bullen earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, who is portrayed at large in his robes of the garter, and was father to that queen. The Roman letters continued to be cut on brass during the reign of Edward VI. and part of queen Elizabeth's, but not so frequent, and the words *orate pro anima* and *cujus anime propicietur* totally omitted. In some of the plates which I have seen, these phrases have been erased, for fear of a puritanical application of them, and to prevent the plates from being torn away.¹

The text hand was introduced about the middle of the 14th century, on monuments of persons of inferior note. The first instance that occurs to me is, William de Rothewelle², in Rothwell church, Northamptonshire, 1351:

Then follow,

John de Cobham³, 1354. Cobham.
Bishop Trilleck⁴, 1360. Hereford.
Philip Peletot⁵, 1361. Wotton.
Sir John Maltravers⁶, 1365. Lechlote Maltravers:
Stapleton's, and Oliver Ingham⁷, 1365. Ingham.
Sir John Cobham⁸, 1367. Cobham.
Sir John Erpingham⁹, 1370. Erpingham.
Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick¹⁰, 1370. Warwick:
Joan Wynston¹¹, 1372. Nafton.
Bishop Wyvill¹², 1375. Salisbury.
Peter de Lacy¹³, 1375. Northfleet.
Joan Countess of Athol, 1375. Ashford.
Archbishop Langham¹⁴, 1376. Westminster.
Edward the Black Prince¹⁵, 1376. Canterbury.
Robert Attelath¹⁶, 1376. Lynne.
Edward III¹⁷, 1377. Westminster.
Sir John de Creke¹⁸, . . . Westley Waterless.
Sir John Harfick¹⁹, 1384. South Acre.
Philippa Beauchamp²⁰, 1384. Necton.
Margaret Cobham²¹, 1385. Cobham.

¹ Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, p. 115.

² Engraved, Vol. I. p. 103. and, with the figure, in the Antiquaries Museum, N° XI.

³ P. 106.

⁴ P. 110. Pl. XL.

⁵ P. 113. Pl. XL.

⁶ P. 117.

⁷ P. 119.

⁸ P. 120.

⁹ P. 122.

¹⁰ P. 126.

¹¹ P. 129.

¹² P. 131.

¹³ P. 133.

¹⁴ Engraved by Mr. Thorpe, *Custum. Roff.* Pl. XXVIII.

¹⁵ P. 139. Pl. LV.

¹⁶ P. 142. Pl. LVII.

¹⁷ P. 146. Pl. LVIII.

¹⁸ P. 147.

¹⁹ lb.

William Effeld², 1386. Tickhill.
 Sir Robert de Grey³, 1387. Rotherfield.
 Margaret Willughby⁴, 1391. Spilsby.
 Robert Swinborne⁵, 1391. Little Horkley.
 Eleanor duchess of Gloucester⁶, } Westminster.
 Richard II⁶, 1399. }

From hence a regular succession through the 15th century, and the second volume of this work.

Pl. XX. exhibits some other specimens.

- Fig. 1. from Easton, near Stamford.
- Fig. 2. from East Lulworth, Dorsetshire⁷.
- Fig. 3. On a press in the cathedral at Carlisle.
- Fig. 4. In Lonsdaleborough church, Yorkshire.
- Fig. 5. In Irlinborough church, Northamptonshire, on the first dean of the college⁸.
- Fig. 6. In the church of Rodmarton, in the county of Gloucester: probably on a relation of the serjeant, engraved Vol. II. Pl. LXXV.
- Fig. 7. On a brass plate in Wood Ditton church, Cambridgeshire. About two inches of the inscription are covered by a beam.
- Fig. 8. On a pillar of Ropeley church, Lincolnshire.
- Fig. 9. On the soffit of the arch in the South aisle of Rushden church, Northamptonshire, and on labels held by angels.
- Fig. 10. On Elizabeth abbess of Goring, in the church there.
- Fig. 11. On the altar tomb of Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, 1558, on the North side of the chancel, at Winborn minster.
- Fig. 12. In Tiltey church, Essex; perhaps on Thomas Besford, abbot from 1511 to 1515.
- Fig. 13. In the church of Dunmore, in the county of Galway, Ireland.
- Fig. 14. On the ceiling of the White Lion inn at Bugden, formerly a religious house.
- Fig. 15. On the soffit of the arch of the South porch of the church of Milborn Port, Dorset.
- Fig. 16. On a stone candlestick in Colchester castle.

A collection from Hampshire may be seen, Pl. CXXXI. of this volume.

- Fig. 1, 2, 3. Monument of William de Brestowe, at King's Somborne.
- Fig. 4. On the treble and second bell,
- Fig. 5. On the tomb of Thomas Wayte, 1472,
- Fig. 6. Label from his mouth, . . .
- Fig. 7. On the tomb of Thomas Hampton, 1462,
- Fig. 8, 9. Labels from his and his wife's mouth,
- Fig. 10. On a slab in the North chapel, 1500, }

at Stoke Charity.

² P. 149. ³ P. 202. Pl. XL. ⁴ P. 151. ⁵ P. 152. ⁶ P. 159.
⁷ P. 163. Pl. LX. LXII. ⁸ Hutchins, I. 142. 2d. edit. I. 230. ⁹ Bridges, II. p. 238.

Fig. 1.

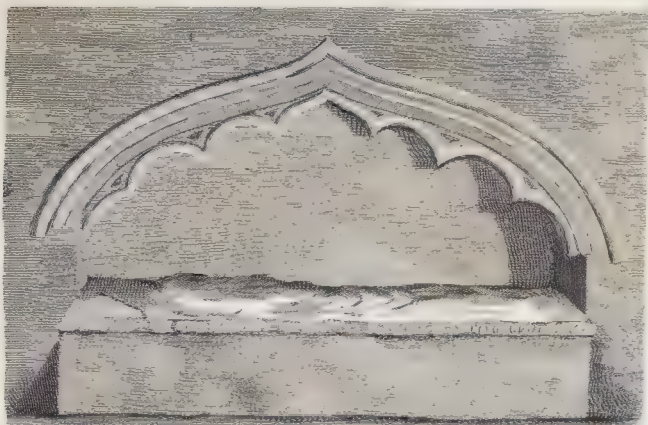


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

+ WILLAE M

DE BRESTOWE SISCICI DAV: LESA ALMB: AYO: MARCH:

Fig. 5.

Hic iacet Thomas waite armiger q' obiit x die
Aplis a' dui m'cccc lxxv. S' m' d' n' p' p'iet' d' a' m' m'

Fig. 6.

Thi fili dei miserere mei.

Fig. 8.

pat' de zelis de' miserere nobis.

Fig. 9.

S'ca trinitas uni de' miserere nobis.

Fig. 4.

sanc ta ca tarina ora pro no bis
Sancta Trinitas Ora Pro Nobis
GOD BE OUR GUYD RB. 1606.

Fig. 7.

Hic iacet Thomas haughton armigt Isabella uxor ei qui q' Thomas
obiit in fes to Apploij Simons t Jude a dñi q' s' s' s' t' m' d' d' Isabella
obiit in fes to s' t' Andrie apli a dñi q' s' s' s' t' m' d' d' n' a' b' u' s' p' p'iet' d' e' u' s' a' m' e'.

Fig. 10.

Of your chentle I desire you to praye for the soule of Richard waller Esquire
whose bodye here lyeth in earth in clay late lorde of this towne and alsoe right neare
leyd under this same being borne the mmo j m of Septeber the yere of the
Incarnatio of o' lorde m'cccc to God bring his soule to his saluacio. Amen.

Inscriptions in Hampshire.

"The writing introduced into England by William the Conqueror is usually called *Norman*, and is composed of letters nearly Lombardic, which were generally used in grants, charters, public instruments and law proceedings, with very little variation from the Norman conquest till the reign of king Henry I. after which period a more running kind of hand appears in most of our instruments till the reign of Henry VIII. In this distinction I am justified by Mr. Aftle's Plates xxiv and xxv. though he is of a different opinion, asserting that little variation obtained till the reign of Edward III.¹" The *Old English* began to take place in England about the middle of the 14th century.² This is the writing used on the tombs of Edward III. and the generality of subsequent ones. The capitals intermixt with this hand are what Mr. Aftle calls *Modern Gothic*, and has given an alphabet of in the first column of his 26th plate. "Some of them are Lombardic, and others approach towards the modern Gothic."³ They were introduced in the books printed at St. Alban's, about 1480. A beautiful specimen of them on tombs taken from the fine abbatical brass on the chancel of St. Alban's abbey church may be seen Pl. XIX. fig. 7.

So great uniformity prevails in the inscriptions written in this Old English hand, that the variations must be ascribed to the unskilfulness of the engraver rather than to any other circumstance. The capitals are flourished in a more arbitrary manner, and the abbreviations adapted to the form of the monument. The same observations hold true with respect to fenestral inscriptions.

"It is my opinion," says Mr. Thorpe in the place before referred to, "although I do not find it noticed by Mr. Lethieullier, or any other writer I have met with, that these old letters which now appear so deep and rudely cut were only matrices for brass capitals, and as they were too small to be rivetted like larger plates, were bedded in with lead, pitch, or other cement, therefore were the sooner liable to be pickt out, and yet the excavations are legible.⁴ For in the great number of churches that I have visited I have seen on many stones which have been robbed of their brasses the remains of lead, and sometimes pitch, in the indented parts, where shields of arms and other small ornaments have been inserted. I am more confirmed in this my opinion, for in 1769 in copying the very antient inscription in the middle of Halsted church, with capitals cut separately round the gravestone of William de Chellesfield, who lived in the reign of Henry III. I observed all the letters were pickt out except one brass capital, which remained fair and firm."⁵

This method of inlaying single letters of metal into corresponding cavities of the stone has preserved many an epitaph after the metal was worn or pickt out.

This I have more particularly noticed in the Hertfordshire churches. Perhaps it held likewise in the other counties near the metropolis, and may be accounted for by the superior excellence of the London artists.

The letters and figures of an inscription under Hereford cathedral, p. 331. are of iron.

It was not uncommon in the 11th and 12th century to cut the inscription on the edge of the slab, as I discovered on that of bishop Roger at Salisbury, and think myself authorized to conjecture was probably the case on those of the abbots of Westminster and Peterborough, Vol. I. Pl. I. and III.

¹ Aftle, p. 139.

² Ib. p. 145.

³ Ib. p. 147.

⁴ Of this the capital A, engraved in the History of Croyland, and found in the abbey ruins, and a capital E from the ruins of Ham abbey, Essex, are singularly striking specimens.

⁵ The plates were also cemented in as here described. Custum. Ross. p. 115. Reg. Ross. p. 963.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

FIOL. DE: WH: NADIE: G
SA: MIMAE: ANEYN AEROD:
DRIERA AE T T IO URSD E: DR

Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

X non nobis domine non nobis * 7 P Sit nomen tuo da gloriam *



Another on that of Stratford church, Suffolk¹, 1530; others round the cornice of abbot Kirton's chapel at the East end of Peterborough minster; on the stone screen commemorating Christopher Urwick in St. George's chapel, Windsor; and in wood round the beautiful chapel at Luton house, built by one of the Napier family in the reign of James I. and fitted up with wainscoting brought from Tittenhanger, where it had been fixed by Sir Thomas Pope, 1548; and on the three stones found in the repair of London-bridge, 1758, Pl. LIII.

Initials or single capital letters are frequently cut on separate blocks, as on bells, and on the bell-metal pot, Archaeolog. X. Pl. XXXVIII.

On the fascia at the back of the lower seats in St. George's chapel at Windsor is the following inscription in beautiful raised letters, of which I have given a *fac simile* engraving by the late Mr. Longmate. See Pl. XXII.

On the North side.

**Exaudiat te d'ns t' die tribulacionis protegat te nomen dei
iacob. Mittat tibi auxilium de sancto et de syon tueatur te.
Memor sit oi's sacrificii tui et holocausti t' pingue fiat.
Tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum et omne consilium tuum confirmet.
Letabimur in salutari tuo et in nomine domini dei n'ri magnificabimur.
Impleat d'ns omnes petitiones tuas: nunc cognovi quia saluum fecit d'ns Xpm.**

On the South side,

**Potentatibus salus dextere eius. Ipsi in curribus, et hii in
equis, nos autem in nomine dei n'ri invocabimus. Ipsi obligati
sunt et ceciderunt, nos autem surreximus et eredi sumus.
Dne saluum fac regem et audi nos in die qua invocavimus te.
Protector n'r aspice deus et respice in facie Xpi tu'.**

Since the addition of two new stalls on each side, the inscription on the North side ends with *God save the Prince*; and that on the South begins with *God save the King*, in the same letters, the latter preceded by busts of their majesties in circles; by which additions the last word in the first and seven words of the last, *Exaudiat illum de celo sancto suo: in*—are lost. These inscriptions contained the whole xxth Psalm, in the Vulgate translation, where however it is

¹ Sylloge, p. 95. Pl. XXIX.

² *tuum* is added in the printed Bible.

³ *domini* is not in the printed Bible.

⁴ *sum* is added in the printed Bible; after which follows, *Exaudiat illum de celo sancto suo. In potentatibus, &c.*

⁵ *Domini* is here also added in the printed Bible.

ranked as the xixth. Part of this inscription makes the installation anthem. The last line is from Psalm lxxxiv. 9. or as the Vulgate lxxxiii. 10.

The inscription on the Urswick chapel in the same place is not less remarkable. It is cut on the outer front of the chapel, and has been carefully restored in the late repair. Some few of the capitals are painted red.

Orate p' nob' Regis et collegi decem maria p'cessit tua pu	he'nci U.I.I. et c'lestis Ave maria I. et b'n cissima caro v'ginea. am'.	Urswyk, qu'da' eie' bida sit cissima tua God habe m'ey on the	Clemens: tu magni et mat'anna ex q'a sine Soulis of kyng hary.
U.I.I. Ch C'lofey: Urswyk: 2	all C'lym souls a'm.	De' gen per bide'tu	tua' ex utero virginis

me'natu' ac morte passu' gen'hu'it'u' redēditu' cupias q'uīs aīas he'nci U.I.I. a; C'lofey' necno' cum rege'm q's u'r
C'lofeyus de' hinc offendi ab eterna morte atq' ad eterna' vita' perducas. per I'm d'm d'm am'.

God habe m'ey, ut sep'.

This inscription is printed by Dr. Knight, in his Appendix to the Life of Erasmus, p. xcvi. On an outer wall of the Deanery house is a stone with this inscription: "Cristoforo Ursvyk decano;" and over it a date, 1500, though part of the 5 has been defaced.

In the capital letters of the 16th century I observe a very fantastic formation. See the inscription in Barton church, Staffordshire¹, 20 Henry VIII. Darton chancel, 1517, Pl. XXIII², and Aughton church, 1536³, both in Yorkshire. Over the door of the choristers' houses at Lichfield⁴. The foundation stone of Cardinal Wolsey's college, at Ipswich, now in the chapter house at Christ church, Oxford, Pl. XIX, fig. 6⁵. In the window of a chamber at Campsey nunnery, Suffolk, vol. I. p. 143; and in the inscription on Urfevyk above given.

¹ Sylloge, p. 60. Pl. XIII.

² Ib. p. 89. Pl. xxv.

To be read thus: Ad. laudem. Dei. et. omnium. sanc-
torum. istum. cancellum de novo
construxit Thomas Tyrrell prior
monasterii monkbrittannie et
huius ecclesie patronus et
eundem complete finivit
anno domini milleno quin-
genteno decimo septimo.

³ Sylloge, p. 63. Pl. xiv.

⁴ Anno Christi M

D XXIII et

regni Henrici

octavi regis

Anglie xx mensis

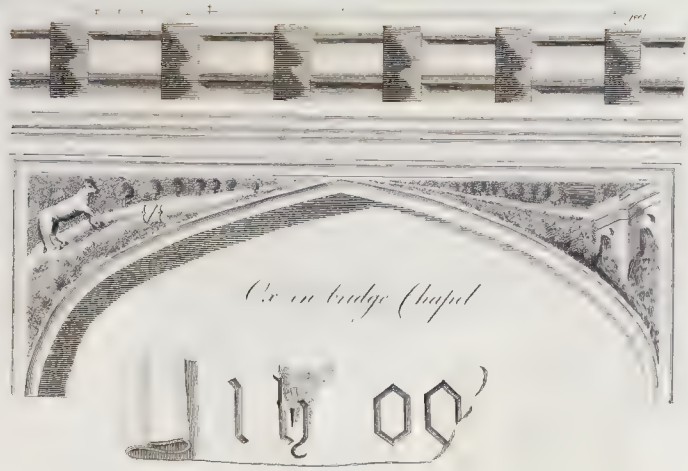
vero Junii xv

positum

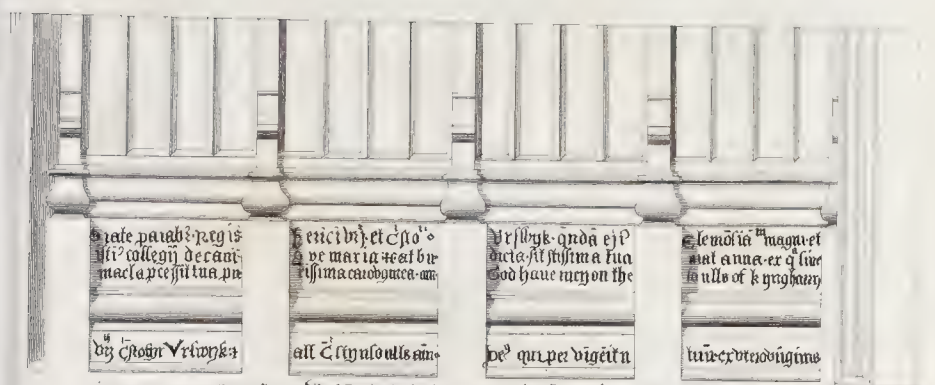
per Johannem episcopum Lidem.

⁵ Ib. p. 97. Pl. xxxviii. Gent. Mag. LII. p. 558.

This inscription Kirby says was fixed up in two pieces into a common wall in Woulfran's lane. It was found by the Rev. Mr. Richard Canning, minister of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, in one of the malt-houses that formerly was one of the rooms belonging to it; and from thence brought by the Society of Christchurch to be preserved in their college as a mark of gratitude to their liberal benefactor. See Grove's Dialogue between Wolsey and Ximenes, 1761. Appendix, p. 107.



Arloft rounthwyk Decano.



Rate parabi: reg is
Hic collegij decan
macla pte su tua pe

Henrici dyet Cno
ve maria test bu
Hic in a carobouca am

Arloft qnda eip
dica: Hic in a sua
God haue me on the

le mola: Hic in a
mat anna: ex q lue
ullo of k gaghany

dy: Hic in Arloft

all Cnyslo nls am

pe: qui per digent

lue: ex dndogime

in matu ac morte padu gen hama redeit: exipias qute aias Henrici dy ac clodowice no omi ead qe ipi
Clodowice dn dixit: offendit: ab eterna morte atq ad eterna vita peducas: per x: d ut in am
God haue me: ut sup: .

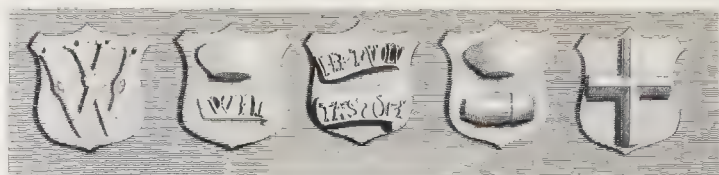
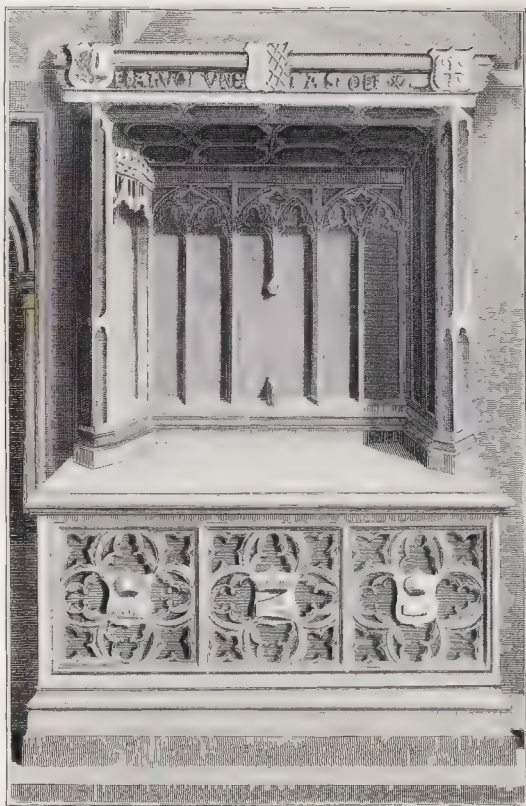
Inscriptions en Houswyk Chapel &c at Wundres.

[illegible]

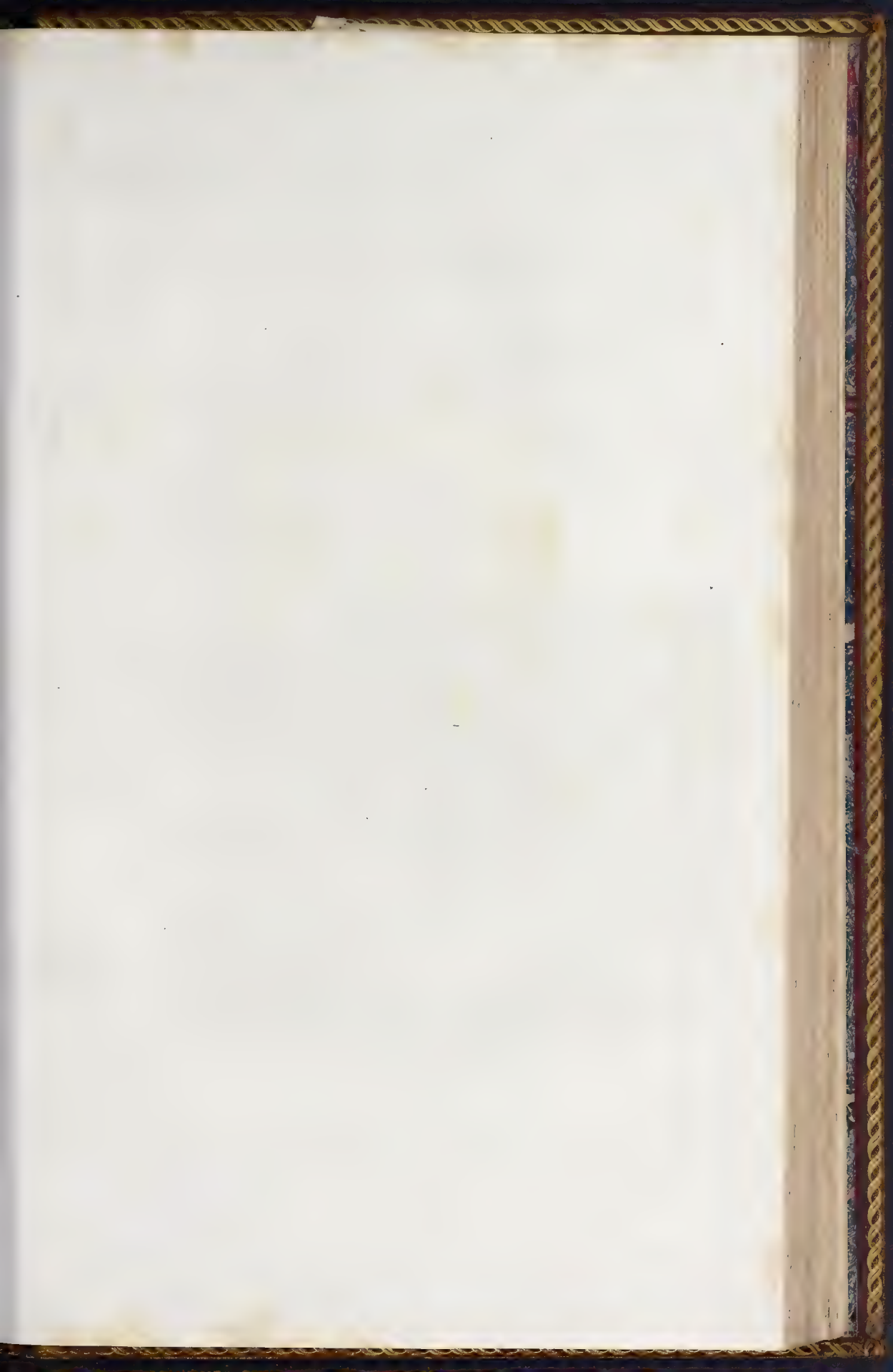
10/10/11



HALVOLVINE LASTON



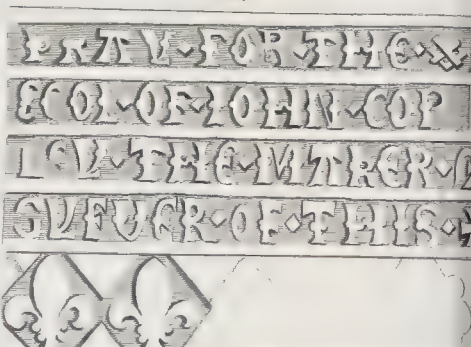
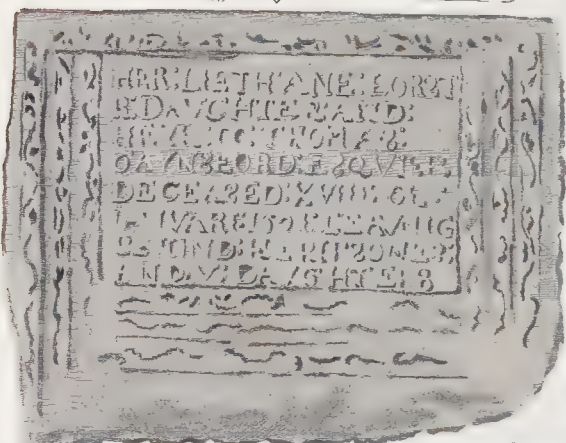
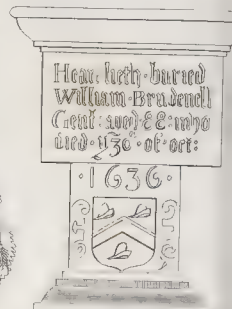
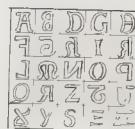
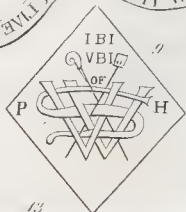
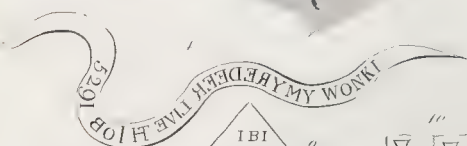
Monument of ——— Milton, in Salisbury Cathedral.



QVI OBIERVNT MENSE.

Wodeforde

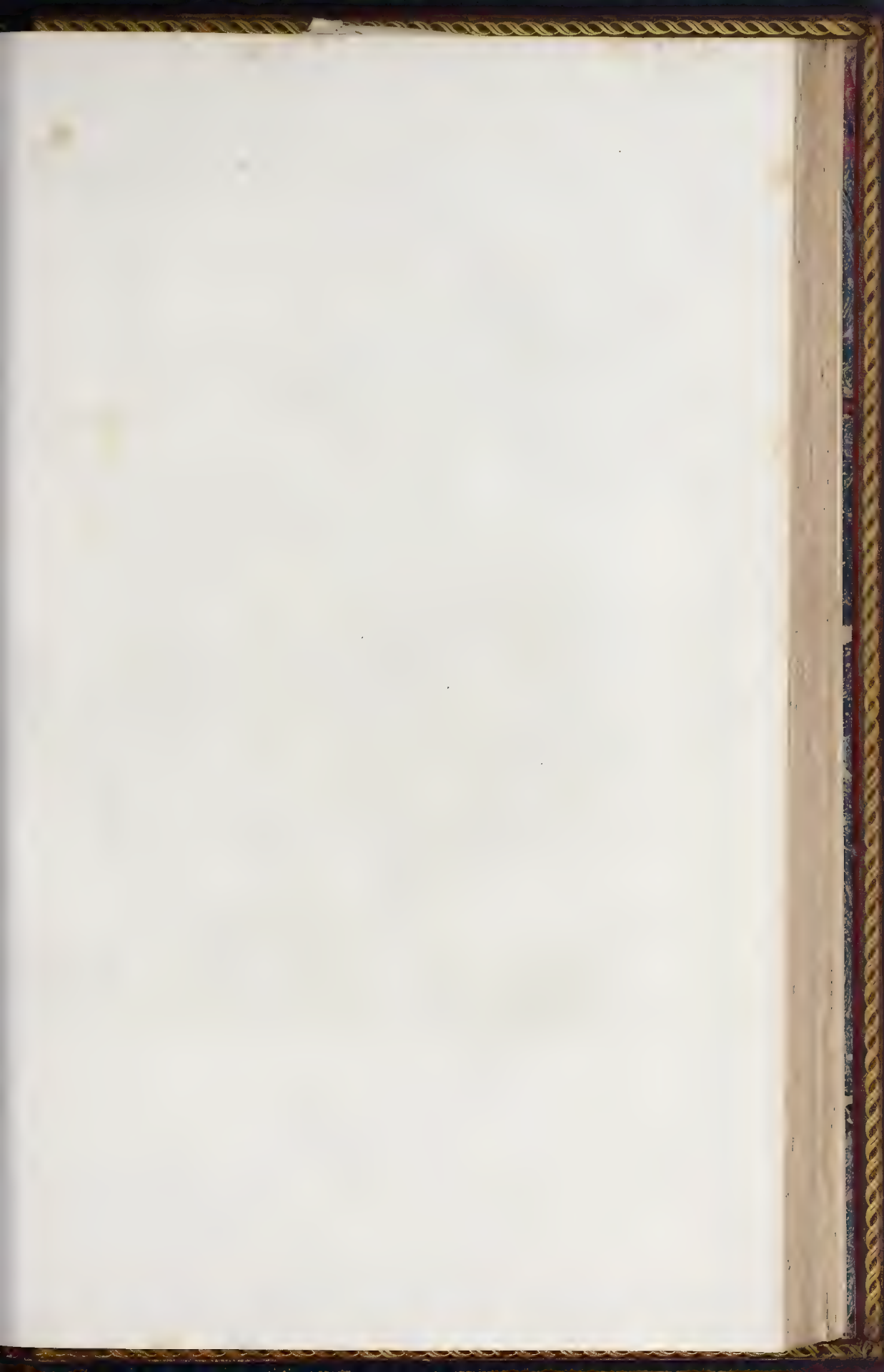
QVI OBIERVNT MENSE SEPT BRIS: ANNO DN 1488 M



RICARD: L: E:

FIZ: IOHAN

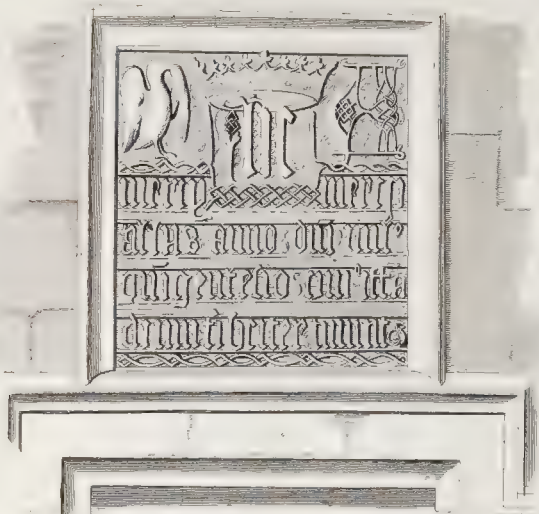
HIC: IACET: S: N: S: H: S: M: A: I: E: S: Q: A: O: N:
 D: A: M: V: I: C: A: R: I: S: E: C: C: L: E: S: I: E: C: A: P: V: S: A: I: E: P: R: I:
 C: I: E: T: V: R: D: I: V: S: I: Q: 2: 6: I: O: B: D: I: E: I: A: 2: 3:



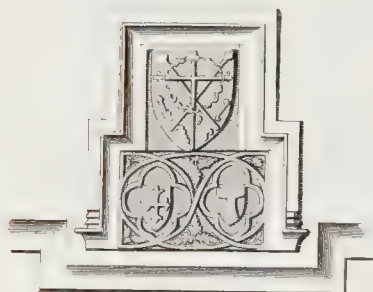


*Inscription over the inner part of a West door,
leading into the nave of the abbey church at
Coverham, Abbey 1790.*





The head of a door way



Scale 1 2 3 feet

3
 Qhara gndia 3y gu



4
 aha 3 b 13 h oufendol 2 g



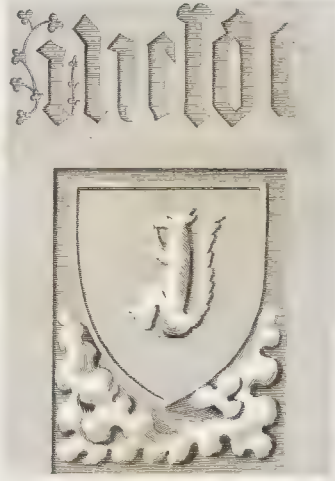
Sculptures & Inscriptions stuck on the walls of the buildings of Coocham, Abbey
 of Chesham where they have been dug up at different times taken 1790 by John Carter



Halling Abbey.



A stone dog at Farnwell, near Lamberhurst.



The land gate at Winchester.

On a mantle piece at Langley hall in Lancashire¹. On that of Digby house, Kent². In the prebendal house at Bilton³. Another on Aylesham Bridewell⁴. On the great bell at Westminster⁵. On the cup called archbishop Becket's⁶. On a neat tomb within the rails of the earl of Hertford's monument at Salisbury, mistakenly ascribed to bishop Wykehampton, 1284, but of much later date, and bearing the rebus of *Wilton*, Pl. XXIV. on which I should incline to ascribe it to Stephen Wilton prebendary of Bishopton 1434; of Chardstock 1441; and of Grimston and Yatminster after 1471. On the monuments of the Powells, in Basing church, with their device, a key. Pl. XXV. 1. On the tomb of Anne Forster at Cutton (q. *Carrow*), priory, near Norwich, on cast iron⁷. On the wall of Mansfield Woodhouse chapel, Nottinghamshire⁸. On the bell at Whittington church, Derbyshire⁹. On an inscription at Winchester¹⁰. On the slab of John Wales vicar of Rawndes, Northamptonshire¹¹, where the date is to be read 1492. In Cranborne church¹². In the windows of St. Peter's church, Oxford¹³. In Mold church, Flintshire¹⁴. On the wall of Blithburgh church¹⁵. On the cup containing the heart of Sir Henry Sidney¹⁶.

On some paving tiles found in the ruins of Laund and Belvoir priories in Leicestershire the alphabet of capitals seems to be expressed¹⁷.

Roman capitals occur on prior Weston's monument at Clerkenwell church; on a tomb, 1568, and a bell, 1589, in Cookston, church, Kent. See Pl. XXXII.

The text hand is adopted in the inscriptions on the font at Newark, Nottinghamshire¹⁸. On the pillars of Malton abbey church¹⁹. On those of Ropefley church in Lincolnshire²⁰. On the various stones dug up in the ruins of Coverham abbey, and fixed about different parts of the house²¹. On the spandrils of Malling abbey gate²². Over the land gate at Winchelsea²³. On the North side of Cobham church, in Kent²⁴. On the corbels of Chatham church²⁵. On the East side of the court of St. Cross' hospital at Winchester²⁶, built by R. Sherborne, master, whose motto appears in this inscription, in a similar one on the mantle-piece of the porter's lodge, and on a pane of glass in my possession with the date 1499. On the South

¹ Antiq. Repertory, I. 286. ² Gent. Mag. LXIV. p. 204. ³ Ib. LXII. 1035.

⁴ Ib. LXV. p. 9.

⁵ Antiq. Rep. II. 284.

⁶ Ib. III. 169.

⁷ Pl. xxv. 13. from Gent. Mag. LVIII. p. 1046. Pl. 1.

⁸ Pl. xxv. fig. 14.

⁹ Ib. fig. 15. See other inscriptions on bells, Pl. xxxii.

¹⁰ Pl. xxv. fig. 16. ¹¹ Ib. fig. 17. Gent. Mag. LXI. p. 824. Bridges, II. p. 187.

¹² Huchins, II. 145.

¹³ Pl. xix. fig. 7.

¹⁴ Camden, II. p. 595. Pl. xxi. xxii. ¹⁵ Kirkby's account of his twelve prints, p. 25. Pl. V.

¹⁶ Gent. Mag. LXIV. p. 785. ¹⁷ Pl. xxv. 5, 10, 12. ¹⁸ Camden, II. Pl. ix. 3. ¹⁹ Sylloge, p. 99.

²⁰ Pl. xx. fig. 8.

Al'o d'ni m cccclxxxvi.

ifla porta facta fuit.

²¹ Engraved in Pl. xxvi. and xxvii.

In the first we are to read, *Iesus Dominus custodiat hanc conventum*. In the spandrils a bird and an initial A. or E. perhaps the rebus of a prior. In the second, on fig. 1. *Iesus, mercy, mercy, all us anno d'ni mill'o quingentesimo viii ifla domn' feliciter terment.*

Fig. 4. *all us this house sal dijsr.*

Fig. 7. *Iesus, mercy!*

²² Pl. xxviii.

Bened' d' d'us in domo suo et f'us in o'ib' operib' suis. Pl. cxlv. 17. or, as in the Vulgate, cxlvi. 14. altered in the first sentence.

²³ Pl. xxviii.

²⁴ Pl. xxix. 1. *Of your Charity pray*

for the soule of
Robert Helte the
whiche died the xiiii
day of September
a. d. m ccc lxxi. on whose
soule Iesu have mercy!

²⁵ Pl. xxix. fig. 2. *Please God.*

²⁶ Ibid. fig. 3. The inscription over this in the plate is fixed in the centre of the East side of the quadrangle.

side of the choir at Canterbury, painted on boards¹. On a circular brass plate under a fine figure of a priest in St. Peter's church at St. Alban's². On the West end of the fire place at Cobham college hall³. On the Northernmost of the three pediments over the figure of Joice lady Tiptoft in Enfield church⁴. On the water table of Lane's chapel, at Columbton church, Devonshire⁵, and on his gravestone there⁶, and his initials sprinkled all over the wall and buttresses. On abbot Newton, at Perihore⁷. On the South cornice of Chelmsford church⁸. In the spandrils of Claydon church door, Bucks⁹. On the battlements of Long Melford church¹⁰. On the gate of Cowling castle¹¹, with the representation of a deed and seal appendant; and on the epitaph of John Twyne at Canterbury, 1581¹². On a flat gravestone at Thorpe Ernald, Leicestershire¹³. On a monument in Staunton Wyville church, in the same county¹⁴.

Mr. Afle, p. 156. calls the inscription on a stone in Campfall church, engraved by Hearne, Preface to Leland's Collectanea, I. p. xxxvi. and copied by him in his Pl. xxvii. p. 28: a "singular specimen of English character." One might say the same of that on the Nun's bed at Nunnery, in Cumberland, Camden, III. 191. Pl. x. p. 8.

Uniformity in cutting the various commemorative inscriptions in public buildings was not so strictly attended to: witness that in Mayfield church, Staffordshire, 1515; the inscriptions on the battlements of the churches at Chelmsford, Long Melford, and St. Peter at Thetford. Plates XXV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX. XXXI. XXXII. contain varieties which have fallen under my observation, out of many others of which no copies have been taken. Should it be objected, that several of these are not sepulchral monuments, it must be considered that every specimen of antient letters applies to the illustration of the epitaphs.

¹ Pl. xxix. fig. 4. *miserere nobis Ihesu Saluator.*

² Ib. fig. 5:

<i>lo al i ev j sp't i su'tyme had i</i>	Lo all that e'er I spent that sometime had I;
<i>al i i gaf j g'd e'te't i n'w baf I</i>	All that I gave in good intent that now have I;
<i>yt I n'ght gaf ne lei i now abie I</i>	That I neither gave nor lent that now abide I;
<i>yt i kepe til I w'et yt lest y</i>	That I kept till I went that lost I.

In the inner circle:

<i>qd exp'e'di habui</i>	Quod expendi habui.
<i>qd donavi habeo</i>	Quod donavi habeo.
<i>qd negavi punior</i>	Quod negavi punior.
<i>q'd s'vavi p'didi</i>	Quod servavi perdidit.

In the centre *Ecce*. See Chauncey, p. 474.

³ Pl. xix. fig. 6.

⁴ Ib. fig. 7. given here for explanation.

⁵ Pl. xxxi. fig. 1, 2, 3.

In honor of God and his blessed mother Mary remember the faultis of John Lane Wapenachiis custos and the faultis of Tomsyn his Wiffe to have in memory

Lanari.

With all other ther chylidren and kindis of s'poure owne cheryty
Whiche were founders of this chapell, and here lyeth in sepulture
The yere of ouer Lorde God A thousand fyve hundredeth fye & twyniti
God of his grace On these boyth sowles to have mercy,
And finally bryng them to the Eternall Glory. Amen, for Chaeryte.

The letters are full five inches long. Polwhele's Devonshire, II. 254, 255.

⁶ *Hic jacet Johes Lane mercator hujusq capelle fun-* *Sua qui dilisus Johes obiit xpo die Februarii ano d'ni*
dator cum Thomasia uxore *millio cccc' xxviii'.*

⁷ Ib. fig. 4. Fig. 5. is a rude piece of oak carving representing Golgotha, which formerly served as the bale of a crucifix in the rood loft.

⁸ Ib. p. 79. Pl. xx.

⁹ Ib.

¹⁰ Pegge's Sylloge, Pl. xviii. p. 76.

¹¹ Ib. p. 85. Pl. xxiii.

¹² Pl. xxx. 1.

Knoweth, that, both, and, shall, be
That, I, am, made, in, help, of, the, centre
In, knowing, of, which, thing,
Thys, is, chartre, and, wytnessing.

¹³ Pl. xxix. 2.

¹⁴ Pl. xxv. fig. 18.

¹⁵ Ib. fig. 6.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



HENRY
COMPTON
EPISCOPVS.

Fig. 3.

PLATE II. PLATE II. PLATE II.

Fig. 4.

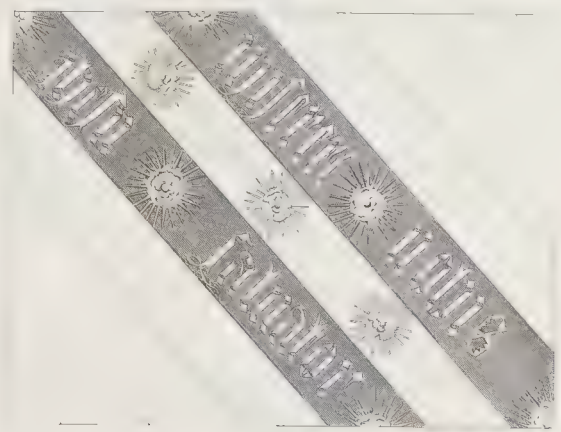


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Arce

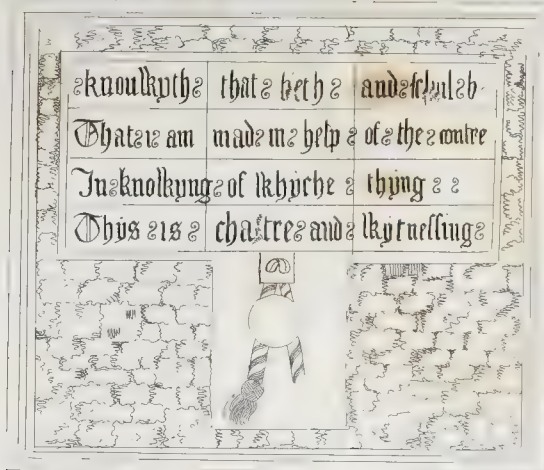


Fig. 2.



Epitaphium Johannis
Gym Armigeni
Obijt xxviii Novembris
1581.



Audatur hoc cumulo Johannis uti Gymnii
qui pueros docuit verba latina loqui,
Quis urbem hanc rexit prator, turbante iusto
Rem populi, et regni, seditione satra
Hinc, deus in christi unndata sanguine donet
Peta resurgenti, lector, idemq; tibi,
Vint Dominus.

Fig. 3. 4.

RIC. J. M. O. C. C. JOHES. DE. W. H. I. C. M. O. R. E. Q. O. B. I. T. III. KL. O. C. C. J. A. D. O. M. A. L. X. X. I. J.

RIC. J. M. A. C. C. J. T. R. V. M. A. R. M. R. B. L. A. D. V. M. A. R.

M. A. C. C. L. B. E. W. A. S. S. D. I. E. M. M. I. A. N. N. O. J. O. M. O. A. A. A. L. X. X. I. I.

Fig. 6.

† G. V. I. I. L. L. A. C. C. T. P. O. E. R. A. R. X. S. V. I. M. V. S. I. N. M. R. O. E. C.

I. S. T. E. C. H. O. W. P. F. A. C. I. O. O. P. O. A. C. T. P. O. J. A. X. P. C. A. M. P. +



A



D



B



E



C



F



F



F



G

Gilk lred por G hun por

H

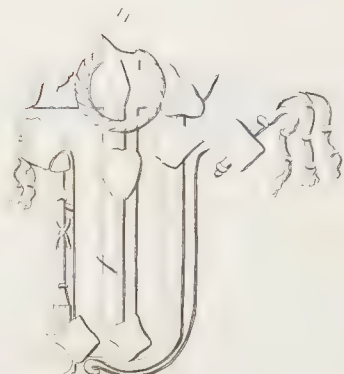
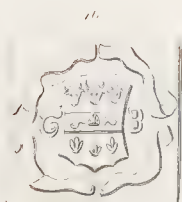
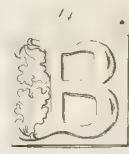
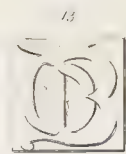
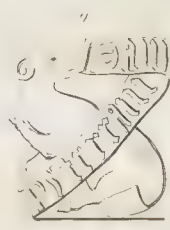
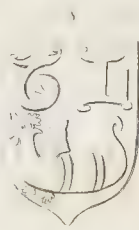
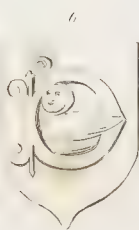
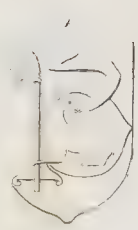
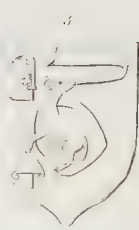
Thomaz Sikkede duna maria robi-
 hus ra Julia quate iaxa po. at.
 Sumptibus dunacl lunde maria huz
 Sepulchris mihisue gnan rruam regno
 p. H. arte rogata huius.

I



In Winchester Cathedral





SIGLES.

- Abbot Tortington¹; 1353. Tewksbury.
 T. and W.² made up of two birds, on a key stone at Netley abbey.
 Others in Christchurch priory church³.
 Abbot Seabroke⁴. Gloucester.
 Sir Peter and Katharine Arderne⁵. Essex.
 Henry Nottingham⁶. Norfolk.
 W. C. William Colchester⁷; 1420. Westminster.
 Thomas Tinenfis epus. Wells.
 Bishop Langton, in his chapel in Winchester cathedral. Pl. XXXII.
 A prior at Malton.
 Bishops Capon and Audley. Salisbury.
 John Lane, Columpton⁸.
 Anthony Ellis, at Paunton⁹.
 In the roof of Waltham church, and in the windows of an old chapel at
 Knipton, Leicestershire¹⁰.
 On the ceiling of the chapel of the priory at Laund¹¹.
 On the monument of Hungerford in Salisbury cathedral¹².
 On the clerk's pew at Knipton¹³.
 On a pane of glass purchased of a glazier at Royston by Mr. Churton of
 Brazenose College, Oxon¹⁴.

REBUS.

- Br** on a Ton for John Breton prebendary of Sutton cum Bucks, 1448—
 1465, at the East end of the stables of the Vicars' College, at Lincoln.
Mor and a ton on Bell Harry Steeple at Canterbury rebuilt by abp. Morton.
W. and a ton, Wilton. Pl. xxiv.
 Thomas Hampton last abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury¹⁵, 1522.
 Thomas Bale, or Bayly, Mayor of Coventry, 1486¹⁶.

Pl. XXXII. exhibits,

- A. Arms in Bishop Langton's chapel, at the East end of Winchester ca-
 thedral; the three first on the ceiling, the rest on the back of the seats.
 B. B. Inscriptions in relief on the screen within and without.
 Laus tibi Criste. Laus tibi X'pe.
 C. C. The same repeated on the four groins of the ceilings.
 D. E. T. L. Initials of Thomas Langton on the ceiling.
 F. F. F. Rebus of Thomas Langton and prior Hinton on the ceiling.
 G. Rebus of Thomas Silkkede and Thomas Hynton on the ceiling.
 H. Inscription on the South wall of our Lady's chapel.

— — — — — *mediatrix*
Te Thomas Silkkede diva Maria colit
 — — — — — *fulsit qui/que saxa politu'*
Sumptibus ornari laude Maria suis
Te pudor mitisq' regnan - - regno
 — — — — — *morte rogata sum.*

- I. Inscriptions on the East wall of the South transept, commemorating
 Thomas Silkkede.

¹ I. 44.² Sylloge, p. 105.³ See Pl. xxix. of the Sylloge.⁴ II. p. 183.⁵ II. Pl. LXXXV.⁶ II. Pl. LXXXVIII.⁷ II. p. 56.⁸ Pl. xxxi. fig. 1.⁹ Antiq. Mus. N° VI.¹⁰ Pl. xxv. fig. 2, 3.¹¹ Ib. 7.¹² Ib. 8.¹³ Ib. 11.¹⁴ Ib. 9.¹⁵ Antiq. Mus. IV.¹⁶ Gent. Mag. LX. p. 117.

In the Plate of SIGLES. Pl. XXXIII.

Fig. 1 to 11. are from the church of Sherbourne abbey, in Dorsetshire;

1. 3. 4. 5. 7. 9. initials and device of Peter Ramfiam, or Rampfiam, abbot from 1475. to 1504.

2. 8 initials and device of Thomas Langton, bishop of St. David's 1483; Sarum, 1484; Winchester, 1493 to 1501.

6. 10. 11. unknown.

Fig. 12—16. From the cloisters of Wells cathedral: the rebus of Bishop Bekington, whose monument is given Pl. LXXX.

17. A curious device in the wall of the East cloister at Wells, representing the name of Jesus combined with the instruments of his passion.

18. The motto and initials of R. Sherborne, master of St. Crofs's hospital at Winchester.

When one considers how many particulars have hitherto escaped the notice of Antiquaries, one is inclined to forgive their inaccuracy in what they have observed: *dates, letters, numerals*, are hardly to be found in any index.

The stone seats in the South wall of so many chancels have been mentioned only to be misrepresented, till Mr. Wells and Mr. Denne entered into a discussion of them, and perhaps their use is not yet ascertained.

So little attention has been paid to Gothic architecture, and its parts, that no county historians before Mr. Blomefield thought of describing churches; and Mr. Bridges improved on Mr. Blomefield's ideas. It is now become necessary to form a comparative view of the different subjects, in order to understand our national antiquities.

Is it then surprising that so few inscriptions have been represented in *fac simile*? Antiquaries have contented themselves with reading them; and if they could not read them right, they put it out of the power of others to read them better, for want of a faithful representation of them. Mr. Blomefield and Mr. Bridges are the only county historians who have attempted any thing like the *Lombardic*, or as they call them *Gothic*, Capitals; as to the *Old English*, they have given it, as I must confess I have too often done, in the common *Black Letter*. A writing engraver is certainly in this instance, as well as in more modern ones, totally distinct from an engraver of other subjects. Of sixty in Dr. Pegge's Sylloge, and seventy-four in the appendix to it, only thirty have been engraved in *fac simile*. I have references to as many more of which I have seen neither the originals nor copies.

"The numeral figures which have for some centuries prevailed in Europe are certainly Indian. The Arabians do not pretend to have been the inventors of them; but they ascribe them to the Indians, from whom they borrowed them.—Several persons travelled from England into the East in search of learning in the 10th century. Different authors who lived in the 12th and 13th centuries have written on astronomical and algebraical subjects, in which they used the Indian numeral figures. Bishop Grosseteste used them about 1240, and they appear in Bacon's calendar written about 1292¹.—These numeral characters were at first rarely used except in mathematical, astronomical, arithmetical and geometrical works. They were afterwards admitted in calendars and chronicles, and to date MSS. but not introduced into charters before the 16th century; the appearance of such before the 14th would invalidate their authenticity. In the 14th and 15th they may be sometimes found, though very rarely, in the minutes of notaries². These exceptions, should they be discovered, would only help to confirm the rule that excludes them from appearing in instruments previous to the 16th century. They were not generally used in Germany till the beginning of the 14th century, or towards the year 1306, but in general the forms of the cyphers were not permanently fixed there till after the year 1531³. Mr. Asle, in order to prove the similarity of the characters with the Sanscrit, Persian, Maharattan, Tartar, Bengalese and Arabic, has engraved several of them in his Pl. XXX. from authentic documents; but the resemblance is by no means general. In De Vaine's table of antient and modern cyphers what he calls *Chiffres vulgaires de France* are the same which he gives in his years "marked in Arabic cyphers."

Huet, c. 48. derives the numerals from the Greek letters; but we need only compare the one with the other to refute this opinion. A MS. "De Algorifmo" in verse, Brit. Mus. 8 C. IV. 16. ascribed to Grosseteste, expressly brings them from India, probably by Spain, from the Moors and Arabs:

Hec Algorifmus ars prefens dicitur, in qua
Talibus Indorum fruimur bis quinque figuris.

0.9.8.1.6.7.2.1.

which are nearly the same with those in Bacon's Calendar in Professor Ward's table of characters, Phil. Transf. N° 439.

It is plain Matthew Paris, p. 835. does not mean our present figures, as appears from the copy of his history at Benet College, where they are given, among Watts's various readings, and, we may presume, from his own pen⁴.

¹ Asle, p. 186—188.

² Mr. Denne, from his father's extracts from Ag. Cur. Consist. Roffen, doubts whether there be any minutes of that Court so dated before the year 1500.

³ Asle, p. 188.

⁴ Ib. De Vaines Diction. diplomatique, I. p. 270.

⁵ See Dr. Pegge's Life of Bishop Grosseteste, Append. N° XL. p. 347.

In a copy of the Paris edition of Matthew Paris formerly belonging to William Bohun of the Middle Temple, Esq. these figs are very differently represented. But neither representations have any resemblance to Huet's Greek characters or the Indian digits.

Mr. Ames¹ says the oldest date in Arabic numerals he ever saw in England was 1297, engraved in Casley's specimens from Cotton MSS. Vesp. A. II. 1. Pl. XV. a calendar of Roger Bacon, who died before that time. Mr. North² found the date of this MS to be 1192, which certainly referred only to the date of the Tables, and not of the book; whence he infers, that the numerals are of the time of copying, and not of the composition of the respective MSS; and this is confirmed by the specimens he brings from a Benet College MS. of the middle of the 14th century, where the Arabic numerals are explained by the Roman.

Numerals in MSS. in the Textus Roffensis differ from the present only in the 4, 5, and 7³. See fig. 1. in the opposite page.

Le Neve shewed the Society of Antiquaries a MS. as he thought, of the time of Edward I. paged with the numerals fig. 2.

In Ames's specimens of printing at St. Alban's are the numerals: fig. 3.

I copied from another MS at Rochester those fig. 4:

I have a MS calendar where the numerals are given as fig. 5. and one set of them is illustrated by Roman ones over them, as fig. 6.

The oldest MS. in which Dr. Bevis saw them was *Albion*, a set of astronomical canons and tables, by Richard Wallingford abbot of St. Alban's, 1326. In a MS of physical receipts which Mr. Ames had the Roman numerals are put over them thus:

XI	XIX	XX	G	CCCC	M	VI.M.
10.1	10.9	20	100	200	1000	6,000.

Soon after this, he adds, they changed the Arabic 50 to 4 or 9, or drew a stroke through it 40, or 40. He thought they were brought by our crusaders from the Holy Land in the reign of Richard I. Dr. Bevis was told by Mr. Costard that all the numerals in the Oxford MS. of Ibn Yonnis, a great astronomer of the 10th century, are the Arabic, and explained by words at length: e.g. 123 is followed by *one hundred and three*⁴. It is not easy, as Mr. Ames remarks, to conceive how astronomers could carry on their calculations in the Roman way of notation.

Casley gives 1338, in a MS in the King's library, intitled, "Gorham's Pof-tillæ in Pfalmos"—"Liber de clauftro Roffenfi"⁵.

In the library at Gorbamby is a small portrait of Silvefter Grimston, ancestor of the family, standard bearer and chamberlain to William the Conqueror, who took his name from Grimston in Yorkshire. He is habited in a green coat, with an uncommonly long hood hanging down from his head. On the picture is the inscription and date fig. 7.

¹ Gent. Mag. XXVIII. p. 469.

² Archæol. X. p. 373.

³ Harris, Kent, p. 32. Dr. Pegge makes no doubt these figures were added some centuries after, when it became a fashion to page books, long after printing came in use. Gent. Mag. XXIV. p. 159.

⁴ 2 C. V. Pl. xv.

⁵ A. S. Min. 1758. 468. Gent. Mag. XXVIII. p. 469.



Greek	I.	II.	III.	IIII.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	L.	C.	D.	M.
Numeral Letters	I.	II.	III.	IIII.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	L.	C.	D.	M.
Roman or Latin	I.	II.	III.	IIII.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	L.	C.	D.	M.
Numeral Letters	I.	II.	III.	IIII.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	L.	C.	D.	M.
Modern Figures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	50.	100.	500.	1000.
Tyros and Seneca's Notes	unus	duo	tres	quatuor	quinque	sex	septem	octo	novem	decem	Græci & Latini et II. p. 127.			
	primus	secundus	tertius	quartus	quintus	sextus	septimus	octavus	nonus	decimus				
	unus	duo	tres	quatuor	quinque	sex	septem	octo	novem	decem				
Boethius's Apices	I	II	III	IIII	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	L	C	D	M
Small Greek Letters	α	β	γ	δ	ε	ζ	η	θ	ι	κ	λ	μ	ν	ξ
Indian Figures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Tavernier's L. c. 2			
Modern Indian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
Arabic Figures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1300. in his edition hæreticorum			
Ar. Mejaia IV. q. 11. p. 94	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
Ar. Hephra 11. q. 1209	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
in MS. of Jakarova Baga	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1255.			
Proc. Alexander MS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
R. Bacons Kal'm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1292.			
2 ^o Cop. Autent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
Geometric Testaments	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
Wolfe's MS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1378			
Lachmann's MS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1471			
Levy's Hymn MS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
R. Bacons Arithmetica MS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
Rauhi's Polytechn. MS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1340.			
Stammata's Geometric MS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
Coxton's Reynard de Wynkyens figures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	printed 1489. in black & types			
2 ^o Wilson's arithmetic Translations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
Dr. Hakeley's MS Encyclopædia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
Dr. Widen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				

from a MS. of Hermann Johnson Esq. of Spalding

p cclxi

HERBERT MARRAS

1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.
10.11.12.13.14.
15.16.17.18.19.20.

1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.
1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.
1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.

12.3.4.5.6.189

17952472

2 9 1

20.16.2.12 190

If there wanted any decisive proof of the improbability of the Arabic numerals having been introduced among us before the 15th century, one might deduce a weighty argument from their never appearing on sepulchral monuments till about the middle of the 15th century. Mr. North, in a sensible paper, addressed by him to Mr. Folkes, president of the Royal Society, 1748, and afterwards to his successor the earl of Morton, and communicated to the Society of Antiquaries¹ after I bought it among the papers of his friend and executor Dr. Lort, has proved they were not discovered by Gerbert, nor used in Spain, nor introduced before the time of Bishop Grosseteste, who died 1253, after John Basing the archdeacon of Leicester brought them from Greece, between 1235 and 1240. Vossius² thought they came not into use here before 1300, or at farthest later than 1250. On monuments they are always expressed in words, or a circumlocution of phrases, or in Roman or Romano-Lombardic capitals.

Dr. Wallis supposed them as old as the time of Hermannus Contractus or the middle of the eleventh century. Mr. Luffkin supported this from the Colchester date³. Dr. Harris⁴ gave a date, 1102, more likely to be 1302. The inscription from Merton abbey is so wretchedly given⁵ that it is impossible to read or illustrate it; but if any dependance can be had on the numerals one wonders it did not effectually strike the experienced illustrator that the first of the two dates was 1560, the other 1468, or perhaps 1568, the figures contained within the cypher being principally to be attended to. For similar reasons the date

¹ Printed in Archæol. X. p. 362—377.

² De Natura Art. III. c. 8. See also Mabillon de re diplom. II. p. 114.

³ Phil. Trans. N° 255. p. 287. and N° 266. p. 267.

⁴ Kent, p. 32.

⁵ Gent. Mag. XXIV. p. 158.

at Nunnery in Cumberland', of which he desired a *fac simile* copy, may have been 1488. What has been supposed a date in Deerham church windows in the same county', is evidently part of an inscription commemorating the giver of the window, perhaps RADVLPH.

Mr. Morant' very injudiciously pronounced the famous Colchester date, which had so exercised the critics, to be a copy of an older of Eudo Dapifer's time, 1090; whereas, by his own reasoning, he should have pronounced it 1490. It was on the North front of the house, which was all of timber, and, to all appearance not older than the 14th or beginning of the 15th century'; and on rebuilding the house about fifty years ago the fill of the window where the date was carved was set on the South side. That in Helmedon rectory house, which Dr. Wallis' fancied to be 1133, is more probably a figle of some rector's initials, as the cypher repeated at Glastonbury' and Taunton', which so perplexed Hearne', turns out to be the initials of abbot Richard Beere'. That over Edgar's tower at Worcester'' is now altered beyond the reach of discussion.

In confirmation of his opinion Dr. Wallis, in his Treatise of Algebra, brings another date in the same numerals seven years later, from the great gate of the college, or St. Augustine's gate, at Bristol, communicated to him by Dr. Thomas Smith, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxon; "a curious observer of antiquities, both at home and in foreign countries," at the end of the inscription, under the four statues of its founders, 1140, "where," says he, "instead of four, we have the same figure reversed; but either of them doth equally agree to what was the whole shape of this figure, 8. And the difference of it from what we now use doth rather confirm the antiquity, than give us any cause to doubt its being genuine, and this inscription being but seven years later than the other, they do mutually confirm each other." Now not to insist that bishop Tanner dates the foundation of this priory 1148''; it is somewhat remarkable that both Leland and Camden, who give the inscription at large as now extant,

² Gent. Mag. Vol. XXV. p. 440. 452.

³ Ib. XXI. 112. 254.

⁴ Colchester, p. 191. In the same manner the date of "Flores divi Bernardi," Par. 1099. for 1499. Ames, p. 438.

⁵ On other fills were shields with the arms of Colchester cut in wood.

⁶ Phil. Trans. N° 154. p. 199. and Algebra, p. 7. 12. Camden, II. 171.

⁷ Somebody in the Bibliotheca Literaria, N° VIII. 25. takes the Helmedon date for 1433, and the Colchester for 1490, the 8 in both curtailed. This meets my idea about the Glastonbury blunder.

⁸ See the Plate of dates.

⁹ Hist. and Antiq. of Glastonbury, p. 103, 104. Sylloge, p. 96. Pl. xxvii.

¹⁰ Sylloge, p. 97. Pl. xxvi.

¹¹ Green, p. 18, 19. 174. Camden, II. 366.

Professor Ward proved, by convincing arguments, that the date could not be near so old as 975; and dean Lyttelton makes it appear, from Habington, that the gate was not older than king John, though the statues on it might represent king Edgar and his two wives; and the dean being inclined to think that the workmen who rebuilt it set up the present date (i. e. in Arabic numerals) for the year in which Edgar died, supposes this date to have been concealed from that time from Habington and Thomas; but that some late repairs brought it to light. Archæol. I. 141—143.

I lay not the smallest stress on the date at Trevecca in Wales, Archæol. IV. Pl. 1. fig. 4. p. 21. because it is out of its place on the stone itself, and the whole sculpture of the most ordinary kind. As to the date 1144 over the Roman XII on a foundation stone at the old Black Swan Inn, Holborn (Archæol. I. 149) I should rather believe it a mason's mark to direct the placing the stones or other materials; for Mr. Ames himself was staggered at the so modern form of the 4; not to mention that after deducing the introduction of numerals among us from the Holy Land in the reign of Richard I. (in which Dr. Bevis concurs), he now carries them fifty years back to the reign of Stephen.

" Though Mr. Barret says, 1140. Hist. of Bristol, p. 250. It is not in Wantner's Gloucestershire Collections in the Bodleian Library.

should omit the date in *any* numerals. It was not noticed by me; and Mr. Barret¹ expressly says, "there is *no* date, and had the inscription been placed there at the very time of the erection of the monastery, 1148, no doubt but the date would have been added." He is of opinion that the inscription was probably fixt up on the alteration of the rooms over the gate, about 1515. Brown Willis, in his account of the cathedral, p. 761, is the first who added A. D. 1148. The inscription is in relief, and had there been any date it could not be less visible than the letters are; but the form of the four would be decisive if there wanted evidence against its existence.

What then must we think of a date, 1200, exprest on Cawket or Calcot farm, Beverston parish², which belonged to Kingswood abbey, MLL instead of 1300, in Lombardic capitals, M CCC.³ Or of the date, MC III. on a chimney-piece at Castle Lehan in Ireland⁴, supposed to shew that stone buildings were earlier in that kingdom than is commonly imagined. This was probably made up of initials, and the year of the 10th century in Arabic numerals.

The date of Buckland church in Hertfordshire, said by an inscription in the window, now gone, to have been built by Nicholas de Bokeland, 1348⁵, and another, 1414, in a window of Aston church, in the same county⁶, also gone, most probably was in capitals, as the date of the death of John lord Cobham, 1407, who founded Cobham College, 1362⁷, and innumerable others in windows, &c.

The date on the mantle-piece at Saffron Walden, which is supposed to be 1387, is more probably 1587, or a few *wine tendrils* scattered over the tun, which makes out the name of *Myddilton*⁸.

Weever, from whom one would have expected more exactness, but who has been convicted of incorrectness in innumerable instances, very often gives his dates in Arabic numerals, which is wrong. Mr. Lewis, in copying the epitaphs at Feversham⁹, and in his *Life of Caxton*, has been guilty of the same negligence. He speaks of 1115 on the wainscot of a house then lately rebuilt near the market house at Feversham. Mr. Jacob¹⁰ supposes him to have mistaken this for IHS, the common abbreviations of our Saviour's name and title; and further observes that the adjoining carvings prove it to be done about the reign Henry VII.

Nothing is so astonishing as that Professor Ward¹¹ took the Rumsfey date for the initials of Jesus and John, or that he could not see that the Widial date was the initial of John Gill, 1568, and perhaps of his wife, M. J. G. I cannot however help thinking that whether this piece of oak carving were the *model* of a window (which does not seem to be confirmed by similar instances),

¹ Ib. p. 287.

² Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections, p. 177.

³ Gent. Mag. LXV. p. 385.

⁴ Smith's Cork, I. p. 185.

⁵ Newcourt, I. 813. Chauncey, p. 116. Salmon, p. 304, 305. Pegge's Sylloge, p. 41.

⁶ Salmon, p. 197.

⁷ See his monument, II. Pl. VI.

⁸ Vetula Monumenta, II. Pl. XIX.

⁹ Hist. of Feversham, pref. p. vii.

¹⁰ Hist. of Feversham, p. 48.

¹¹ Phil. Trans. N° 490. p. 613.

or part of an old screen, the *merchant's mark* in it, which the Professor, from his little acquaintance with these subjects, mistook for an *emblem of the Trinity joined with the cross*, rather implies that what he took for **th**s was *John*, the Christian name of the benefactor who gave it, and what he calls *Ion* or *John* his surname *Ion* or *Jon*. See his table of antient figures, p. 439. Nor was he more happy in his conjectures about a date imprest in releivo on a brick near the top of a chimney of a farm house at Walling, near Alderminster, which he read 982, but which is more probably 1582¹.

* On a brass in North Leach church the date is half capital letters, and half small numerals, 1484. See II. 149. n.

A date by the side of an image in a niche at Alderley, Gloucester, is read in Mr. Bigland's Collections, 1458². I wish to see a fac simile of it.

On a brass at Lechiot Matravers **MDCC** stands for 1505³. May not the Worcester date have been **MD** for 1500?

Over the justice seat in St. Briavel's castle MVLXVII⁴.

The first date in Arabic numerals that has occurred to me on a tomb is on a brass of Elen Cook, at Ware, **1898**, 1454⁵. The arabic 4 is always prefixed by a half 8.

The second is 1488 painted on the plaster of the partition of the Poulet chapel in Basing church, Hants, Pl. XXV. fig. 1. the 4 revert.

The third is 1489, painted on Bishop King's chapel in St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

The fourth is on the pavement, or perhaps the stone which covers the entrance of the vault in the chapel in Beverley minster, which served as a burial place to the noble family of Percy; this date, A. d'ni 149. the last numeral lost by the fracture of the stone, should be 1490. Henry fourth earl of Northumberland was murdered April 28, 1489⁶.

The fifth is 1492, painted on bishop King's chapel; the date of his appointment to the see of Exeter.

Of the same year is the brass of William Amfles, burgess of Lynne, in St. Margaret's church there⁷.

On a beam running from the N. E. corner of the steeple at Ashford rebuilt by Sir John Fogge in the reign of Edward IV. is a date which Professor Ward read 1295, but which is more likely to be 1495, or perhaps the beam was not put in till 1595⁸.

¹ Phil. Transf. N° 459 and 474.

² P. 177.

³ Hutchins's Dorset. See l. 118.

⁴ Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections, p. 177.

⁵ II. p. 171.

⁶ Pl. cix. p. 309, 310.

⁷ Mackarell, Hist. of Lynne, p. 58, gives it 1592.

⁸ Phil. Transf. N° 474. Haisted, Kent, III. p. 264.

The first I have met with in Arabic numerals on a building is on Hadley church, Middlesex, 1494¹.

On a feat in the church of St. Mary, Newmarket, 1898², 1494³.

Over Taunton castle, with bishop Langton's arms⁴, 1496.

London Bridge, 1497. 1509. 1514⁵.

On a pane of glass from St. Cross's hospital church, in my possession, 1499.

Melros abbey, 1505⁶.

On the N. W. gabel of Enfield palace, 1506.

Mayfield church, Staffordshire, 1515⁷;

Barton church, same county, 1517⁸.

Truro⁹, in a window, 1518.

Under abbot Middleton's rebus, in Milton Abbas church, 1518¹⁰.

Theydon Gernon¹¹, 1520.

Under the paintings in Oxenbrigg's or St. John Baptist's chapel in St.

George's chapel at Windfor, 1522.

Broxborn¹², 1522.

On the pannel of a pew in Welford church¹³, 1512, or 1522?

Basingstoke¹⁴, 1525.

Llanidlos church roof, Shropshire, 1542¹⁵.

Enfield vestry, 1531.

Mortlake¹⁶, 1545.

Præcentor Benet, in Salisbury cathedral, 1558.

Waltham Abbey¹⁷, 1558.

On a pillar of the entrance to Tollefshunt Darcy hall, Essex, 1585;

the opposite pillar having A° regni Eliz. 27°.

Mantle-piece at Walden¹⁸, 1587; which Professor Ward read 1387.

On bishop Bush's monument at Bristol the date of his death is in Arabic numerals, 1588.

The same date is on archbishop Sandys' tomb, at Southwell.

Carrow Abbey¹⁹, Norwich, 1591.

On a steel dog at Flimwell, near Lamberhurst²⁰.

¹ Mr. Lysons (Environ of London, II. p. 306). misread this 1444; but p. 519, he corrects his mistake, and gives it as here.

² Sylloge, p. 120.

³ Toulmin, Hist. of Taunton, p. 48.

⁴ Gent. Mag. XXVIII. p. 468.

⁵ Sylloge, p. 59. Pl. xv.

⁶ Sylloge, p. 59. Pl. xi.

⁷ Ib. p. 60. Pl. xii.

⁸ Ib. p. 120.

⁹ Hutchins's Dorset, II. p. 442. Sylloge, p. 84.

¹⁰ Sylloge, 73. pl. xvii. Camd. II. p. 10. P. 245, 246. of this volume.

¹¹ Sylloge, p. 90. pl. xxvi.

¹² Nichols's Leicestershire, vol. I. p. lii.

¹³ Sylloge, p. 74. pl. xiv. misread 1424.

¹⁴ Pennant, II. 364, 365. Camd. II. 534.

¹⁵ Sylloge, p. 121.

¹⁶ Ib. p. 111.

¹⁷ Ver. Mon. II. Pl. xix.

¹⁸ Gent. Mag. LVIII. p. 1046.

¹⁹ See Pl. xxviii.

Dates engraved in plate XXXV.

- Fig. 1. On the brass in Ware church, 1454.
 Fig. 2. 4. On bishop King's chapel at Windfor, 1489.
 Fig. 3. at Colchester, 1490.
 Fig. 5, 6, 7. Over the two faces of the gate of Taunton castle, built by Thomas Langton bishop of Winchester, 1496. 1498¹.
 8. On a building in the court of Taunton castle, 1498¹.
 9. 10. 11. Found in repairing London-bridge, 1758. Gent. Mag. XXVIII. p. 468. 1497, 1509. 1514. supposed to indicate reparations in the several years. The mark after the date fig. 11. is supposed to represent the old mark for Southwark: the first and last marks after the date, fig. 13 the initials of Sir Roger Achileys lord Mayor, 1511, then senior alderman, 1514, perhaps of Bridgeward.
 12. On a pane of glass from the church of St. Cross's hospital. 1499.
 13. On the North side of a stone serving as a step to the gate at the South East corner of Frinsbury church yard, Kent. Perhaps 1505 revert, or 1512.
 14. On a pew in Welford church, Northamptonshire, similar to fig. 13. 1516.
 16. On the Say chapel at Broxbourn.
 17. Over the door of the chapel of Taunton castle¹. } 1522.
 18. Over the East end of the vestry at Enfield. 1531.
 19. In Rodmarton church, Gloucestershire. 1544.
 20. Over the door of the great hall at Taunton castle, the arms of the see of Winchester impaling those of bishop Horn, who filled it from 1560 to 1579.
 21. At Tollethunt Darcy hall, 1581.
 22. At Walling, near Alderminster, 1582.
 23. On the beam at Ashford church, 1592, which Mr. Ward read 1292.
 24. On a beam at the Halfmoon inn, near Magdalen college, Cambridge, 1552, which Mr. Ward read 1332.
 25. On the gabel of the North chancel, or burying place of the Petre family at Ingatstone, where, under the airhole to the vault is the family motto, *Sans Dieu rien*; and 57 only of 1557⁴.
 26. On the wall of the almshouse near Taunton, belonging to Magdalen-church¹.
 27. On the outside of Whetstone church, Leicestershire.

¹ Fig. 5 and 7. are on the inner face of the inner gate: the latter are the arms of Henry VII. and the inscription, *Vive roy bon*.

² The griffins supporting the bishop's coat on this stone have *tuns* round their bodies: which reminds one of the figure of the cockatrice and tun in a window at Rowena priory, Hertfordshire, Gent. Mag. LIX. 805.

On the church-porch is the date 1508. Toulmin, p. 26.

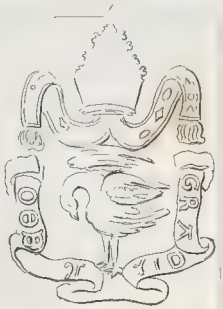
³ On the scrolls *Gracia Dea*. These are the arms of bishop Fox, who succeeded Langton. They are not mentioned here by Mr. Toulmin, though he notices them, p. 33, near the entrance of the Free-school founded by that bishop.

⁴ A specimen from a monumental inscription in the 16th century may be offered from the church of Stanford, c. Northampton, in memory of Sir Thomas Cave; thus given by Bridges, l. 582. Anno D'ni-M. D. 58.

⁵ Probably lost when this building was taken down.

Amo dñi
1098

1200



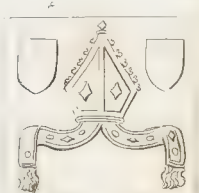
Amoldm
1509†

13
Adom
1111 1531

1522†
Adm

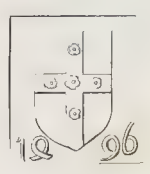
Amo dñi
1618A

1332
1444

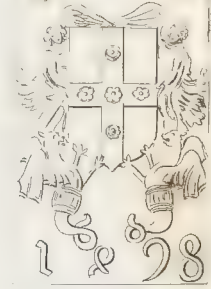


12
1618A

1532



1515 1516

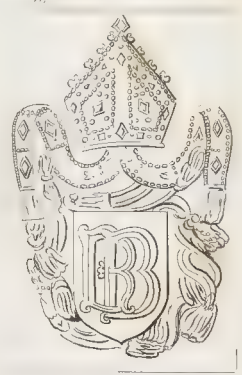
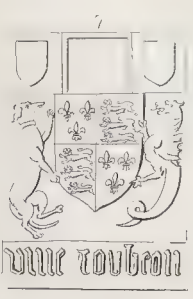


1615



1577

1782



1888 1890

DATES

1889 1892

It is most probable that the date on the barn at Preston in Aylesford is exactly the same with that at Cambridge. It certainly cannot commemorate the Colpepers and bear their arms at an earlier period; nor is it at all likely that it should commemorate the coming of the family into the county of Kent. Mr. Hafield¹ imagined they were not there before the reign of John.

The same error that has obtained about the Cambridge and Preston dates seems to have been adopted by Mr. Deering², in his account of one found on a beam on the West end of St. Mary's church, Nottingham: the workman could not remember it, but was sure it made the church upwards of 1100 years old, which would carry the date into the *fifth* century, a period not easily retained in *wood*, on which material Roman numerals were not often cut.

The date at Preston being repeated *four* times among the buildings before the late alterations made in them, looks, in the opinion of my learned friend Mr. Denne, as if it had a retrospective view to some memorable æra in the Colepeper family. The branch settled at Prestonhall had no right to the arms of Hardreshull, before the close of the 16th century. About that time there were two Thomas Colepepers, father and son, one of whom might impale, and the other quarter that coat with other paternal bearings; and he thinks the buildings in question were erected by one or other of these Thomas's, or perhaps were the joint work of both, as the style of structure shews.

In the windows of the mansion-house of Northleigh, Oxfordshire, was this inscription:

**John Wylcotes & Alicia uxor ejus, ob. 1400.
et semel.**

i. e. says Mr. Warton³, 1400 or 1410; rather 1401. But here again we must recur to *fac simile*.

Over the great West window of Fountains' abbey church is carved a bird standing on a tun, and holding a crossier. Under it is a label with obscure characters, and a date like 1554. This bird is called a thrush, and said to be the rebus of the founder. There was no abbot whose name comes nearer than *Thirsk* or *Threisk*; who was hanged at Tyburn, 1537, and the abbey was surrendered 1540. I wish to see a correct drawing of the whole sculpture.

Maillon is of opinion that Arabic numerals are rarely to be met with before the 14th century, except in MS on Geometry and Arithmetic. The Benedictine editors of the "*Nouveau traite de diplomatique*," do not date their in-

¹ Kent, II. 174.

² Nottinghamshire, p. 18.

³ Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 410.

introduction into France, Germany, or the rest of Europe, before the 13th century. The university of Paris (if we believe the Chron. Godwic. p. 114), made use of them in the beginning of the 14th century, but they were not in general use.

The oldest date of this sort in printed books is that used by Caxton between his initials, perhaps expressing the year 1474, when he began printing in England¹. William Saona's treatise "de rhetorica" was printed at St. Alban's, 1480, and again at Cambridge, by Siberch², 1521, and laid in the title to have been "compiled in that university, 1478³."

Sir James Ware thought that on an Irish coin which he has engraved⁴ he could observe the date of the year whereon that piece was struck, which he makes out 1115. Mr. Simon⁵ observes that as no dates are found on our coins before 1513, when Henry VIII. had the year first struck on his testoons coined at Tournay⁶, the letters C. II. V. X. in the four angles of the cross must be read *Cruix*, which word is often seen on the coins of Ethelred and other Saxon kings of England, and on some of those of the kings of France and Sweden. But Mr. Folkes mentions⁷ a silver piece with the date 1898; and supposed to have been coined by the dukes of Burgundy for Perkin Warbeck, when he set out to invade England that year; and he has engraved a groat of Henry IV's last coinage, with the Arabick half 8 instead of the Roman IV⁸. Snelling⁹ expresses a belief that the testoons of Edward VI. 1549, is the first English coin that bears the date of the year; but it is in Roman capitals. On his penny we have the Arabic 6 after his name¹⁰. Mr. Folkes¹¹ gives another with the date M D XL7.

Mr. Snelling, speaking of the jettons or counters, often called abbey pieces, observes, that "their use was better understood in those religious foundations than any where else, or by any other persons before the present manner of working the Arabic figures with the pen was so well known as now¹²."

¹ Ames, p. 6. Herbert, p. 11.

² A German, friend of Erasmus, who first used the Greek types in England.

³ See the title page engraved in Ames, p. 463. Herbert, p. 1386. 1430.

⁴ Fig. 4. in the plate of coins in the last edition of his work, c. II. p. 206.

⁵ Simon's Irish Coins, p. 5.

⁶ See Folkes's tables of silver coins, Pl. VII. fig. 14. p. 24.

⁷ Ubi sup. suppl. Pl. III. 33. p. 19.

⁸ Ib. Pl. I. fig. 41.

⁹ View of silver coins, p. 26. Pl. IV. 10. 12. MD XLIX. 11. 13. MD L. 14. MD LI.

¹⁰ Ib. III. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8. Folkes, IX. 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹¹ According to Snelling ubi sup. p. 21. the coins of Henry VII. are the first that have the number after the name: but I suppose the Latin character were used.

¹² Fig. 6.

¹³ Pref. to his View of the Jettons, p. 2.

The composition of epitaphs must be referred to the depositaries of every species of learning, the religious. The names of our early epitaph makers are as difficult to ascertain as those of our architects or painters. In the 15th century we are sure of John Whethamstead abbot of St. Alban's, whose verses, recorded by Weever¹, do honour to his monastery, already distinguished by producing so many learned men. We trace his munificence and poetry in all the churches of its dependance; and in his period, for at least fifty years, from 1392 to 1464, we trace also the revival of classical literature among us. The maker of Sir Peter Arderne's epitaph at Latton² had set his name to his composition; but time has deprived us of it, notwithstanding all his efforts at immortality.

It was no uncommon thing for the religious to embalm their benefactors, by a variety of honorary rhymes, which they entered in their registers. Weever was deceived by several of these, as if they had been inscribed on their monuments. Such also were the tablets hung up at the feet of our royal monuments in Westminster abbey, recorded by him and Camden, but long since consigned to oblivion³.

Leonine verses are properly Roman hexameter or pentameter rhymed, in which measure, sense, and syntax are sacrificed to sound and jingle⁴.

Pafquier⁵ ascribes them to Leoninus, a French monk of St. Victor at Marfeilles, about 1135, the most popular and almost only Latin poet of his time in France, who wrote many other pieces of Latin verse and an heroic poem in that language, containing the history of the Bible from the creation to the story of Ruth, and some elegies.

Leonine verse, or rhyme, by whomsoever it was invented, kept its ground here till Vinefauf, who seems to have lived about 1200, wrote a new art of Poetry against it.

It is however certain, that rhymed Latin verses were in use much earlier. The Schola Salernitana was published 1100. Mr. Warton⁶ mentions the history of Bergamo, in a poem written by order of the emperor Justin II. A.D. 707, in Latin rhyme; and Pelloutier⁷ gives extracts from one in the beginning of the 7th century. Bede⁸ quotes the church hymns of his time, the 8th century, without noticing that they are in rhyme. Garampi, in his explanation of a seal of Garfagnana⁹ circumscribed with a Leonine inscription, instances many other seals of the same kind, and refers to Muratori for many instances of inscriptions of the end of the 6th century: and Amatus, a monk of Cassino, addressed to Pope Gregory VII. the lives of the apostles Peter and Paul, a poem, in

¹ P. 574—577.

² See p. 217.

³ Such was probably the imperfect inscription painted on the pillar of the arch at the head of the Black Prince's monument at Canterbury, which it is now impossible to make out.

⁴ The "Gestes of Kyng Horne," an English Leonine. Warton, I. 39.

⁵ Recherches de la France, VII. 2, 3. p. 596. p. 600.

⁶ Warton, I. Dissert. II.

⁷ Dissert. II. p. 123.

⁸ Mem. sur la ling. Celt. part I. vol. I. c. 41. p. 20.

⁹ De arte metrica.

¹⁰ Rom. 1759, 410. p. 44—47. He dates this seal between 1227 and 1251, to which period the crosser of Grolletelle belongs.

Four books, in this rhyme. Gravina, and the author of *Memoires de Petrarque*, thought this rhyme was introduced after the barbarians and common people had so changed the pronunciation of the Latin tongue that it was impossible to distinguish verse from prose by a certain combination of long and short syllables¹.

Those on Laurence successor of Austin; and succeeding archbishops; and abbots, given by Weever, p. 246, not of later date, will carry this mode of versification centuries higher.

The epitaph of William Warren earl of Surrey in our own country², and William the Conqueror in France³, are proofs that Leonine verse obtained before Leoninus.

That of Roger bishop of Salisbury, 1139⁴, is perhaps the first instance of the *boutz rimez* among us. Add to these the epitaph on the Danish chieftain Magnus, in the wall of St. John's church at Lewes⁵; that of Aubrey de Vere, founder of Colne priory, and his son William⁶; Savaricus bishop of Wells, who died 1205⁷; one on king John⁸; Simon Montfort earl of Leicester⁹. Camden says¹⁰, William de Valence earl of Pembroke is intombed at Westminster, with these *rank rythmes*, which certainly do not appear at present on his tomb. He gives such an one on Henry III¹¹.

Weever¹² gives, from a Cottonian MS. a Leonine epitaph on Odo Severus archbishop of Canterbury, who died A. D. 959. and preceded Dunstan. Another on Hugoline chamberlain to the Confessor, buried in the Chapter-house at Westminster, which Weever¹³ calls *fillic verjes*. They were also on the choir hangings, which we may presume to have been of later date as well as the epitaphs on archbishops Laurence¹⁴ and Mellitus¹⁵.

Weever gives a string of Leonine verses on sacred subjects, p. 118.

Leonine epitaphs in Weever :

R. Fauconberg, bishop of London¹⁶, 1228.

Henry de Wingham¹⁷, 1262.

Sir William Molyneux¹⁸, 1367.

Richard Lion¹⁹, 1381. rather rhyme than Leonine verse.

Roger Walden, bishop of London, 1406²⁰.

William Thorne, at Faversham²¹, 1408.

Prior Salisbury, 1494²².

Seman Tong²³, at Faversham, 1414.

Robert Chichele²⁴, 1440.

Hugh Daufet²⁵, 1443, where the numerals are pressed in to make out the jingle :

M C quater X ter IX sit et I fex

Aprilisque die ter I. V semel I migrat ille.

¹ Warton, ubi sup.

² I. 8.

³ I. 12.

⁴ I. 20.

⁵ Camden, Brit. I. p. 200. Pl. XII. p. 3. ⁶ Weever, p. 614. ⁷ Camden's Remains, p. 494.

⁸ Ib. p. 495. I. 12. ⁹ Ib. p. 496. ¹⁰ Ib. p. 500. ¹¹ Ib. Reges et Reginae. See also I. 79.

¹² Weever, p. 215. ¹³ P. 423. ¹⁴ P. 246. ¹⁵ P. 247. ¹⁶ P. 358. ¹⁷ Ib.

¹⁸ P. 234. Here the first half of the first line rhymes with the last half of the second. ¹⁹ P. 406.

²⁰ P. 434. ²¹ P. 276. ²² P. 235. ²³ P. 275. ²⁴ P. 409. ²⁵ P. 416.

John Digge¹. 14 . . or 15 . .

John Andrew².

John Brickles³, 1451.

John Good⁴, 1460.

John Hinxworth⁵, 1473.

—— Yerford⁶, 1480.

Ralph Howell⁷, 1480.

Ofpringe bell⁸.

On other bells⁹.

On the shrine of Paulinus, at Rochester, made by Gundulph¹⁰.

Two abbots of Peterborough in the clofe of the 13th century¹¹.

Ralph de Hengham, at fame period¹².

The infcription of the crozier found in Grosefle's grave¹³.

Prior Sutton¹⁴, 1349.

Archbishop Islip¹⁵, 1366. These rhymes run differently.

Archbishop Wintlesfey¹⁶, 1374.

Edward III¹⁷. 1377.

Abbot Litlingstone¹⁸, 1386, only ex parte.

Archbishop Waldby¹⁹, 1397.

Richard II. and his queen²⁰, 1399.

Henry V²¹.

Archbishop Chicheley²², 1443.

On the hermits at St. Alban's²³.

John Sleaford²⁴, 1401.

Bishop Wykeham, 1404²⁵.

John Gower²⁶.

Thomas Cranley²⁷, 1417.

Richard Whittington²⁸, 1423.

Abbot Repingdon²⁹, 1424.

Bishop Rikyngale³⁰, 1429. rhymes like Lion's, p. cclxvi.

Sir Thomas Brounflete³¹, 1430.

William Scott³², 1441.

John Gall³³, 1445.

Thomas Fortey³⁴, 1447.

Thomas Frowick³⁵, 1448.

Abbot Stoke³⁶, 1451.

Archbishop Kempe's parents³⁷, about 1450.

¹ Weever, p. 267.

² P. 275.

³ P. 408.

⁴ P. 385.

⁵ P. 122.

⁶ P. 546.

⁷ P. 401.

⁸ P. 546.

⁹ P. 280.

¹⁰ P. 122.

¹¹ I. p. 310.

¹² I. p. 62.

¹³ I. p. 78.

¹⁴ I. p. 48.

¹⁵ I. p. 148.

¹⁶ I. p. 101.

¹⁷ I. p. 121.

¹⁸ I. p. 131.

¹⁹ P. 140.

²⁰ I. p. 148.

²¹ I. p. 156.

²² I. p. 164. That in Camden's Remains, I. p. 506. is not now to be seen.

²³ I. p. 129.

²⁴ I. p. 206.

²⁵ I. p. 206.

²⁶ II. p. 63.

²⁷ II. p. 139.

²⁸ II. p. 25.

²⁹ II. p. 91.

³⁰ II. p. 135.

³¹ II. p. 9.

³² II. p. 74.

³³ II. p. 128.

³⁴ II. p. 168.

³⁵ II. p. 171.

³⁶ II. p. 96.

³⁷ II. p. 151.

John Lind ¹, 1464. part Leonine, part rhyme.

Robert Billesfield ², 1467.

All Whethamsted's lines.

See innumerable specimens in Weever ³,

In the French language so late as 1471.

Leonine verse was at a very low ebb on John Bernwell's, at St. Alban's, 1400 ⁴; and Thomas Pakington there, 1455 ⁵. William Moor's, 1456 ⁶, is punning Leonine. That on Harold's tomb, 1066, is very lame ⁷; better on Hugh Neville ⁸, 1220; that on archbishop Courtney, at Maidstone lame and poor ⁹; also on John Dering ¹⁰, 1425. It occurs in the prayers of the 15th century ¹¹, and of the 16th ¹². In some of the earlier instances grammar and orthography were sacrificed to sound ¹³.

In the cloister of the abbey of Eschalis in France :

*Hic sum pauper mis Guillelmus comes inermis
Pateries dormis, miserere super me pater mis
Armipotens niles Guillelmus, qui fuit heres
Ordonis, viles solbitur in cineres
Tectis suus martis, qui legis esto memortis
Orate pro me Iesum Christum.*

Latin and English rhyme intermixt in an epitaph at Northleach ¹⁴, and in Rudyng's, at Biggleswade ¹⁵.

Rhyme and Leonine mixt on bishop Stanebury ¹⁶, 1474.

A similar instance in Simon Sudbury ¹⁷.

English rhyme: John Lovekin, mayor of London, 1368 ¹⁸. Richard Skipwith, St. Alban's, 1420 ¹⁹. Alnan ²⁰. William Chichele ²¹. Wenlok, 1471 ²².

John Gower's "Historia tripartita" MS. Cotton. is written in this measure. His account of archbishop Arundel is extracted by Weever ²³.

Mr. Warton asserts ²⁴, that the quatrain stanza, with alternate rhyme, was scarcely ever used, under any circumstances, by the elder poets, except in translations; on which Mr. Denne observes, "I am rather inclined to think that very many pieces of this kind of metre, for instance balads, have perished, because committed to memory and tradition only, and I am clear it is to be met with in a species of versifying which the historian of English poetry has not noticed, and that is the sepulchral. Whilst pursuing the enquiry I discovered more antient epitaphs in the vulgar tongue than I had expected to have seen, and it added to my surprize that so many of them were in rhyme. I will refer to three in Weever that have the double rhyme, and two of them solely in two

¹ II. p. 206.

² II. p. 214.

³ P. 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 256, 257.

⁴ Weever, p. 581.

⁵ I. p. 576, II. p. 178.

⁶ II. 179.

⁷ Weever, p. 643.

⁸ Ib. p. 644.

⁹ II. p. 285.

¹⁰ Ib. p. 292.

¹¹ Ib. p. 235.

¹² Ib. p. 625.

¹³ Thus "Marci, Marcelli, q. ani," to rhyme with *Stephani*.

Die genetricis for Dei, to rhyme with *Marte*. Garampi ubi sup. p. 46.

¹⁴ II. 150.

¹⁵ Ib. p. 273.

¹⁶ II. p. 240.

¹⁷ Weever, 224.

¹⁸ II. 410.

¹⁹ II. 54.

²⁰ II. p. 266.

²¹ Ib. p. 80.

²² Ib. p. 224.

²³ P. 226.

²⁴ Remarks on Rowley's Poems, § II. metre, p. 38.

quatrain stanzas; and all the three are in the 15th century: John Pickering; 1448, in St. Lawrence Jewry church, London¹. William Witter, 1406, in St. Peter's church, at St. Alban's². Richard Boutfeint, 1459, at Stone in Kent³. But in the last there are two stanzas and three other lines. It is an obvious remark, that these epitaphs were preserved in consequence of their being carved in stone: *are perennius*, because not fusible, and so easily transmutable into silver."

In the "Art of English Poësie" (by Puttenham, though anonymously published by Richard Field, 1589.) c. xxviii. is entitled, "Of the Poeme called Epitaph, used for the memorial of the dead." It is observed, p. 45. "An epitaph is but a kind of epigram, only applied to the report of the dead person's estate and degree, or of his other good or bad parts to his commendation or reproach; and is an inscription such as a man may commodiously write or engrave upon a tombe in a few verses, pithie, quicke, and sententious, for the passer by to peruse and judge upon without any long tariance; so as if it exceede the measure of an epigram it is there (if the verse be correspondent) rather an elegie than an epitaph, which error many of these bastard rimers commit, because they be long and tedious discourses, and write them in large tables, to be hanged up in churches and chauncells over the tombes of great men and others, which be so exceeding long as one must have halfe a dayes leasure to read one of them, and must be called away before he come halfe to the ende, or else be locked into the church by the sexton, as I myself was once served in reading an epitaph in a certain cathedrall church of England. They be ignorant of poësie that call such long tales by the name of epitaphs. They might better call them elegies, as I said before; and they ought never to be engraven nor hanged up in tables; I have seen them nevertheless upon many honourable tumbs of these last times erected, which do rather disgrace than honour either the master or the maker."

The epitaphs given by Weever⁴ on the three abbots of Westminster are not Leonine, but that on Edward Confessor's shrine is⁵.

On a priest in St. Giles's hospital, Lincoln, holding a chalice:

*In te confidi vivens modo dona repende
O pater Egidi Thome Leveden michi tende.*

On Robert de Marisco bishop of Durham, 1217, a great waster of the church's revenues:

<i>Culmina qui cupi-</i>	} <i>tis.</i>	<i>Laudes pompasq. sti-</i>	} <i>tis.</i>
<i>Est sedata si-</i>		<i>Si me pensare veli-</i>	
<i>Qui populos regi-</i>		<i>Remores super omnia si-</i>	
<i>Quod mors immi-</i>		<i>Non parit honore poti-</i>	
<i>Nobis praeponi-</i>		<i>Similes fueram bene sci-</i>	
<i>Quod sum vos erit-</i>		<i>Ad me currendo veli-</i>	

¹ P. 399.

² P. 486, 487.

³ P. 580.

⁴ P. 333.

⁵ P. 485, l. 3.

Of French rhymes, see instances in the epitaph of John Warren, seventh earl of Surrey¹, 1304, beginning like that of the Black Prince.

Sir John de Frevile².

John Cobham, 1354, and his wife³.

Thomas Cobham⁴, 1367.

John Bleobury⁵, 1372.

Edward the Black Prince⁶, 1370.

Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester⁷, 1397.

Thomas Furnivall⁸, temp. Edward III.

John Cobham, 1402, like Bleobury's⁹.

Those over Gower's figure¹⁰.

Thomas More abbot of St. Alban's¹¹, 1399.

The common terminations of the French rhyme are: *gyff icy—est mercy*.

Three epitaphs of the Cobhams—the Black Prince; all in Kent begin, *Vous qe par icy passez*: so does an abbot of St. Alban's. I. 205.

In Exton church, Rutlandshire, Wright¹² gives this about the verge of an alabaster tomb in the chancel:

*¶ Vous qe par ycy passerez
Par l'almes Nichol Grene pries
Son corps giste de soubz ceste pere
Par la mort qe taunt est fere
En la cyphautissime an mort luy prist,
Perry luy face Jesu Crist. Amen.*

Latin rhyme,

John Phelip¹³, 1415.

John Lowe¹⁴, 1426.

William Loudyngton¹⁵, 1419.

William Lyndwood¹⁶, 1419.

Bishop Stafford¹⁷, 1419.

Thomas Gascoyne¹⁸, 1457.

William Multho¹⁹.

Prior Woodnesburgh²⁰, 1427.

Archbishop Chicheley²¹, 1443.

Gilbert Kymer²², 1463.

Abbot Kerton²³, 1466.

Thomas Hylle²⁴, 1468.

Archbishop Bradwardin²⁵.

Sir John Fogge²⁶.

William West cardinal of St. Paul's²⁷.

William Lili²⁸.

¹ I. p. 80. ² I. p. 89. ³ I. p. 116. ⁴ I. p. 177. ⁵ I. p. 131. ⁶ I. 136.
⁷ I. p. 157. ⁸ I. p. 181. ⁹ II. p. 22. ¹⁰ II. p. 24. ¹¹ I. p. 154.
¹² P. 53. ¹³ II. p. 44. ¹⁴ P. II. 75. ¹⁵ II. p. 51. ¹⁶ II. p. 52. ¹⁷ II. p. 54.
¹⁸ II. p. 88. ¹⁹ II. p. 137. ²⁰ II. p. 180. ²¹ II. p. 200. ²² P. 210. ²³ Ib.
²⁴ P. 218. ²⁵ Weever, p. 221. ²⁶ Ib. p. 384. ²⁷ P. 385. ²⁸ Ib.

On a flat marble stone over archbishop Stafford, 1452, Weever¹ found this *consolatorie* epitaph, which is a mixture of Leonine and rhyme⁴

*Quis fuit enucleus quem celas saxea moles ?
Stafford antistes fuerat dictusque Johannes.
Qua sedit sede, marmor, queso, simul ede ?
Pridem Baibonie, regni toties et inde
Primas egregius. Pro presule funde precatus.
Aureolam gratus huic det de virgine natus.*

When we attend to the efforts of literature made among us from the coming over of Austin, the visit of Cedwalla to Rome, and in the days of Alfred, who held correspondence with the politest courts of the continent, we cannot doubt that the genius of epitaph writing would be at a low ebb. Mr. Camden² laments the decay of learning after Alfred's decease, till it revived after the Conquest. The epitaphs made for our princes in the 12th and 13th centuries favour of the gratitude of monks in after ages; for in general the inscription on the ledge was merely composed of names, titles, and dates, in Latin or French. They were the *lacrymæ in obitum*, shed now only by universities, or an occasional mourner in the newspapers or magazines. Such were also the duplicates on founders or prelates, of which Chicheley, in Camden³, is one instance. The epitaphs of prelates and ecclesiastics speak the language of scripture: *Credo quod redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die surrecturus sum, et rursum circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea videbo deum salvatorem meum*; on bishop Gravesend, at Lincoln⁴; on others *Credo in deum, Credo videre deum, &c.* and on bishop Browncomb, at Exeter, three texts from the New Testament⁵.

In Fleetwood's Sylloge of Inscriptions, Part II. Monum. Christian. p. 520. in Lombardic letters, not given in fac simile, is this. B. is put for V.

*Credo quia redemptor meus bibit et in nobissimo
die de terra suscitabit me et in carne mea videbo
Deum meum, &c.*

"The Creed in Latin was curiously inlaid round the tombstone of John Paycock, 1533, at Coggeshall:

Credo in Deum patrem, &c.

"About the verge of the stone in brass a Pater Noster inlaid, *Pater Noster qui es in celis sanctificetur nomen tuum*, and so to the end of the prayer. Upon the midst of the marble this, *Ave Maria gratia plena: Dominus tecum: Benedicte tu: in mulieribus: et benedictus sit fructus ventris tui Jesus. Amen.* I have not seen such rich monuments for so mean persons," says Weever⁶.

¹ P. 228.

⁴ I. p. 60.

² Remains, epitaphs, p. 482.

⁵ II. p. 61.

⁶ Weever, p. 618.

³ Ib. p. 506.

Under the epitaph of Edward Cornwallis, at Brome, 1510: "the form of a heart joining to it, streaming forth these sentences:

Redemptor meus vivit

In novissimo die super terram stabit

*In carne mea videbo deum salvatorem*¹.

Within the circumference of the heart this word, "*Credidi*."

Other instances are:

John Lumbard, rector of Stone².

Roger Stratton, rector of Wrotham³.

Thomas Attwood, at Coleby⁴, 1486.

Bishop Skirlaw⁵.

Bishop Bell, at Carlisle⁶, 1496.

Another in Ware church⁷.

With a heart⁸, 1490.

On the lower half of an abbot of St. Alban's⁹.

Alan Fleming, at Newark¹⁰, 1478.

Robert de Hungerford, 1354, has part of the first passage¹¹.

Judge Hankford¹², and cardinal Beaufort¹³, a text from the Psalms, li. 6. cvi. 3. and xxvii. 13:

At Barton on Humber, 1453¹⁴.

Campden's at St. Crofs¹⁵.

*Credo in Deum, et post tenebras fecit lucem*¹⁶.

Credo videre bona domini in terra viventium. Pf. xxvii. 13¹⁷.

Sentences¹⁸.

"I know that my Redeemer liveth," 1625, in Roman capitals reverse, at Kibworth; from the mouth of a figure, now gone¹⁹.

On the slab over Robert Tendring, at Great Baddow, was inlaid this prayer:

*✠ Omnipotens et misericors Deus in cujus potestate humana conditio consistit animam famuli tui Roberti queso ab omnibus absolve peccatis ut penitentie fructum quem voluntas ejus optabit preventus morte non perdat: per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Amen*²⁰.

On a brass, in Sibbesdon church, Leicestershire²¹, a fine figure of a priest, in his furred gown, extending his hands, from the palms of which proceed these scrolls address to the Saviour seated on a rainbow:

**Invenit postulatio mea in conspectu tuo d'ne
Fiat manus tua ut salvet me.**

² Weever, p. 765.

³ Weever, p. 325.

⁴ II. p. 329.

⁵ Blomet. III. p. 328. See also I. 523. 552. 653.

⁶ I. p. 186. II. p. 260.

⁷ II. p. 105.

⁸ II. p. 149.

⁹ Nichols's Leicestershire, Vol. II. Part II. under Kibworth.

¹⁰ Weever, p. 641.

¹¹ Engraved for the Fourth Volume of Mr. Nichols's History of that County, under Sibbesdon.

¹² Ib. p. 333. II. 28.

¹³ Blomet. III. 653.

¹⁴ Salmon, p. 247.

¹⁵ I. 207.

¹⁶ I. p. 108.

¹⁷ Ib. p. 213.

¹⁸ Ib. p. 186. 195. 265.

¹⁹ Ib. p. 186.

²⁰ Ib. p. 186.

²¹ Ib. p. 186.

Under him,

Deate pro ala Johis Moore laterootis facultatis artium magistri
et prebendarii de Olmonderley rectorisq' p'chialis ecclesie de
Sybbysone in comitatu lecestrie qui obijt xxvij die mensis Mayii.
A d'ni millesimo CCCCXXXVII. cuius a' e propicietur deus. Amen.

In the North aisle of the choir at Salisbury cathedral is, or was, this inscription round a blue slab :

Richardus tumultu pagus sepelitur in isto, preses canobii
qui fuit edroesi. h'nc rex prebendena donavit n'pabiena'.
he ricus quadruplo bis celebris numero'.
Exp'ti nune' bobis quicunq' benignu' defunctu' precibus
commemorate piis. A. D. 1540. *JA*^m 12. 4

On a brass plate nailed against the South end of the South transept of Chesterfield church, Derbyshire :

1. ic sub² human² ossa d²ni Johis Werdon quodam
 Rectoris de lyndebj in comitatu Notynghamie
 Ebor² dioc² et Capellani cantarie sci michaelis
 Archangeli in ecclesia poch² o²m² f²or de cheskerfeld
 qui obiit f²do die me²s² m²ati A² d²ni m²o b²o cui²
 aia f²c² questo orate p²ut p²ris a²t²ads orare voluer² 5

In Harrow chancel, Middlesex, is an epitaph for John Flambard; under his figure in armour in brags in which the name is divided in a singular manner:

Non me' do marmore numinis ordine Flammæ tumulat'
Bard quoque verberare Stigis e fu'ne hic tucatur⁶.

Which words may perhaps be thus rendered :

“ John Flam is buried under the middle of this marble, by order of
“ the Deity ; and Bard by the stroke of death by burial is here kept.”

Silius Italicus lays great stress on Tiphone's whip:

“Tisiphonem *suos* agitantem *verbere* manes⁸.”

"Et dirum intonuit *Stygio* bis terque flagello ?,"

— *verbera* Erinny's

Incutit ————— 10.

There is another monument of this family, with this inscription under a man in armour and a lady.

Edmund Flamberd et Elisabeth gisont icy.

Dieu de salmes eyt mercy. amen.

Flambard Edmundus jacet hic tellure sepultus.

Conjux addetur Elisabeth et societur."

Henry VIII.

⁴ I copied this myself, and have another copy of it among some papers of the late Mr. West: but have not been able to trace this person or his preferments, or to explain the words in notes ¹ & ².

⁵ Gent. Mag. LXIV. 16.

⁷ Order, it must be owned, is a new application for *mandata*.

⁹ II. 530.

21 Weever,

the brasies ar

the addenda to *Le*

Antiquities, Pl. VI. VII.

OFFICES.

William Brenchell, or Brenchley ¹, 1446,
 ——— Fyneux, 11 Henry VII ². } Justice of Common Pleas.

John Martin, 1436. ³.

Sir Robert Read, Chief Justice of Common Pleas ⁴.

Justice of the King's Bench ⁵.

Thomas Willughby Justice of King's Bench, 1545 ⁶.

Chief Justice of the King's Bench ⁷.

Baron of the Exchequer ⁸.

Capitalis baro seaccarii d'ni regis ⁹.

William Hefilt, baron of the Exchequer, 1425 ¹⁰.

In seaccario baro primus postea justiciarius ¹¹.

Baron of the Cinque ports ¹².

William Laken, ferjeant at law, 1408 ¹³.

Magister cancellarii domini regis ¹⁴.

Famosus in lege apprenticius ¹⁵.

Socius de Greyfin ¹⁶.

Roger Apleton, one of the auditors to Henry V. and VI. to Joan wife of Henry IV. and Catherine wife of Henry VI. and of the principality of Wales, duchy of Cornwall, and county of Chester, 1400 ¹⁷. Henry and John Apleton, 1479, 1481, have the same titles ¹⁸.

Principal auditor of the duchy of Lancaster, temp. Henry VII ¹⁹.

Clericus Signetti to Edward IV ²⁰.

Treasurer to Henry VI ²¹.

Thesaurarius Angliæ ²².

Treasurer to the king in Ireland, and one of the clerks *compositi hospitii regis*, 1514 ²³.

Sir John Heron, treasurer of the king's chamber ²⁴.

Controler of the household to king Richard II. 1415 ²⁵.

Clerk of the pipe and privy seal, 21 Henry VIII ²⁶.

Sir William Coffyn, knight, of the privy chamber to Henry VIII. master of the horse to his queen, and high steward of the liberty and manor of Stondon ²⁷.

William Kettleby, *serviens illustrissimi principis Henrici filii metuendissimi regis Henrici VII* ²⁸.

William Sutton, *valellus corone domini regis*, 1428 ²⁹.

Serjeant at arms to the king, 1361 ³⁰.

Lancaster Herald of Arms ³¹.

Guyenne rex armorum } ³².

Garter king at arms }

Consul regis Edwardi ³³.

¹ Weever, p. 235.

² Ib.

³ Ib. p. 282.

⁴ Ib. p. 326.

⁵ II. p. 247.

⁶ Weever, p. 326.

⁷ II. p. 72.

⁸ II. p. 80.

⁹ II. p. 349.

¹⁰ Weever, p. 332.

Thorpe, Reg. Roff. p. 756.

¹¹ Weever, p. 275.

¹² II. p. 217.

¹³ Weever, p. 332.

Thorpe, Reg. Roff. p. 753.

¹⁴ II. p. 356.

¹⁵ II. p. 196.

¹⁶ II. p. 323.

¹⁷ Weever, p. 339.

Not in Thorpe, Reg. Roff.

¹⁸ Weever, p. 335.

¹⁹ II. p. 237.

²⁰ Weever, p. 582.

²¹ II. p. 237.

²² II. p. 173.

²³ Weever, p. 339.

²⁴ Ib. p. 599.

²⁵ Ib. p. 660.

²⁶ Ib. p. 693.

²⁷ Ib. p. 594.

²⁸ Ib. p. 598.

²⁹ Ib. p. 605.

³⁰ Ib. p. 655.

³¹ Ib. p. 283.

³² Ib. p. 661.

³³ II. p. 252.

Constable of England¹.

Constable of the king in Ireland².

*Constabularius regis in Hibernia*³.

William Scott, comptroller to Edward IV. 1485⁴.

*Marijballus aule regie*⁵.

Armiger pro corpore } *regis*⁶.

Penerarius

*Pincerna—Thesorer hospitio*⁷.

*Latomus et armiger regis R. II*⁸.

{ *Maître queux—janitor hospitii—nolettus.*

{ *domicella*⁹.

*Domicillaria*¹⁰.

*Domicella Agnes*¹¹.

Capitalis domicella regine, first lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen.¹²

*Mulier illustris d'ni Beatricis comitis Arundel*¹³.

*Valettus camere d'ni regis Henrici V*¹⁴.

*Custos jocalium Henrici VI*¹⁵.

Gemmarius, 1381¹⁶.

Richard Davy, keeper of the household jewels, 1491¹⁷.

Celle vinarie Henrici VIII. præfectus, 1539¹⁸.

*Cementarius*¹⁹.

*Medicus*²⁰.

John Parker, *archarius regis*, 1529, at Fulham²¹.

*Vexillarius R. II*²².

*Hofiarus aule regis Henrici VI*²³.

Cironomon (cupbearer) to Elizabeth queen of Edward IV²⁴.

———— to archbishop Bourchier²⁵.

John Cornwallis, steward (*æconomus*) to prince Edward, 1544²⁶.

Thomas Gawge, chancellor to the dukes of York, 1470²⁷.

*Famulus illustrissimi principis Ricardi nuper ducis Eboraci*²⁸.

Robert Incent, servant to the noble princess Cicely duchess of York, who died of the sweating sickness, 1 Henry VII²⁹.

Secretary to Humphrey duke of Gloucester³⁰.

Thomas Kille, butler to Thomas of Woodstock duke of Gloucester, the countess of Hereford, king Henry V. and his queen Catherine, and founder of the chantry of the Holy Trinity in Great Baddow church³¹.

*Serviens nobilissimi comitis Warrewici et Salusberie*³².

Thomas Paynard was secretary *with* (cum) Ralph lord Cromwell, William lord Beaumont, and William lord Hastings, and died 1473³³.

*Regent le roialme de France*³⁴.

*Mair de Burdeaux*³⁵.

¹ II. p. 265. ² II. p. 93. ³ II. p. 356. ⁴ Ib. p. 269. ⁵ I. 206. ⁶ II. p. 43.

⁷ II. p. 26. ⁸ Weever, p. 582.

⁹ II. p. 185. ¹⁰ II. p. 357. ¹¹ II. p. 43. ¹² II. p. 558. ¹³ II. p. 358.

¹⁴ II. p. 313. ¹⁵ Weever, p. 406. ¹⁶ Ib. p. 332. ¹⁷ Thorpe, Reg. Roff. p. 753.

¹⁸ Weever, p. 405. ¹⁹ II. p. 95. ²⁰ II. p. 200.

²¹ Weever, p. 526. ²² Lyons Ens. of Lond. II. p. 369. ²³ II. p. 134.

²⁴ II. p. 360. ²⁵ II. p. 221. ²⁶ Weever, p. 326. ²⁷ Ib. p. 325.

²⁸ Ib. ²⁹ II. p. 313. ³⁰ Ib. p. 587. ³¹ I. p. 220. ³² Weever, p. 641.

³³ II. p. 680. ³⁴ Ib. p. 679. ³⁵ II. p. 111. ³⁶ I. p. 152.

Constable of Dover castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports ¹.

Captain of the Isle of Wight and marshall of Calais ².

Capitaine de Fronlac ³.

Sieur du Hamys ⁴.

Vycound and baron of Brykbete in Normandy ⁵.

Lord Mayor of London ⁶.

Mayor of Feversham ⁷.

Michael Wotton twice Mayor of London, 1448 ⁸.

Goldsmith and mayor of London ⁹.

Citizen, mercer, and mayor of London ¹⁰.

Alderman of London and merchant of the Stapull of Caleys ¹¹.

Civis vinilarius ac aldermanus Lond ¹².

Civis et mercer london ¹³.

Stolloriis et civis london ¹⁴.

Civis et cliffor London ¹⁵.

John Bederenden, *civis et pannarius et camerarius Lond.* 1445 ¹⁶.

Four times mayor of the staple of Calais ¹⁷.

Merchant and mayor of the staple of Calais ¹⁸.

Merchant of Lynne, four times mayor and alderman of the gild, merchant of the Holy Trinity there ¹⁹.

Mayor of Hereford ²⁰.

Burgefs of Campden ²¹.

Sheriff of Bristol ²².

Civis et attornatus London, 1427 ²³.

Citizen and goldsmith, 1477 ²⁴.

Sementarius ihus civitatis (London) 1498 ²⁵.

Shereman ²⁶.

Twelvevever ²⁷. Twelve or Twist weaver.

Fuller ²⁸.

Pape subcollektor ²⁹.

Cardinal priest of St. Cyriac in Thermis ³⁰.

Cardinal *titulo Sanctæ Ruffinæ* ³¹.

Canonicus ecclesiæ omnium sanctorum Derby subdecanus ejusdem ³².

Canon residentiary of St. Paul's ³³.

Canon and subdean of Wells ³⁴.

— Windfor ³⁵.

Master of Ewelme hospital ³⁶.

Officialis dñi archidiaconi Colecestrie ³⁷.

Archelevita, archdeacon ³⁸.

Senescallus præsulis primi Anglorum ³⁹.

¹ Weever, p. 267. ² II. p. 303. ³ I. p. 152. ⁴ Ib. p. 26.
⁵ II. p. 177. ⁶ II. p. 303. ⁷ II. p. 325. ⁸ Ib. ⁹ II. p. 247.
¹⁰ II. p. 185. ¹¹ II. p. 242. ¹² II. p. 242. ¹³ II. p. 326. ¹⁴ II. p. 324. ¹⁵ II. p. 354.
¹⁶ Weever, p. 331. ¹⁷ II. p. 259. ¹⁸ Ib. p. 342, 341. ¹⁹ II. p. 226.
²⁰ II. p. 269. ²¹ Ib. ²² Ib. ²³ Weever, p. 695. ²⁴ Ib. p. 330. ²⁵ Ib. p. 696.
²⁶ Ib. p. 610. ²⁷ Ib. p. 752. ²⁸ II. p. 89. ²⁹ II. p. 254. ³⁰ II. p. 301.
³¹ II. p. 170. ³² So the blank is to be filled, II. p. 349. II. p. 228, 336.
³³ II. p. 349. ³⁴ II. p. 367. ³⁵ II. p. 355.
³⁶ II. p. 337. This is always called *domus elemosinaria* or *almshouse*. ³⁷ II. p. 313.
³⁸ II. p. 365. Robert Foliot who was archdeacon of Oxford is called *archeleuita* Oxon. in Roger Croyland's Life of Thomas Becket. Tanner, B. B. p. 291. n. ³⁹ II. p. 379.

Robert de Colcheſter, *frater de monte Carmeli*¹.

William Weſt, minor canon of St. Paul's and cardinal².

*Cannonicus in eccleſia collegiata B. M. de Warwick et Camerarius ex parte comitis War. in Scaccario domini regis*³.

. . . *caſtri Warretwici ac ſeneſcalli ejusdem ville*⁴.

*Cantariſta cantarie Ricardi ravenſe*⁵.

Canon of Lincoln and prebendary of the prebend of Caſtre in that church⁶.

Cuſtos collegii (Warden of new college, Oxon⁷).

Cuſtos Collegii of Higham Ferrars⁸.

*Magiſter S'ci Juliani et vicarius eccleſie St. Stephani*⁹.

Maſter of Maidſtone college¹⁰.

Maſter of Wigſton's hoſpital¹¹.

Maſter of Great Ilford hoſpital¹².

Second maſter of Arundel College¹³.

*Magiſter ludi venatici infra libertatem abbatis de S'co Albano*¹⁴.

Chancellor of Oxford¹⁵.

Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford¹⁶.

Founder of Shoreham chapel¹⁷.

Sire Eſmound de Brundith jadyſ perſone.

Del eſgliſe de Caſtre giſt icy dieu de ſaime eit mercy.

In Brundith church, Suffolke, 1349.

*Perſone de Bromlegh*¹⁸.

Preſbiter parochialis eccleſie for prieſt¹⁹.

Schoolmaſter and builder, Thomas Stacy, at Ridlington²⁰.

Inſtruſtor grammatice iſtius civitatis (Hereford²¹).

Richard Hunt late ſervant to archbiſhop Wareham, 1518²².

John Loſte prieſt (chaplain) for my lord Read, 1500²³.

Couſin to a biſhop of Exeter²⁴.

Roger Sentcler ſervant to the abbot and convent of Leſny, 1425²⁵.

*Juſticiarius pacis, hundredarius, et balivus de Franchefia S'ci Albani*²⁶.

tercius prior

coquarius

reſeſtorarius

infirmarius

*ſubreſeſtorarius*²⁷.

*ſuercius*²⁸.

Notary (*parcheminer*)²⁹.

Warden of the Fleet Priſon (*gardianus de ſlet*³¹.)

Forſter of fee³².

Warden of Rocheſter-bridge³³.

*Seigneur de Horkeſley petite*³⁴.

*Firmarius manerii de magna Badorwe*³⁵.

¹ Weever, p. 611.

⁴ II. p. 326.

⁹ Weever, p. 582.

¹⁴ II. p. 248.

¹⁹ Ib. p. 339.

²⁴ I. p. 207.

²⁹ II. p. 1.

⁵ II. p. 364.

¹⁰ Ib. p. 286.

¹⁵ II. p. 180. 201.

²⁰ II. p. 324.

²⁵ I. p. 26.

³⁰ II. p. 365.

⁶ Ib. p. 385.

¹¹ II. p. 365.

¹⁶ II. p. 259.

²¹ Ib. p. 352.

²⁶ I. p. 26.

³¹ I. p. 152.

⁷ II. p. 248.

¹² II. p. 324.

¹⁷ II. p. 243.

²² Ib. p. 756.

²⁷ Ib. p. 336.

³² Blomeſ. II. p. 740.

⁸ II. p. 333.

¹³ II. p. 52.

¹⁸ Weever, p. 331.

²³ II. p. 323.

²⁸ I. p. 207.

³³ II. p. 300.

Dominus et patronus istius ville most frequently in Suffolk ¹.

Dominus de Woodhall et huius ecclesie patronus ².

Compaigne Thomas Dasteleye for wife ³.

King, a butcher, *carnifex* ⁴.

Another butcher, at Woodbridge ⁵.

Paycock, another butcher; also of this name a clothmaker and a cloth worker.

This name is spelt as many people now in Hertfordshire pronounce it ⁶.

Many preferments are ennumerated in the epitaph of Richard Pasmer
 "generosus quondam scriba communis thesauri pro magistro et conventu Rhodi in prioratu S'ci Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia, necnon seneschallus hospitii S'ci Johannis tempore reverendi patris fratus Willielmi Tourney prioris ac etiam supervisoris omnium maneriorum, terrarum, et tenementorum infra regnum Anglie ad priorem dicti prioratus pertinentium tempore prefati prioris ac tempore reverendorum patrum fratrum Jo. Longtrother, Jo. Weston, Jo. Kendall obiit vii die Octob. Ann. Dom. MCCCC⁷."

In the chancel at Blakesley, Northamptonshire, under a figure of a man in plated armour standing on a lion :

Hic jacet Batheus Swetenham quondam portator arcus ac armiger illustrissimi regis henrici III. qui obiit xxix die mensis Decembris Anno D'ni MCCCC⁸ R⁹. c. a. p. d. a¹⁰.

In Farnham church, Bucks, in which parish is Salt-hill, on the Bath road, on a grey slab on a brass plate in the middle aisle :

Here lyeth buried Gustas Malcolm, gent. sometime Clarke of the Workes of Frisewide, in Oxford for Cardinal Woolsey, and after these Clarke of accomp's for 17 yeares for all the buildinge of King Henry the 8th hys plasys W'yn 20 myles of London, and dep'ted this life pisseil-reder in Wainfor Castell, the 31 day of Januar. an'o 1568.

On the North side of the communion table at Stoke Rochfort, c. Lincoln, under a man, his wife, and five sons and three daughters :

*Pray for the soul of mastyr Walter Dlyb . . .
 parsonne*

*unto the right excellent hie and myghtty prynces
 duchers of Som'sete gn'dame unto kinge herre the VIJ.
 and for the soll of dame Elizabeth Wygod his wyff, who
 dep'ted from . . . the xii days of June i' the yere of
 ou' lord MCCCC¹¹ & III.*

Arms: quarterly, 1. a bend and chief. 2. a bend. 3. on a cross engrailed 5 escalops. 4. plain.

¹ Weever, p. 762.

² II. p. 354. 368.

³ Ib. p. 610.

⁴ II. p. 350.

⁵ Weever, p. 610.

⁶ Ib. p. 617.

⁷ Ib. p. 599.

⁸ Brydges, I. 233.

In the body of the church at Stratford upon Avon was in Dugdale's time, but gone when Thomas republished his history of Warwickshire, in fair marble, with a portraiture, a brass thereon, and this inscription, on a *missi* of a gild:

Anno millimo C quater lx quatripleto
unicus erimur annus Pagere obit Agnes
et nonas Junii gyde fuit illa magistra
annis undenis cui'a manio sit modo celis.

This gild, or fraternity of Holy cross, consisted of brethren and sisters;¹ but there is no other mention of a *missi*.

Nicolas Lane *presidens fraternitatis* S'ci Johis Baptiste de Dunstable', 1459.

In the South transept of the choir of Lincoln,

hic jacet mag'r Will'm hill
in il bacc Quonda c' flos altaris divi petri in ecclia cathli bte
m. rie lincoln Qui obitt
tertio die mensis jultii an'o d'ni m d lvi culus ate p'picietur
deus. amen.

On a brass plate against the North wall of the chancel at Burcester:

Orate p' aiabus Willi Stabeley armig' quodam d'ni de
bygneil et alicie uris ejus filie et uni
heredis d'ni Johis fraunces militis et due Blabelle uris
ejus filie et heredis d'ni henrici pie
syngton militis qui quidem Will obitt decimo die octobris
A° d'ni m° CCCC LXXXIIIJ predicta vero alicia obitt
xx° octobris A° d'ni m° v° quorum aiabus propicietur deus.

In the chancel at Greystock this²:

Jey giff William le bone Baron de Graystok
plys veilliant noble et courtteous ch'valier
de la pais en son temps: Duy murult le x jour de
Jully l'an de grace mill CCC LXX. Alme de guy Dieu ept
pete mercy amen.

In the church of Stoke Albany, c. Northampton, was the figure of a man in armour, with this inscription, as given by Mr. Bridges, II. 340.

"Hic jacet Johannes Rofs le bonne compaignon."

Supposed to refer to John grandson of Robert Rofs first lord of that manor³; but the destruction of the monument by the express direction of the representative of the present rector puts it out of our power to ascertain him with exactness, or to determine whether Mr. Bridges copied the rest of the epitaph more correctly than in the instance of *bonne* for *bon*, which last word in the first of these epitaphs has an *e* final.

¹ Stukeley, It. I. p. 108.

² Hutchinson's Cumberland, I. p. 352.

³ See Gent. Mag. LXI. p. 1075; or Mr. Nichols's Leicestershire, Vol. II. p. 32. where the arch is engraved.

On a brass in the vestry at Swithland, c. Leicester, under a woman in a long loose gown with bag sleeves and a veil headdress¹:

Hoc in conclave jacet Agnes Scot camerata
Putrix devota domine ferrers vocitata.
Quisquis eris qui transferis queso funde precata
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es p' me precor ora.

In the church of Tiltey, Essex, Gerard Danet, of Brunkynsthorp, c. Leicester, "serenissimi regis Henrici octavi conciliarius".

On a brass in Loughborough church²:

Nomine ffre dictus subtus jacet ecce Robertus,
Pulvere constrictus quondam dictamine certus,
privati fuit is subcutos nempe sigilli
Lughtburgi rector, paradisum det deus illi.

Thomas Hungerford, esq. served king Henry VIII. in the *rometh* of a gentleman pencioner³.

Under the South gallery in Tame church, Oxfordshire, is an alabaster altar tomb, with a grey slab inlaid with the figures of a knight and lady: he is in cropt hair, full armour, mail gorget, close gauntlets of five scales with scallopt tops, very large elbow-pieces, sword across his thigh, and a dagger, but no spurs. Over his head barry of six a bend, impaling a fess between 4 hands quartering a talbots passant: she is in the veil headdress (the head gone) surcot, mantle, cordon, long sleeves, shield over her head, and another between them, both gone. Between them, below a son armed as his father and two lower shields, gone. At the ends and sides of the tomb blank shields in flowered quatrefoils, with roses in the corners. Round the ledge this inscription, beginning at the West, with a cross:

A certeyn deyth that now hast ou'throw Richard Quatremayns
sayer & Sibil his wife that he here now tult'. . . .

S. That With rial princis of Counsel was true and wise famed
To Richard Duke of York, and after with his sonne kyng Edward
the IIIIth named, That founded in the Church of Thame
a Chauntreie bi pore men and a featernyte in the

E. Worshipp of Seyt Cristofere to be relevid in p'petuyte—that of
her almys for thir soules a pate: noster and . . .

N. deboutly wul say of holy ffadyes is granten they' pardon of
dayes forty alwey. Wiche Richard and Sibel oute of this worlde
passid in the yere of oure lord A° D° CCC·CLX. Upon their
Soules thi have mercy. Amen.

¹ Engraved in Mr. Nichols's History of Leicestershire, under Swithland.

² Weaver, p. 630.

³ Engraved in the History of Leicestershire, under Loughborough.

⁴ Epitaph at Chellea. Lysons, II. p. 57.

⁵ This last word is imperfect.

In St. John's chapel in the South aisle of Great Berkhamstead church, a brasse figure of a woman in a shroud, with two labels from her mouth, and the symbols of the evangelists, gone: and under her this inscription,

Here lieth buried under this stone the body of Katerpyne sometime the Wyff of Robert Incent, gent. father and mother unto John Incent Dr. of the lawe, who hath done many benyfyt & ornament gyben unto thys chapell of Saynt John, whych sayd Katerpyne died the xi day of marche, the xii yere of the reygne of king Henry the VI. w . . .

Weever, p. 587, gives this very incorrectly.

On the East ledge of the slab,

bona huic altari S'ci Johis contulerunt.

Salmon gives the following in Latin, p. 126, and Weever in English very incorrectly.

Under a smaller figure, with a label to two figures; all gone,

Here lyeth buried under thys stone the body of Robert Incent gentylman late l'vant unto the noble pryncesse lady Cecyle duchesse of Yorke & mother unto the worthy kyng Edward the IIII and Rycharde the thyrde, whych sayd Robert Incent dyed at the grete sberpyng spkenesse the first yere of the reygne of kyng Henry the VII. upon whose soulys Ihu have mercy. Amen.

Ledge and Symbols of the Evangelist.

Builders of churches commemorated:

Henry Nottyngham, at Holm¹, that made a church, &c.

Margaret Clement at Lechiot Matravers².

Prior Chullenden³.

Prior Fynch⁴.

William Locharde⁵.

Lady Despenfer⁶.

Bishop Leighton⁷.]

Sir George Felbrigge⁸.

Nicholas Dixon⁹, 1448.

Ralph Cromwell¹⁰.

John Phelipe¹¹.

Richard Potesgrave¹².

¹ I. p. 215. Blomef. V. p. 128.

² II. p. 88.

³ II. p. 115.

⁴ Ib. p. 157.

⁵ Weever, p. 236.

⁶ Ib. p. 122.

⁷ Ib. p. 172.

⁸ Hutchins' Dorset, II. 116.

⁹ Ib. p. 125.

¹⁰ Ib. p. 196.

¹¹ Ib. p. 135.

¹² Ib.

Roger Warde ¹.

John Wydevile ².

Thomas Stacey, at Ridlington ³.

Repairer of Luton church ⁴.

Astley church ⁵.

St. Laurence, Ipswich: John Botold ⁶, 1451.

Watford South aisle: William Heydon, who died 1505 ⁷.

Builder of a chapel ⁸.

an aisle ⁹.

Subsellia et sacraia ¹⁰.

Woolwich chapel and steeple ¹¹, 1464.

Repairs ¹².

Qui dedit ad resurrectionem ecclesiam ample ¹³.

Bishop Leighton rebuilt part of Aberdeen cathedral ¹⁴.

Maker of windows, both the stonework and glafs ¹⁵.

Woburne Deincourt steeple ¹⁶.

Theydon steeple ¹⁷.

Iron Acton steeple ¹⁸.

Grafton steeple ¹⁹.

Chancel and nave at Muston ²⁰.

Chancel at Compton Valence ²¹.

Wellesborne chancel ²².

Chancel and stalls ²³.

Pavement of a chancel ²⁴.

Charnel at Hereford ²⁵.

Ralph lord Cromwell founder of Tateshall college ²⁶;

and his wife, *specialis benefactrix hujus collegie* ²⁷.

Foundress of Ewelme almshouse ²⁸.

Master of Ewelme Almshouse ²⁹.

Causer of this monument ³⁰.

A vicar gave *ad usum ecclesie unum integrum vestimentum de rubro velveto*.

Another person gave a inesbook and a suit of blue damask, and rebuilt a chapel ³¹.

A chancel built in honour of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin ³².

North aisle of Chiddington, built in honour of God and St. Catharine ³³.

¹ II. p. 267.

² Ib. p. 281.

³ Blomef. V. p. 1437.

⁴ II. p. 379.

⁵ II. p. 350.

⁶ Weever, p. 750.

⁷ Ib. p. 591.

⁸ Blomef. II. p. 827.

⁹ Ib. 833.

¹⁰ V. p. 978.

¹¹ Weever, p. 337.

¹² Blomef. V. p. 1422. 1427. 1437.

¹³ II. p. 355.

¹⁴ II. p. 125.

¹⁵ II. p. 331.

¹⁶ II. p. 305.

¹⁷ II. p. 245.

¹⁸ II. p. 361.

¹⁹ II. p. 281.

²⁰ II. p. 364.

²¹ Hutchins' Dorset, 2d edit. I. p. 580.

²² II. p. 267.

²³ II. p. 10.

²⁴ II. p. 196.

²⁵ II. p. 331.

²⁶ II. p. 329.

²⁷ Ib.

²⁸ II. p. 248.

²⁹ II. p. 337. The epitaph on William Brawbart is to be thus read:

Hic jacet d'ns Will'us hylabart qu'oda' mag' istius dom' elemosinarius qui obiit v° die Januarii,

8° d'ni m° cccxxxviii cui' ane p'priet de'.

On the epitaph of another master, John Spence, 1517, it is called *domus elemosinarius*.

³⁰ II. p. 235.

³¹ II. p. 331.

³² II. p. 279.

³³ Weever, p. 326.

On a brass in the nave of Wanlip church, c. Leicester, round a man in armour with mail gorget and skirts, pointed helmet, sword and dagger, standing on a lion: his lady in the reticulated headdress, surcoat, mantle, kirtle, and cordon; two dogs at her feet looking up.

Here lyes Thomas Wallsh, knight, lord of Anley, and
dame kat ine hys wyfe, which in her tyme made kirke of
Anley, and halud the kirkyerd
first in Wircchip of God and of oure
lady and serunt Nicholas, that God have per soules and
mer y, anno dni millmo CCC nonagesimo tercio¹.

A specimen of our language in the clofe of the 15th century may be seen in an epitaph from Weever² in St. Bener's church, Gracechurch-street, 1491.

At Aldenham, in the county of Hertford:

Here lyeth John Pen, who in his lusty age
Our Lord list call to hys mercy and grafe
Benign & curtys free withoutyn rage
And Sqwire with the Duc of Clarence he was.
The eyghtenth day of Jun deth him did embras,
The yer from Christ's incarnacioon
A thowfand four hundred seventy & oon³.

Another sample of the English of the time may be seen in this epitaph in the square passage to the chapterhouse at York, cut in stone:

Perfectull Ihesu, son of heben, for thi holi name and thi
bitter passion do thi grete mercy to the soule of Annes
Huet, the which decessid the vii day of November, in the
yere of our Lord, MCCCCXXJ⁴.

Among singular epitaphs take this at Colneye, Norfolk, on Thomas Bettys, rector there from 1455 to 1481:

Qwan the Belle ys solemplye rownge
And the messe wyth devosyon songe
Ande the mete meryly hete
Sone shall Sere Thomas Bettys be forgete.
On whose fowle God have mercy. Amen.
Qui obiit v^o die Aprilis A^o Dni MCCCCLXXXI⁵.

Under the North arch of the nave at Great Berkhamstead, by the pulpit, is an alabaster tomb, the sides adorned with four flowered niches parted by others, under which last are blank shields. On the slab lie the figures of a man and woman: he has whifkers, a pointed helmet, mail gorget, gauntlets, studded belt, of his sword only the hilt remains, his shoes ribbed, mail insteps, spurs. On his breast a bend sinister charged with a rose: under his head a helmet, with a Saracen's head: at his feet a lion. She has the reticulated headdress, surcoat, cordon with roses on shoulders, head on double cushion, dog at feet.

¹ Engraved in Mr. Nichols's History of Leicestershire, under the parish of Wanlip.

² P. 416.

³ Weever, p. 594. Chauncy, p. 494. This is not now to be found.

⁴ Drake's York, p. 478.

⁵ Blomefield, III. p. 2.

In the middle aisle, by the pulpit, is a brass figure of a man in a beard and gown, holding his wife's right hand in his left, his right hand on his breast, his shoes piked, and a lion under his feet : under her feet two dogs, one asleep and the other looking up. A ledge with roses at the angles went round the slab ; but there remains only,

N. . . . obijt quarto die mensis Martii

E. Anno Domini millio CCCX sexto.

S. et Margareta obijt xix die mensis Maii, anno domini
CCC XL nono . . .

Over her a bend sinister charged with a rose. Over him St. George's cross, in the dexter chief a saltire engrailed, in the sinister a cross doubly crossed.

Dr. Salmon¹ gives the beginning of this epitaph,

Hic jacet Richardus Torrington et Margareta uxor ejus qui quidem Richardus obijt . . . die Martii, 1356, et Margareta obijt 29 die mensis Maii, 1549.

He gives her arms, Or on a bend G. a rose of the first in the honour point a dove S. and his as I took them May 18, 1796. He says the other tomb has the arms of *Torrington*. He adds, Mr. Weever² makes this tomb adjoining to the alabaster monument, and says, "This Torrington, as I have it by relation, was the founder of this church, a man in special favour with Edward Plantagenet duke of Cornwall." Salmon continues, "I take the monument and the stone to be for two different men. The latter hath a person dressed in a robe or gown such as the nobility wore ; the other in armour. I believe we nowhere find a person in the same place represented thus differently. It is most probable the knight was the founder of the church, and that the grave stone is older than the church, and removed out of a more antient into this by the builder of the present. They lie, however Mr. Weever was deceived, at a considerable distance from one another." Not so far asunder as Dr. Salmon represents. This church of St. Peter was here, 1292 ; consequently was only rebuilt by Torrington, whose arms, and those of Incent, are round the church on every pillar, and on the woodwork on the side of the church.

Sir Henry Chauncy³ says, "In the middle of the body of the church there is a stately tomb of an *antient rich fabrick strangely depicted*, whereon the portraiture of a man in *knighly habiliments*, with his wife lying by him, are cut in alabaster ; and about the verge of a large marble thereto adjoining is this inscription engraved in brass ;" which he gives as Salmon before.

Workmen, or officers of churches, not unfrequently had epitaphs on the outside walls ; thus the master mason at St. Stephen's, Caen, Pl. XXX. p. cclvi. Two musicians in the buttress of the choir of Salisbury cathedral, thus alluded to by Leland⁴ : "In one of the maynes butteres of the church ther is

¹ P. 126.

² P. 586.

³ P. 584.

⁴ Itin. III. f. 64.

hard by an inscription Latin somewhat defacid.⁵ This is engraved in the Antiquaries' Museum, N° X. and exhibits a list of musical instruments.

Hac jacent in tumba fides alba, tibia, cuncta
Musica mendicat, muta viola dolet.
Psalterium, cithare, lira, cistera, sales, lituus
CONTICVERE suo FVNERE mefa 18c
Instrumenta
Omn

TITLES are not often enlarged on monuments.

Sir Bernard Entwysfel's titles and birth are given on his brass plate¹.

Robert Beauner monk of St. Alban's has all his offices recited².

CHARACTERS.

John Grevel is *flos mercatorum lanariorum*³.

John Gower, *Princeps poetarum Angliæ*⁴.

Robert Fitz Hugh bishop of London, *flos pontificum*⁵.

Archbishop Kempe *cleri presidium, dux sapient ovum*⁶.

Edmund earl of Richmond father and brother to kings⁷.

John Hotoft *Procerum de stirpe satus*⁸.

William Wigton *celeberimus mercator*⁹.

Sometime servant and greatly favoured of king Henry VIII¹⁰.

Lady Say, a woman of *nobyl blode and most nobyl in grace and manners*¹¹.

*Legifla probatus*¹².

Parsons *vir quondam magne honestatis*¹³.

Lady Philippa Beauchamp died *en fina creaunce et bone memorie manance en sa glorie*¹⁴.

Downe *venerabilis vir*¹⁵.

"An old stone in the body of Graveley church, Herts, has on the verge this, with a word or two at the beginning obliterated :

. Eleanora conjux virgo simlata
Ora quod sit beatis sociata."

Dr. Salmon¹⁶, who gives this inscription, which is since gone, calls it "a curiosity worth notice, such as he had never seen or heard of elsewhere;" and says, the "stone is as old as any that have inscriptions, and older than any that have a date." He reasons upon it, and alleges the example of Edward the Confessor and his queen Editha. Joane Seamer in St. Helen's church, London¹⁷, is as singular an instance, if Mr. Mores was not mistaken. The figure remains in the church-chest; but no inscription.

¹ II. p. 177.

² II. p. 110.

³ II. p. 339.

⁴ II. p. 277.

⁵ I. p. 207, 208

⁶ II. p. 171.

⁷ II. p. 239.

⁸ II. p. 308.

⁹ II. p. 10.

¹⁰ II. p. 179.

¹¹ II. p. 322.

¹² P. 186.

¹³ II. p. 25.

¹⁴ II. p. 236.

¹⁵ II. p. 276.

¹⁶ II. p. 55.

¹⁷ II. p. 259.

Under an arch between the South wall of the rector's chancel in Cookstone church, Kent, is a large altar monument, with an inscription under the traces of a figure in its original place with some fragments of Gothic canopy engraved on the back, whence it appears to have belonged to some more ancient monument, and to have been worked up into its present situation. This circumstance may be accounted for by recollecting that the monument was erected after the Reformation, and was therefore probably fabricated out of the reliques of some superstitious offensive brass plate, such becoming from that time subject to every species of mutilation and the prey of an avaricious enthusiast and ignorant rabble. Part of this brass is broken off, but what remains stands thus :

" . . . for the soule of Master John Buttyll p'son of
 " . . . church & chaplayne to the hygh & nobyll
 " . . . le Edwarde whiche M^r John deceffed the
 " . . . of an^e domine M^v whose soule Ih'u p'do"

Another inscription which fills up the traces of the figure (but which has no connection with this monument) is inscribed also on the reverse, and exactly fits an erasure on a stone before the altar to which I suppose it belonged; part of this is likewise broken away and lost, and that which remains contains another proof of the economy of the age, it being composed of two pieces riveted together as may be better understood by the annexed copy :

Pray for.	the soule of John
wolpacker	of London some t
Katharines	Chryft church a
August.	A ^o D ^m M ^v X LV ^o who

	ne atte sterre qu
	M ^o CCC ^o L XXXX ^o V
	riene atte sterre
	M ^o CCC ^o nonegefin

The Latin inscription cut round the upper edge of the altar tomb, commemorating the same person as the brass in rude but pretty correct Roman characters, is a very early instance of their use in this country. See Pl. XXXII^o.

* The other inscriptions in the same plate are on three bells in the same church:

Nomen Magdalene,
 Gerit Campana Melodie.

* merchant's mark, with the initials R. C.

Cristus perpetue det nobis gaudia vite: 3 shields charged with a chevron between 3 pitchers.

The same inscription, in larger letters, is repeated on the third bell, with the same coat once, and the founder's name and date. By We Gylles, Bellfounder, 1589.

Fig. 5. is a rude inscription on a stone mantle-piece of the manor-house at Appleby, c. Leicester. Some persons have found the name of king *Stephen*, and a correspondent date on it. I can only make out that it commemorates one of the Ropesley family, who had property in this county and the adjoining one of Lincoln.

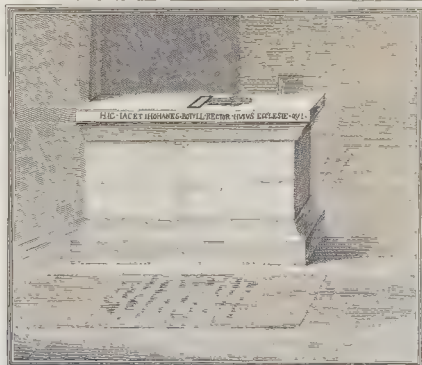
Fig. 6. is a copy of an antique inscription fixed upright in the wall of Welbeck chapel, in memory of Walter de Etwall, who probably had been abbot, *frater* being the proper term for a monk of the Premonstratensian order, though he were abbot. He was a native of Etwall, c. Derby, the church of which was appropriated to Welbeck abbey. Dr. Pegge, to whom this inscription was communicated by Edward Turner, 1734.


Mr.

HIC · IACET · IHOHANNES · BOTYLL · RECTOR · HVIVS · ECCLESIE · QVI ·

· OBIIT · VLTIMO · DIE · IVNII · ANNO ·

· DM · 1568 ·



✠  **Romen Magdalen**
Gentis Campana Detrahit



RESERVVS PURPESVET
 DOCT ROBERTS CHAVDREH VETOC



RESERVVS PURPESVET
DOCT ROBERTS CHAVDREH VETOC

BY · WE · GYLLES · BELLFOUNDER · DO · 1589

QVIVS · ANIQ · PROPICIETVR · DEVS

QVIVS · ANIQ · PROPICIETVR · DEVS

QVIVS · ANIQ · PROPICIETVR · DEVS

On a. Handle piece at
 Applebee & Leicester

In Welbeck Chapel.

Mr. Denne does not at present recollect having before met with so decisive a proof of the notableness of former times in pillaging one monument to decorate another.

Master Bottyll must have been collated to this benefice by Bishop Fisher. The date of his collation is July 1. 1522. and in the register he is termed *Actuarius*. Though he was chaplain to King Edward the VI. and did not depart till 1568. it should seem, that i.e. or at least his executor, was of opinion, that praying for the dead was justifiable and might have its use.

Weever¹ gives on John Kitte titular archbishop of Greece, afterwards bishop of Carlisle under Edward IV. Henry VII. and VIII. and ambassador to Spain for the latter, in Stepney church, a long rhyming epitaph, beginning,

Undyr thys stone and clofyd *marmorate*
Lyeth John Kitte Londoner natiff, &c.

Avery and Beatrice Cornburgh and Dr. John Crowland had a long rhyming epitaph of eight stanzas at Rumford; but the date of their respective deaths was not filled up on the verge of the monument. Weever says² the date of the year was 1480 to all; perhaps it was 148. and the fourth numeral unsupplied.

In Kelsall church, Herts, a tomb with effigies of two men; which, for the quaint poetry and wholsom advice to do good in our lifetime must not be omitted, says Salmon, p. 351. I copy it from Chauncy, p. 86.

Her lyth the bones of Rychard Adane & Maryon his wyff,
God gyve ther soules ev'lasting lyff.
The whych Rychard dyed . . .
In the yer of our Lord M CCCC.
The whych Rychard Adane as y now fay
Leyd her yys stone be hys lyff day
The yer of our Lord was yen truly
M CCCC five and thritty.
Man yt behoveth ofte to have i' mynd
That you givest w't you hond yat shalt you fynd.
For women ben slowfull and chyl dren bey unkind
Executors ben covetous and kepe all that yey fynd.
For our boye³ souls unto the T'nyte
Say a Pat' n'r for charite.

This is paralleled with some little variation by one in the church of Hampton in Arden, Warwickshire, Gent. Mag. LXV. p. 987.

¹ P. 539.

² *bothe*; the y in this epitaph answers to *ib.*

³ P. 647.

In a trewe love's knot, under the epitaph of Richard Bowred, merchant of Callys, at Prittlewell, 1432.

Quod servavi perdidit, quod expendi habui,
Quod donavi habui, quod negavi perdidit¹.

The same sentiment is expressed on a rose in St. Peter's church at St. Albans², and at Doncaster round the tomb of Robert Byrkes, 1579.

That I spent that I had,
That I gave that I have,
That I left that I lost.

On a chimney piece in the house of Mr. Farnham, at Kelsall, Sir Henry Chauncy saw this brass plate, supposed to have been taken out of the church :

Of your charitte pray for the soul of John for * = *
* * * ohns Glen & Johan hys wyffes which John
deceased the 6th of Marche, the yere of our lord
God 1527. on whose soul Jesus have * * - * *

One in Abbot's Langley church, Hertfordshire, 1475. is thus given by Sir Henry Chauncy :

Here lyeth Robert Nevil and Elizabeth¹ his wife ; which Robert deceased the 28th of April, in the year of our Lord God 1475.

This world is but a vanity,
To-day a man, to-morrow none.

Over the porch at Durweston, Dorset, in the turn of the arch, is this epitaph for a rector not to be found in the list of rectors⁴.

*Hic jacet in tumulo Willielmus Wills de Durleston rector,
Oxfordie natus. scriptum anno Domini MCCCXLII.*

Under two brass figures in Bitteswell church, c. Leicester, engraved in Mr. Nichols's History of Leicestershire, in the parish of Bitteswell.

William Townslynd lythe here in grave :
and mabyll his wyffe with hym also.
Almighty God thesre sowlys save,
and brey'g he' to Ihus that he braught he' to.

On the South side of the chancel at Witterley, Norfolk, where William Berdewell by will desired to be buried, " before Seynt Jon betweene bothe his wyvys," he has a slab with his figure in armour, bareheaded, a greyhound at his feet, his sword and spurs on, and two escutcheons, one of *Berdewell* quartering *Mortimer*, and the other of *Berdewell* and *Peckenham*, and this inscription :

*Orate pro animabus Willielmi Berdewell armigeri, Alienore
et Elizabethæ uxorum ejus et triginta filiorum et filiarum
suarum: quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen¹.*

¹ Weever, p. 607.

² *Elyn.* Salmon, p. 96.

³ Blomef, l. 204.

⁴ Engraved fig. 5. Pl. xxix. of the Introduction to this volume.

⁵ Hutchins's Dorset, l. p. 90.

Dates of decease recorded by the Saints' day.

Jour St. Milan levesque, Oct. 22¹.

Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin².

Festum nativitatis B. M. V³.

Festum Jerononii doctoris⁴.

In festo Magni martyris⁵.

— Mauri⁶.

— Bricii⁷.

— Gereon⁸.

— S'ci Edwardi⁹.

— S. Edwardi regis¹⁰.

— S'ci Aldelmi¹¹.

— S'ci Michaelis¹².

— S'ci Silvestri¹³.

— S'ci Nichi epi¹⁴.

Fest du conversion de Seint Pol¹⁵.

Thomas Scrope bishop of Dromore died 1491, on the Conversion of St.

Paul, *Ipsa lux fani pii quæ fit Paulina conversio*¹⁶.

Die celsa Epiphanie¹⁷.

Die sabbati ante festum omnium Sanctor¹⁸.

Die lune prox. post diem dominicam in ramis palmarum¹⁹.

In die Sc'i Dionisii²⁰.

Die Cedde²¹.

Jour de Inocens²².

Die Sancti Hilarii²³.

Vigilia Sancti Georgii et vigilia Sc'i Gregorii²⁴.

— Sc'i Petri²⁵.

In vigilia nativitatis b'e Marie²⁶.

In vigil' S'ci Michis Archangeli²⁷.

In vigil' S'ci Bartholomei²⁸.

Vigilia S'ce Katerine²⁹.

In vigilia Sc'i Jacobi apostoli³⁰.

In vigilia Sc'i Thome Martyris³¹.

Gregorii lux crastina³².

Craftino o'ni scor³³.

Festum Sc'i Petri in cathedra³⁴.

Cuthberga³⁵.

St. Luke the Evangelist³⁶.

Assumption of the Blessed Virgin³⁷.

¹ II. p. 4.

² Ib. p. 7.

³ Weever, p. 281.

⁴ Blomef. V. p. 1004.

⁵ Ib. p. 110.

⁶ Ib. p. 126.

⁷ Ib. p. 128. St. Gereon's festival was Oct. 10. He was a military man, and beheaded at Cologne, with 318 others, in the persecution under Maximian.

⁸ II. p. 9.

⁹ II. p. 305.

¹⁰ II. p. 51.

¹¹ II. p. 55.

¹² II. p. 96.

¹³ II. 326. 357.

¹⁴ Ib. p. 222.

¹⁵ Epitaph in Tanner, Bib. Brit. p. 650.

¹⁶ Weever, p. 275.

¹⁷ II. p. 354.

¹⁸ Ib. p. 276.

¹⁹ Ib. p. 332. ²⁰ Leicestershire, at Thurlston.

²¹ II. p. 365.

²² II. p. 277.

²³ Ib. p. 103.

²⁴ Ib. p. 94.

²⁵ Ib. p. 102.

²⁶ Hutchins's Dorset, I. p. 254. ad edit.

²⁷ II. p. 29.

²⁸ II. p. 95.

²⁹ II. p. 180.

³⁰ II. p. 313.

³¹ II. p. 357.

³² II. p. 215.

³³ II. p. 260.

³⁴ II. p. 16.

³⁵ Ib. p. 30. 88.

In the South aisle of Woburne church, Bedfordshire, under a braslefs figure and treble canopy with finials, centre arch largeſt, ſided with four blank ſhields, is this inſcription :

*Hic jacet Johes Dorton filius quonda' johis Dorton de Hotel
grave domini de Lonesbury q̄i obiit.
in die Comemoris S̄ci Pauli Anno d'ni milimo CCC^o L
nonageſimo quarto quor' aie p̄p̄icit D's.*

By the month

Menſe Jani^o.

Menſis Febrilis^o.

DATES quaintly conceived.

*Prefbyter hic ſtratus quidam jacet intumulatus
Vir bonus et gratus Thomas Stacy vocitatus
Cantor ſubtilis pueris, magnus relevator³,
Et Campanilis Ridlington erat fabricator.
M. Anno C. quater bis in X̄ ruit iſte
Luce bis X̄ & J April. Stet ſibi Chriſte. Amen⁴.*

At Aſhwell Weever⁵ gives this :

M C quater ſeptenis ter tres minor uno.

Alſo

Anno mil. C. quater octogeno quoque ſumpto

At Aldenham,

*Auguſti ter quingeni ſi dempſeris unum,
Et ter, ter, decies, ut erat verbum caro factum
Terur lux undena miſeris ſubtraxit aſplum
Patronum patrie, decus orbis, lampada morum,
Quem decorant latra, ſapientia, ſpeſque, fidelque :
Scilicet Edmund Brook, ſaluetur ut ipſe precemur.*

"If you will take," ſays Weever, p. 591. "my conſtruction of this intricate
"epitaph at Aldenham, this man, ſo much commended, died 11 Aug.
"MCCCC LXXXX."

M C junge quater I duplex V numera ter

Invenies annum quo ruit iſte pater⁶.

Annos millenos C quater ſuſcipe plenos

Addens ſeptenos domini celeſtis amenos⁷.

The thirteenth daye of Apryll years ſeventy and four,

A thouſand fyve hundred being put to yt more⁸.

On King, a butcher at Malden.

*Quindi menſe pleno Januarii die nobeno
C quater mille ter et A tunc Rex ruit ille⁹.*

² Il. p. 52.

³ Il. p. 379.

⁴ Q. does *relevator* mean raiſer, i. e. rebuilder or repairer.

⁵ Blomeſ. V. 1437

⁶ P. 546.

⁷ Weever, p. 610.

⁸ Il. p. 51.

⁹ Il. p. 96.

¹⁰ Il. p. 289.

On the tomb of Robert Button at Kenninghall, Norfolk, they were so punctual for the *hour*, they forgot to infer the *year* of his death, which was 1711; but on the stone it is only said he "dyed June 29, betwixt six and seven o'clock at night, aged 74 years."

Year of the King.

2 Henry V. on archbishop Chichele's tomb⁴.

Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum ultimo⁵.

Regis Henrici VI. post conquestum⁶.

Anno reg. Ricardi tertii⁷.

Year of the reign of queen Elizabeth 1584⁸.

Year of the Pope.

On that of Lord Chief Justice Markham⁹.

Of deanery the XIIIth¹⁰.

Chyllendene was prior twenty years, twenty-five weeks, and five days¹¹.

Litera dominicalis A¹².

Litera dominicalis C¹³.

Litera dominicalis G¹⁴.

The year full complete of Cristis incarnacyon¹⁵.

Anno salutis partæ¹⁶.

Anno post partum virginis¹⁷.

Places of birth.

Natus in Adestoke, in com. Bucks¹⁸.

In Thoroughleigh natus¹⁹.

In Northburne natus Robertus sum vocitatus²⁰.

Place of decease.

Middleburgh²¹.

Cowling Castle²².

Roan Castle²³.

Minoreffes at London²⁴.

Dunstaple²⁵.

Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, when prince Edward was there²⁶, 1544.

Cujus ætas die quo obiit cxi annor. v. menses xlii. dies²⁷.

Hujus Semanni fuerant quadraginta bis anni

Tempus in hac vita²⁸.

The inscription on the monument engraved Pl. XII. I have, since p. ccxxx. was printed, discovered from a drawing late in the collection of Dr. Combe, to be in Lombardic capitals, as follows:

Hic subter strata mulier jacet intumulata
Constans et grata Constantia jure vocata
Cum e nutrice data proles requiescit humata
quor pecata pentus sunt evacuata
crimine purgata cum prole Johane beata
juvat p'fata sanctorum fede locata. Amen.

The words in Italicks are evanescent.

² Blomefield, I. p. 150. ³ II. p. 130. ⁴ II. p. 354. ⁵ II. p. 364. ⁶ II. p. 285.
⁷ II. p. 262. ⁸ Gent. Mag. LXVI. p. 12. 120. ⁹ II. p. 4. ¹⁰ II. p. 88.
¹¹ II. p. 53. ¹² II. p. 351. ¹³ Weever, p. 750. ¹⁴ Ib. p. 172. ¹⁵ II. p. 381.
¹⁶ II. p. 55. ¹⁷ II. .65. ¹⁸ II. p. 354. ¹⁹ Weever, p. 631. ²⁰ II. p. 17.
²¹ II. p. 23. ²² II. p. 120. ²³ II. p. 122. ²⁴ II. p. 351.
²⁵ Weever, p. 764. ²⁶ II. p. 351. ²⁷ II. p. 354.

PETITIONS ON labels, &c.

*Non nobis d'ne, &c.*¹.

*Miserere mei deus secundum magnum . . . meum*².

— *secundum magnam misericordiam tuam* }³

— *secundum magnam iusticiam divinam* }

— *secundum misericordiam tuam*⁴.

*Secundum miam tuam memento mei*⁵.

*Secundum actum meum noli me judicare*⁶.

*Fili dei miserere mei*⁷.

*memento me belp*⁸.

*i b s ever to be. i b s aie pitie*⁹.

*Ibu, mercy! Ibu, gra' mercy! Ibu, for yi mercy! Ibu, as I truſt to yi mercy*¹⁰.

*Ibu, fili David, miserere nobis*¹¹.

*Ibu fili marie pietas miserere nobis*¹².

*Tu nos ab hoste protege et in hora mortis suscipe*¹³.

*Chriſti paſſio ſit mihi ſalus ſempiterna et p'teſtor*¹⁴.

*Ibi pro ſua ſacraſſima paſſione miſereatur*¹⁵.

*Miserere mei Jeſus*¹⁶.

*Deus miſereatur noſtri*¹⁷.

*Exultabo in deo Ibu meo*¹⁸.

*Ibu, mercy! Lady, belp*¹⁹!

*Ibu, mercy, and thy grace of - - - bſe*²⁰.

*Mercy, Ibu! and a word like ignoſce*²¹; or perhaps *in t gce* for *mater gra'cie*; as *Marie m'r g'ce m'r m'ie mater graciae mater miſericordie*²².

*Sancta Maria ora pro nobis*²³.

*Der lady, belp! me helpe*²⁴.

*On whoſe ſoules Jeſu have m'cy*²⁵.

O regina poli mediatrix eſto Lawnder Willi.

*O numen celi lawnder miſereare Willi*²⁶.

Eleyſon kyrie curando morbida mundi

*Sis roſa flos ſtorum morbis medicina eorum*²⁷.

Bleſſed lady, &c. have mercy, &c.

*Bleſſed Trinity, on me have mercy*²⁸.

*Sancta Trinitas unus Deus miſereare nobis*²⁹.

In heaven to have a place,

Ihu, heaven's king, graunte us grace,

*And the Trinite graunt us there to be*³⁰.

¹ II. p. 98. 161. 189. ² II. p. 89. ³ II. p. 127. ⁴ II. p. 246. ⁵ II. p. 268.

⁶ II. p. 335. ⁷ II. p. 332. ⁸ II. p. 269. ⁹ II. p. 283. ¹⁰ II. p. 219. ¹¹ II. p. 265.

¹² II. p. 266. ¹³ II. p. 252. ¹⁴ II. p. 146. 379. ¹⁵ II. p. 136. ¹⁶ II. p. 209.

¹⁷ II. p. 294. ¹⁸ II. p. 335. ¹⁹ II. p. 103. 285. 303. 380. ²⁰ II. p. 294.

²¹ II. p. 136. See it engraved at the bottom of Pl. XXXIX.

²² II. p. 252. ²³ II. p. 316. ²⁴ II. p. 315.

²⁵ II. p. 379. ²⁶ II. p. 150. ²⁷ II. p. 210. ²⁸ II. p. 338.

²⁹ II. p. 310. and on the monument of Sir John Clerk, in the chancel at Tame.

³⁰ II. p. 172.

Merci de malme eit la sainte Trinite¹.

Almighty Ihu, have mercy².

Pater de celis Deus miserere nobis,

Fili, redemptor mundi, miserere nobis,

Sc³a Trinitas, unus Deus, miserere nobis³.

The first of these three lines explains the first petition of our Litany, and shews, that of is there put for from or out of heaven.

Ut alta petat loca florida pace perbenni spiritus ista videns trini pulses pietatem⁴.

Redemptor mundi miserere nobis⁵.

Sit hujus alme Jesu tibi spiritus hostia mundi⁶.

Nunc Xie te petimus miserere quesumus qui venisti redimere perditos nobis dampare redemptos⁷.

Bone Jesu, esto michi Jesus⁸.

Suscipiat Xus qui vocavit me

Et in sine abrahe abscondat me⁹.

Christi lectoris mens cunctis supplicet oris

Ut patris Deitas lumenet has ainmas¹⁰.

Inclina aurem nobis O regina celerum ad quam p^r nobis se inclinavit d^{ns} dominorum¹¹.

Libera nos, salva nos, justifica nos, O beata Trinitas¹².

Sancta Trinitas unus deus miserere mei peccatoris or nobis¹³.

Laus Trinitati¹⁴.

Eterna requiescat in pace ; or, Requiescat in pace¹⁵; or, In perpetua pace¹⁶.

Quorum anime pace fruantur eterna¹⁷.

Det Deus requiem que semper permanet¹⁸.

Ora cum superis sit sibi pausa piis¹⁹.

Per meritum passionis et misericordiam Jesu Christi requiescat in pace²⁰.

Celica regna bone ut dentur queso patrone²¹.

God rewarde her soulys wyt eternal saluacyon²².

Det Deus his lucem det sine fine diem²³.

Spiritus in celis ejus sine fine locetur²⁴.

Desyryng you yt this sal see unto the Weyden pray for mee

That bore both God and Man :

Like as ye Would that oder for ye thold

When ye ne may nor can²⁵.

L'Onnour a dieu a nous merci²⁶.

Sit deo laus et gloria, defunctis misericordia²⁷.

¹ Il. p. 22.

² Il. p. 347.

³ Il. p. 216. 336.

⁴ Il. p. 218.

⁵ Il. p. 268. 316.

⁶ Il. p. 23.

⁷ Il. p. 172.

⁸ Il. p. 179.

⁹ Weever, p. 620. Il. p. 304.

¹⁰ In the middle aisle at Tame.

¹¹ Weever, p. 630. Also in Tame church.

¹² Il. p. 332.

¹³ Il. p. 268.

¹⁴ Il. p. 151.

¹⁵ Il. p. 178.

¹⁶ Il. p. 54.

¹⁷ Il. p. 171.

¹⁸ Il. p. 186.

¹⁹ Il. p. 255. 268. 356.

²⁰ Il. p. 206.

²¹ Il. p. 356.

²² Il. p. 98.

²³ Il. p. 120.

²⁴ Il. p. 44.

²⁵ Il. p. 359.

²⁶ Il. p. 329.

²⁷ Il. p. 168.

²⁸ Il. p. 168.

²⁹ Il. p. 168.

³⁰ Il. p. 168.

³¹ Il. p. 168.

Addressees to saints, whose figures are represented ¹.

Fides Virgo pia sis michi propicia

Martir grata Dei tu memor esto mei ².

S. Andrea et Augustine orate pro nobis ³.

To four saints ⁴.

On a stone taken up and now lying in the chancel of Great Marlow, c. Bucks, is a brass figure of a priest, with this inscription round him, as taken by Mr. Ord, Aug. 18, 1786.

**primo discessit vita Joh'nis Warner rectoris merl . . .
sanctis sanctificandi quod**

**Sibi prestare digneris x pe creator : Plasmatis ejus hominis
eternus sanctificator.**

He was rector here 1391, and died 1421.

At Flamsted, c. Herts :

Miserere miserator quia vere sum peccator;

Unde precor licet reus miserere mei Deus.

Weever, p. 624, gives in Walden church an epitaph for a man and four wives :

"Of your cherite prey for the soulys of
Jon, Nicolas, Alys, Jone, Alys, and Jone his wyfe."

Johannes. Pater noster miserere nobis

Alisa : fili redemptor mundi miserere nobis

Joanna : Spiritus sancte miserere nobis

Alisa : Sancta Maria miserere nobis

Joanna : Sancta dei genetrix virgo virginum miserere nobis:

I suppose these lines were on labels from their several mouths, as Manfeld's¹.

On archbishop Chichele's tomb were these lines :

Cetus sanctorum concorditer iste precetur.

Ut Deus ipsorum meritis sibi propitiatur ².

In the middle aisle at Great Berkhamsted,

**Hic jacet Ricardus Medbroke qui obiit vi . . .
Septembris a^o d'ni millimo CCCLXXX^o cui . . .
Supplicans vobis ex caritate v'ra p' aia si . . .**

Salmon, p. 126, supplies it, *sua dicere pater noster ave.*

Qui circumstatis precibus sibi subveniat³.

An epitaph, 1397, at Great Dunmow, in Weever, p. 63. begins :

Exoretis misericordiam d'e pro anima, &c.

¹ II. p. 254.
² II. p. 172.

³ II. p. 195.
⁴ II. p. 130.

⁵ II. p. 213.
⁶ II. p. 273.
⁷ II. p. 51.

On an altar tomb in the North aisle at Castle Donington, c. Leicester :

Pientissim' s' p'ianoru preces exposcu't magister robertus hals-tryg,
 armiger, filius Willm' hals-tryg, armigeri, dñi de Roscey,
 et Elinora, uxor roberti predicti, et filia Johannis Shyrley armigeri,
 domini
 de Staunto' Harold, que quidem Elinora Altissimo reddidit viri-
 tu' anno salutis
 m^o qui' gesimo vicefimo nono, sexto die Martii, quoru' o'im a l'abs
 p'pitiet' q' eos sacr. suo sanguine coliquavit. ame'.
 Kyrieleiso' X'pe elison.

Under a brass priest whose initials J. F. are on the facing of his habit at
 Bottesford, in the same county :

Joh'n Freeman g'tus facit hac festa tumultatus
 Rector hui' fundi qui sprevit gaudia mundi.
 Ego tibi Xte iudex pax, et miserere :
 Dat'is precibus ip'm sine fine tuere :
 Anglicisq' choris insiet de' omnibus horis.
 Non int' rep'bos maneat qui pabit egenos.

Round a man in a gown in Little Peatling church, in the same county :

Hic jacet Will'us Bradgate de Peatlinge
 qui obit feliciter
 anno dñi millimo CCCC LXXX
 cu's aie prop'itur Deus.

At Aston Flamvile, in the same county, is an alabaster slab with a woman at her
 husband's right hand. Another similar of a man and woman in Thurstleton ;
 and at the head of the altar-tomb whereon the first slab lays is a stone figure in
 armour, kneeling.

Orate pro omnibus, &c. et pro quibus tenentur¹.

Orate specialiter pro &c².

*Fugiter oretis*³.

*Cujus anime et omnium fidelium defunctorum*⁴.

———— et omnium Cris'ti fidelium propicietur misericors Deus. Amen⁵.

———— et omnium Christianorum⁶.

Quorum animabus et animabus puerorum suorum &c.⁷

On whose soule and all crysten soule Ihu have mercy⁸.

Whose soules God bryng to everlasting lyff⁹.

För charyte say a pater noster and ave¹⁰.

Of your charity pray¹¹.

“ Pray for the fauleys of Henry Denne and Joan his wyf, theyr fadyrs, theyr
 modyrs, brodyrs, and good frendys, and of al Christian faulyys, Jesu, have
 mercy¹² ”

For the fowles of all the awncestre¹³

¹ The five last mentioned tombs are engraved, under their respective parishes, in Mr. Nichols's History of Leicestershire.

² Blomefield, I. p. 619. II. p. 558. Et pro omnibus benefactoribus suis pro quibus tenebatur, Blomef. II. p. 659. ³ II. p. 247. ⁴ II. p. 13*. ⁵ II. p. 15. 136. 319. 193. 331. 333. 346.

⁶ Epit. of Dr. Frowcesoure dean of Hereford, 1529, in the South aisle of the choir of this cathedral. ⁷ II. p. 372. ⁸ II. p. 374.

⁹ Epit. of Thomas Leucas, 1531, in North Mimms church, p. cccvi; and of John Sylam at Luton, 1413.

¹⁰ II. p. 240. ¹¹ II. p. 243. ¹² II. p. 105.

¹³ II. p. 322. See some curious English lines in Blomefield, II. p. 693. 750. See also p. 80. at Higham Ferrers. ¹⁴ II. p. 287.

At Hunningham, Norfolk :

Pray for the soule of Richard Vincent¹.

At Norwich,

Of your charyte yt here for by I am,

Pray for the soul of Sir William Alman².

God pat littyth in Trinite

On the soule of John Todenham have mercy & pite³.

The first of these two last lines is well illustrated by the representation of the Trinity on some brasses; the Deity seated with the crucifix between his knees and the dove over the head of the latter⁴.

The common style of old French epitaphs among us was such an one :

gyst icy,

Dieu de l'ame eyt mercy.

This in the 16th century was succeeded by God have mercy of the soule⁵.

The usual conclusion of epitaphs in France is,

Priez par l'ame de li. See I. 129. II. 135.

Misereatur omnipotens Deus⁶; or, om'ps deus⁷; or, deus omnipotens, or dominus omnipotens⁸.

On an altar-tomb with brass figures of a knight in armour and lady on the arch between the South and middle aile at Hemel Hempsted⁹:

Robert albyn gyst icy

Et Margarete sa femme oubite luy

Dieu de lez almes eit merci.

At Finchley,

Joan la feme Thomas de Frowick gyst icy

Et le dit Thomas pense de giser avec luy¹⁰.

Pray for the soule occurs in an epitaph, 1558, the last year of Mary's reign, and of expiring popery¹¹. In 1576 it was changed into "whose bodyes and souls God send a joyful resurrection"¹².

An instance of this, continued some time after the Reformation, we have on the tomb of Henry earl of Westmorland, who died 1560, 2 Elizabeth, and was buried with his ancestors at Staindrop. On the ledge below at the two ends under the arms in a garter this inscription in raised capitals:

And¹³ you that come to this¹⁴ church to pray to have

Say¹⁵ Pater Noster and a Crede for

Mercy of us and all our progeny.

It is engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory, I. 246, from a drawing by Mr. Bailey; but it is hard to say whether the drawing or engraving be worst.

I have seen many instances where the prayer for the soul at the beginning or ending of an epitaph has been the most obnoxious part to the reformers who have hatcht these out when they suffered the rest to remain. On the back of a seat in the chancel at Whitchurch, near Aylesbury, is this inscription, in relief, rubbed almost down:

Orate pro bono statu magistri reberti powl or powt.

The last word hid by the elbow of the seat: the four first words are almost cut out. In like manner, *cujus anime propitiatur deus*, is studiously hatcht out in St. Peter's church, at St. Alban's¹⁶, and elsewhere.

¹ Blomef. I. p. 681.

² II. p. 266. Blomef. II. p. 266.

³ Blomefield, II. p. 693.

⁴ See Vol. II. Pl. VI^o.

⁵ II. p. 291.

⁶ II. 314.

⁷ II. 329.

⁸ II. 122, 297, 133.

⁹ Weever, p. 586.

¹⁰ Ib. p. 553. II. p. 302.

¹¹ ...

¹² II. 253.

¹³ all you.

¹⁴ the.

¹⁵ a.

¹⁶ II. 178.

For the same good reason labels from the mouths of figures, and the image of the Deity or faint to whom they were addressed are gone, while the figures themselves remain.

In Baldock church, Weever gives¹ an old inscription, which he says he has often met with:

Farwel, my friends, ye tyd abidyth no man :
I am deyd hens ; and so fal ye.
But in this pafse the best song I can,
Is *Requiem Eternam* : now, Jesu, grant it me ;
When i have ended al myn adverstity
Grant me in Paradys to hav a mansion,
That shedst thy blood for my redemption.

Weever² compares Monf. Bonivet's and Sir Philip Sidney's epitaphs.

Moribus ornata jacet bona Berta Rofata

in Jesus College chapel, Cambridge, Pl. XVI. fig. 5. may be paralleled with

Moribus ornata jacet hic regina beata
Berta, Deo grata fuit ac homini peramata,

on the tomb of Ethelbert's queen in St. Austin's abbey, Canterbury,
A. D. 622³.

Some of the commonest addressees on tombstones are:

Quisquis ades vultumq' vides, sta, perlege, plora,
Judicii memor esto tui, tua nam venit hora.
Sum quod eris, fueramq' quod es, tua posteriora
Commemorans, miseris miserans pro me precor ora⁴.

In Laurence Ayot church, Herts, 1640⁵.

Sis testis Chrifte quod non jacet lapis iste
Corpus ut ornatur, sed spiritus ut memoretur

Such as ye be, sometym were wee ;
Such as we ar, such shall ye be⁶ :
Sometym we warr as ye now be ;
And as we arr so be schall yee :
Wherfor, of your charite,
Pray for us to the Trinite ! 1393⁷.

All you that do this place pass by,
Remember death, for yo must die :
As you are now, ev'n so was I ;
And as I am so shall you be⁸.

Vos qui transitis Thomam deflere velitis.

Per me nunc scitis quid prodest gloria ditis⁹.

Hem or Heus tu qui transis, magnus, medius, puer an sis,
Pro me funde preces quia sic mihi fit venie spes¹⁰.

Thomas Bozoun prior of Norwich, who died 1480, was buried in the passage into St. Luke's chapel in the cathedral, and on his monument were his arms and this inscription :

¹ P. 345. ² P. 320. ³ P. 241. ⁴ lb. p. 441. on John Bertelote bishop of London's register, 1470. ⁵ Salmon, or Es testis, &c. as Weever, p. 269. 276. 333. 406. 651. In Stowe church, on Thomas Langton, 1500. Willis, Antiq. of Buckinghamshire, p. 231. II. 193.
⁶ Weever, p. 730. ⁷ Blomet. II. p. 744. ⁸ lb. p. 833. ⁹ Weever, p. 261. ¹⁰ lb. p. 333. 406.

O tu qui transis, vir aut mulier, puer an sis,
Respice picturas, apices lege, cerne figuras,
Et memor esto tui, sic bene discere mori.

Underneath which were three skulls; the first with teeth, to signify youth; the second with only teeth in the lower jaw, to signify advanced age; and the third without any teeth at all, to represent old age, and these words thrice repeated, answering to them, *O Morieris* ¹.

Vermibus hic donor et sic discedere conor,
Qualiter hic ponor ponitur omnis honor ².

Vermibus hic ponor et sic ostendere conor.
Hic veluti ponor *sic erit orbis* honor ³.

Quisquis ades vultumque vides, sta, perlege plora,

Quisquis eris qui transferis sta, perlege, plora,
Sum quod eris, fueram quod es, pro me precor ora ⁴

Quisquis ades qui (*or* tu) morte cades, sta, respice, plora
Sum quod eris, modicum cineris, *or* quod es ipse fui pro me precor ora.

As yow by me this way sal pas,
Consider what I am, and who I was, &c ⁵.

On William de Ellerton Rector of Thursford, in Norfolk, from 1375 to 1393 ⁶.

De terre je suis faite et forme,
Et a la terre je suis retorne,
Eller tunc nom appelle.
Parlone de Thursford estois,
Jesu, ave de moy pite

Parallel to which the Latin epitaph at Cheshunt ⁷,
— et in cineres vertitur unde fuit.

See also, I. p. 131. and II. p. 22.

In the middle of the nave at *Stokenchurch* are two small brass figures of men in plated armour and pointed helmets, and under both the same name and epitaph; but the one is dated 1410, the other 1415.

De terre ico fuy fourme et en terre fuy retourne roberd
morde
jadis nome dieu de salme eit pite q' murast l'an de g'ce
MCCCCX.

In Northburne natus Robertus sum vocitatus
De terra factus in terram sumque redactus,
Intercedendo spiritum tibi Christe commendo ⁸.

De Stratton natus hic Rogerus humatus.
De Wrotham rector sacre pagineque professor ⁹,
In gracia et misericordia dei hic jacent ¹⁰,
Sepulti in gratia et misericordia Dei ¹¹.

¹ Blomef. II. p. 335. ² Weever, p. 276.
³ On dean Wordley, II. p. 337. Weever, p. 318. gives it, *ponitur omnis honor*.
⁴ Salmson, p. 206. Weever, p. 269. 529. John Payne Vicar of Illeworth, 1470. See also p. 600. Blomef. I. p. 495.
⁵ Weever, p. 610. ⁶ Ib. p. 531. ⁷ Blomef. V. p. 824.
⁸ Weever, p. 551. ⁹ Ib. p. 630. ¹⁰ Ib. p. 325. ¹¹ II. p. 358. ¹² II. p. 36.
MOTTOES.

MOTTOES.

Henry IV¹.Archbishop Bowet².Sir Thomas Erpingham³.Sir Lewis Robfett⁴.*Gloria et honor deo*⁵.Lord Cromwell⁶.Whethamstede's⁷.*Superexaltat misericordia judicium*⁸.*Pax vivis et requies defunctis*⁹.*Da gloriam deo*¹⁰.*Fiat Voluntas domini*¹¹.*In Domino confido. In te domine speravi*¹².*Hoc solum mihi superest sepulcrum. Respice finem*¹³.*Ad laudem Dei*¹⁴.*Aperite mihi portas justitie*¹⁵.*A vous enterre.**J'en suis contente*¹⁶.

Under a serpent twisted round the feet of a dove in a North window of Stradset chancel:

*Ut serpens ut columba*¹⁷.*Vulnera quinque Dei sint medicina mei*¹⁸.*Erumnarum portus meta viarum mors*¹⁹.Weever²⁰ adds to an epitaph at Great Baddow, 1449 and 1461:*Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.*

but whether it was on the monument, or was only so applied by him to the successive offices of the party there buried, cannot now be determined.

On the walls of the chantry at Latton²¹.

That on Robert and Sarah Beaufitz, 1381 and 1395, at Gillingham, concludes:

*Cur nunc in pulvere dormio*²²:Richard Charleton at Addington, 1370, *facile contemnit omnia*²³.William Snayth²⁴, 1464, *Bonus et mors et vita dulcis.**Quam breve spatium hec mundi gloria. Ut umbra hominis sunt ejus gaudia*²⁵.*Vite probitas mortis despectio*²⁶.*Benedictus dominus in donis suis*²⁷.*Speravi in deo et eripuit me*²⁸.*Domine dilexi decorem domus tue**All may God amend*²⁹.On four scrolls surrounding the shield of arms on the slab of Henry Covert at North Mimms, **A fortune.****Omnnes Spiritus laudate dominum**³⁰.¹ II. p. 32.² Ib. p. 75.³ Ib. p. 90.⁴ Ib. p. 98.⁵ Ib. p. 159.⁶ Ib. p. 176.⁷ Ib. p. 202.⁸ Ib. p. 215.⁹ Ib. p. 215.¹⁰ Ib. p. 229. The first of was cut in relief over the door of a cloister at Waltham: the latter over a door at New Hall, by Roydon.¹¹ II. p. 250.¹² II. p. 27.¹³ Ib. p. 80.¹⁴ II. p. 113.¹⁵ Blomef. IV. p. 177.¹⁶ Weever, p. 640.¹⁷ Ib. p. 317.¹⁸ Ib. p. 641.¹⁹ II. p. 216. 217.²⁰ Weever, p. 376.²¹ Ib. p. 335.²² II. p. 265.²³ Ib.²⁴ Ib.²⁵ II. 274.²⁶ The last line is on a label from the mouth of a figure at Hunston, II. p. 326.²⁷ The²⁸ The²⁹ The

The vowels are placed on a monument of the Petre family at Ingatestone, with *Laudate dominum*, which I have heard explained *Omnes vocales laudate dominum*, "Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord."

In the chancel at Itteringham, Norfolk, by the altar, are two hands supporting a heart: on a label over it,
O, bone Jezu, esto mihi Jezu'."

On Robert Lawe, 1400, chantry-priest at Sevenoke¹.
Qui pro aliis orat pro seipso laborat.

On William Potkine in the same church:
*Respicias Lector epitaphium ut ores pro nobis, 1499*².

On Roger Apleton and wife, 1400:
*Cum venerit dies D'ni misericordia ejus egrediemur*³.

Jesus est amor meus, round a shield with the five wounds⁴, in St. John Baptist, Madders-market, Norwich; which at once settles the dispute about the words on bishop Lowe's tomb at Rochester. See II. 214.

The same inscription occurs on a seal found in the Grey Friars at Leicester⁵.

One of the most extraordinary blunders is that of Dr. Salmon at Gilston, Herts. where, on an old stone with a beautiful raised cross flory, in the North aisle, he reads *Christus Dei Rosa*, instead of ALYZ DE ROS, mistaking the quatrefoil or round cross at the beginning for C. If there be any other letter in the last word it is hid, as is the lower half of the stone, by the pews: as is possibly the other hard by it, the lower part lost, on the verge of which seemed to him to be

"Rosa beata, Christus Dei rosa".

unless he has mistaken this for the stone in the South aisle, whereon is cut a plain cross; but no inscription remaining.

On a bell at Barley⁶:

"Sum Rosa pulsata mundi Maria vocata."

To Rebus, p. cclvii. add Colwell's, at Feverham⁷, 1533, "at every corner of the stone the word *Col*, with the lively form of a well, expressing his name of *Colwell*. An usual fashion in former times fetched from the French, which they call *rebus*, or name-devises: examples of the same are frequent."

In St. Giles's church at Cambridge at the upper corner of a slab, whereon has been the figure of an armed knight, a shield of arms, a fess between three coaks, and another with a tun charged with a h the rebus of *Tunbe*, and over it *ihu help*⁸.

Mr. Blomefield⁹ describes a rebus of the name of *Armstrong* by an *arm* and a *string* with two tassels in All Saints church, in the same town: but it is not now to be found.

On the monument of Richard Jeames at Wrotham, to which church he was a benefactor, was depicted a pair of pincers; whence the inhabitants assert that he was by trade a smith¹⁰.

¹ Blomefield, III. p. 686.

² Weever, p. 324.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ib. p. 335.

⁵ Blomefield, II. p. 692.

⁶ Gent. Mag. LXVI. p. 458.

⁷ Salmon, Herts, p. 258.

⁸ Ib. p. 297.

⁹ Weever, p. 277.

¹⁰ Blomefield, Collect. Cantab. p. 64.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 72.

¹² Ib. p. 325. Thorpe, Reg. Koffense, p. 836. seems to speak of it as gone since Weever's time.

A dialogue with Death, on Rudyng's brass¹, as there was in the Hungerford chapel at Salisbury².

In Aldenham church :

" Here lyeth the body of John Robinson, only son of John Robinson of Aldenham wood, who departed this life May 3, 1674, in the 24th yeer of his age."

On a label from his mouth, " Sarah Smith."

" Death parts the dearest lovers for a while,
And makes them mourn who only used to smile ;
But after death our unmixt love shall tie
Eternal knots betwixt my dear and I,
I Sarah Smith whom thou didst love alone,
For thy dear sake have laid this marble stone."

The most accustomed forms of epitaph in Christian churches is in the primitive times A and Ω. and the monogram, and in after-ages, *Hic jaces*, or *Orate pro anima* : as on Roman monuments, D. M. *Dñs Manibus* ; and on Greek ones Θ. Κ. *Θεοῖς Κἀγαθοῖσι*.

In St. Stephen's church, Norwich³;

Obitus ejusdem magistri Leptoft a^o dñi M^o CCCC XLII.
octavo mensis marci. c. a. p. d.

Obitus ejusdem Dñi Johis Chere A^o dñi M^o CCCC XLIII
XII^o die mensis Maii, cujus aie propicietur Deus.

Mr. Blomefield⁴ gives on the Bernaks of Hetherfete only these by way of epitaphs :

Obitus Domini Willi de Bernake M^o CCC^o XXXI
v^o mensis Aprilis.

Obitus Domine Alicie de Bernake M^o CCC^o XLII
xii^o die Aprilis.

And in the 16th century,

Obitus Anfelicie Tendall decimo octavo die mensi
Januar. An. Dñi. millesimo CCCC XLII^o.

An epitaph reconciled with a will and pedigree⁵.

Under the communion table at Little Berningham, Norfolk, lies a stone altarwise, viz. the ends to the South and North ; on which a brass plate is thus inscribed :

Here ys Edmundys Grave ? Jesu, his soule save.

In Burnham Sutton church, Norfolk, two stones, thus inscribed⁶ :

Hier light Tomas Colmandrould.

Fossa is no unusual term for a *grave*, both derived from *digging*.

" Hac sunt in fossa

Caro Thomæ Palmer et ossa." *Fouldon*⁷.

T. Palmer was rector in the reign of Richard III.

" Hac sunt in fossa

Joh. Hay venerabilis ossa." *Luton*⁸.

¹ II. p. 273.

² I. p. 495.

³ Ib. p. 378.

⁴ II. p. 187.

⁵ Ib. III. p. 61.

⁶ Bibl. Topog. Brit. N^o VIII. p. 38.

⁷ Blomesf. II. 592. 597.

⁸ Ib. III. p. 579.

⁹ III. 20.

¹⁰ Ib. III. p. 742.

At Hayes church, in Kent.

Sub pede Roberti presbyteri ossa &c. 1560.

See also Richard Rudhale, at Hereford¹.

Hac marmor fossa Bell presulis en tenet ossa². *Carlisle*.

*Tumba*³.

Cista marmorie petre⁴.

Poliandrum⁵.

Inscription revert; at Aſton Burnell, Cheshunt⁶, Wimmington⁷, and Oak-wood⁸, at the head; and at Tame under the feet of Walter and Isabel Matt.

At Ware is an inscription revert at the feet of the priest of Bramble's chantry, vol. II. p. 171. which runs thus:

**Hic jacet Johannes Holper secundus capellanus cantie
Helenae Bramble qui obiit vii^o die mensis Octobris
Ano d'ni M^oCCCCXXXIII. Cu^m ate p'picietur deus. Amen.**

On scrolls:

Jhu, mercy. Lady, help.

Instances of children in swaddling clothes are not uncommon on monuments of the 16th century: one on a brass occurs in Hornsey church and elsewhere, as North Mimms, before the steps of the altar, and partly covered by them, is a figure of a little boy, the head to the East, representing, "Thomas Lucas sonne and heire apparente of John Leucas of the countie of kent, gentleman, the whyche Thomas in his childh'yd departed to God youpen the 1 day of Auguste, in the yere of our lorde M^oXXXIII. on whose sowle, and all chryſten sowle, Jhu have mercy⁹."

The inscription on Robert and Elizabeth Knolles, in the same church, 1400 and 1458, by the South door of the chancel, calls two daughters the only children represented with their mother alone *pueri*.

In Barwell church¹⁰, c. Leicester, is a clergyman preaching in his pulpit, set on a shaft, as many now are in Huntingdonshire; a child in swaddling clothes laid before him; his wife, in a round hat, kneeling to a desk; and to another desk, behind him, his five daughters.

Under a bust of brass in an arch on the North side of the chancel at Bra-bourne, in Kent:

**Hic jacet expertus sub marmore miles opertus
Solber Robertus anime sis Hic misertus.**

In St. Gregory's church, at Norwich¹¹:

Hic jacet Johannes Tilney, puer et armiger.

Dr. Caius, founder of Caius College, Cambridge, had only this short memorandum:

FVI CAIVS¹².

Imitated on a monument in St. Andrew's church, Norwich¹³:

Fui Daynellus Brome filius Nathanielus B. &c. 1671.

¹ II. p. 354.

² II. p. 369.

³ Incorrectly given in Salmon's Herts, p. 66.

⁴ Engraved under that parish in Mr. Nichols's History of Leicestershire.

⁵ Blomefield, II. p. 685.

⁶ II. p. 329.

⁷ II. p. 156.

⁸ On a chorister at Salisbury, Introd. II. p. cclxxxix.

⁹ II. p. 96.

¹⁰ II. p. 358.

¹¹ Blomefield's Collect. Cantab. p. 101.

¹² Blomefield, II. 708.

¹³ At

In *Sculthorp*, in the same county, in the chancel :

Here lyeth Syr George Brown,
Sometyme parish priest of this towne.

At Barley,

Edward Chamberleine, Clerk, gift icy
Dieu de l'aine est mercy
Qui mourut en August le 22 jour,
MCCCXXXI. de notre seignor.

At Naples, Gruter, p. DCCCXCVIII. 16.

Fui non sum.
Eris non eris.
Nemo immortalis.

Under the communion table in the chancel of Edlesborough church, Bucks, lies an antient stone, whereon is a large figure, and under his feet a plate inscribed :

hic jacet d'ns Johes de Smythede quonda' rector istius
eccleie qui obiit septodeim die mensis Martii anno D'ni
mill'o CCC LXXX quinto ejus anime p'picietur deus amen.

And round the head of the figure is a label thus inscribed :

Xpc dilexit nos et lavit nos a peccatis n'ris in sanguine suo.

On the South side of the last lies another with a plate inscribed :

hic jacet Johes Killyngworth qui obiit xxiij die
Martii, anno d'ni M CCC XLIJ cui' aie p'piciet d's ame'.

Above the plate is a rose, and round the edge this inscription :

Ecce quod servavi p'didi, et quod expendi habui, quod
donavi habeo, q'd negavi punior'.

Having been favoured with the sight of a number of correct drawings of brasses in Norfolk and other counties, by the Rev. Mr. William Courtney Crutenden of Sidney College, Cambridge, and with his permission to engrave a plate of them, I shall here subjoin a description of them all.

At *North Walsham*, Norfolk, two priests are commemorated only by the figure of a chalice and hoste. Over the brass plate of the inscription :

Orate p. aia d'ni Rob'ti Wythe
capelani cui' aie p'piciet d' ame.

Orate p' aia d'ni Edmondi Ward quondam vicarii ist' eccle-
cie cui' aie p'piciet deus'.

In *Horslead* church, in the same county, a brass plate with this epitaph in text hand :

Interred here : Rich las : doth : rest
Whose : surname : right : Wylande.
He paynfull : pastor : at : the : left
peeres : fortye : folwer : did : stande
Whose : vertues : cause : him : liue : thoughe : hee
From : mortall : eyes : heer : hydden bee

At the end of the plate obit Jan. 14, 1607
Aetatis suae 66¹.

On two small brass plates :

Orate p^a aia Mabele Bert.
Orate p^a aia Henrici Berd¹.

On a brass plate in *Pagson* church, in the same county :

Here Erasmus Pagson and Mary his wyffe enclosed are in
claye
Which is the Restinge place of fleache untill the latter daye.
Of sonnes thre and daughters nyne the lord them parents
made
Ere crwell teath did worke his cruell spite or tyfell lyff
did fade.

Under this plate two shields.

Pagson ; quartering,

2. G. between two chevrons O.
3. Erm. on a chief wavy three crowns.
4. G. On a chevron between three lions' heads O. 3 roundels.
5. An orle between eight martlets.
6. A chevron between three bears' heads muzzled O.
7. O. a chief wavy G.
8. O. a bend between three crescents.
9. A lion rampant regardant.
11. G. on a chevron O. three fleurs de lis.
12. Quarterly 1. 4. a cross, 2. 3. a bend between twelve billets.

Underneath on a small slip :

Erasmus Pagson deceased the xiii November A^o 1538. and
Mary his wyfe ye of

Under a man in a furred coat and close hair, and a woman in a furred gown and veil headdress, at *Thwaites*, in Norfolk :

Ecce Johannes hoc jacet hic sub marmore Puttok,
Coniux Alicia sua secum restat humata.
Qui legis ista pater noster fer ave bone frater
Celi solamen illis ut det deus. Amen.

This is not noticed in Parkin's continuation of Blomefield's Norfolk, V. 1162.

¹ Blomefield, V. 1563. with variations.¹

² Not in Parkin.



On the North side of the chancel at *Sprouston* is a tomb with the bras figures of a man in plated armour, mail skirt, bareheaded, kneeling, and behind him four boys in coats with pouch sleeves, and long hair: his wife in ruffled sleeves, and veiled headdress, and behind her six girls in long hair with fillers and gowns girded round. Under them:

here under this tombe lyeth buried in the mercy of Ihesus
Chrest the body of John Corbet, esq. and Jane his wyfe,
Whiche John decessid the xxviii day of december, A° d'ni
MCCCC LXX. and the said Jane dyed the . . . of . . .
A° M . . . Whois bodie and soul god graunt a joyful
reserexcion.

Between the man and woman in a lozenge a raven with a mullet of difference, *Corbet*. Crest, a demi squirrel rampant with the mullet. Behind the man Corbet impaling G. a cross ingrailed O. and Ern. *Berney*. Behind her *Berney* single. Parkin says very little of this tomb, V. 1376.

In *Blinkling* church is a bras figure of a woman in the pointed headdress and loose gown girt round by a broad belt fastened by a broad rose, under which from a kind of chain work hangs a large rosary with the four gaudes or large beads among the lesser, holding in her elevated hands two swaddled children born at one birth. Under her head this inscription:

Orate p' aia Anne a Mode ur sece Tho't
Astely de Helton Constable
Armig que in die
masculu' et femella' ad partu' pep'it
Post pariendi prculu' subito migrabit ad
d'n'm a' m' benignissimi A° M J F°

Mr. Blomefield¹ gives this, with some little variation of spelling, and fills up the blank, *Sandi Agapiti Martyris*, and concludes the date *MCCCX° Xpi*.

This figure may be paralleled with the nurse of René of Anjou², and is engraved Pl. XXXVII. fig. 1.

In *Blickling* nave are the bras figures of a man in furred coat and gown, and a woman in cropt hair and veil headdress: partly before him stand eleven boys, and partly before her five³ girls, in the habits of their respective parents. Under them this inscription:

Isto sub marmore corpora requiescunt humata Rogeri flithorp,
qui obiit quinto die mensis Aprilis Anno d'ni MCCCC
quinto et Cecilie uxoris ejusdem quor' aiads p'piciet de' ame'.

In the same church, under a woman in the attitude and dress (except the belt) of Margaret Peyton, at *Iselham*, II. p. 286. Pl. CIV. in the wire veil head-

¹ III. p. 640.

² Vol. I. Introd. p. clxxvi.

³ Blomefield, III. p. 641. says four.

⁴ Blomefield gives it, MCCCC LIV.

dress, a rich necklace, and five studded drops, furred cuffs, and breastband. her hands expanded, a ring on each little finger, and a long belt terminating in an oval buckle :

hic jacet *Mabella Cheyne* quondam uxor *Willi Cheyne*
Armigeri de insula de *Hipry* i com cantic qe obiit xxiii^o
die mes Aprilis a di *MDCCCXXXI* cui aie p pietet de' ame'.

Blomefield omits this, but gives the following :

Here lyth *Agnes Appylverd*, buryd the vi daye of *March*, the
iiid Sunday of *Lent*, in the yer of our lord *MDCCCXXXIII*,
Robert Philleps and *Willm Reynald* husbands of the said *agnes*.
of whose soules *Jhu* have mercy. amen.

In *Dunston* church is a brass figure of a man with a beard and curled hair, in a very singular gown, the short sleeves adorned with frogs to the shoulders, the longer with buttons from the elbow to the wrist ; the stiff plaiting reaching to his neck, and fastened by similar frogs in front from the neck to the waist. Under the figure is a plain brass plate. Not the least notice is taken of it by Blomefield. It is engraved Pl. XXXVII. fig. 2.

"Near the stone staircase leading to the old rood loft in *St. Mary's* church at *Feltwell*, on the cross pavement, lies an old grey marble stone with the portraiture of a woman in brass bidding her beads, and on a plate this inscription :

Orate p aia margarete Mundford quondam consortis
francisci Mundford Armigi que obiit xxvi die mensis
marcii Anno d'ni MDCCCCXX cui aie ppietetur d'.

She has a close veil headdress terminating on each side by a rose, a close bodied gown with long sleeves and falling cuffs : her ornamented belt fastened by a heart, and finishing with a buckle of an irregular shape. To the belt hangs also a rosary with five gauges and an embroidered purse. See Pl. XXXVII. fig. 3. The manor was in the Mundford family from the time of *Edward III.* to 1643. In the church of *Hockwold* the adjoining parish, which they held from 56 *Henry III.* to 12 *Henry VII.* is a brass figure of a woman in a headdress of the same fashion but more ornamented, a close bodied gown terminating on the breast like a boddice, long sleeves, flared and terminating in close ruffles, the upper sleeves being thrown back at the elbows, a narrow cord ending in roses across the hips, and a kind of sash passing through the rosary and falling to the knees, above which the gown is drawn up, and discovers a petticoat out of which the feet appear. This is not described by Mr. Blomefield, who says, "all the brass plates on the gravestones of the Mundfords are reaved." It is engraved Pl. XXXVII. fig. 4.

The figures of the *Funtcynes* at *Narford*, Vol. II. Pl. XL. are copied from one in Blomefield, engraved at the expence of Sir Andrew Fountaine, representing

¹ Blomefield, III. p. 639.

² *Man.* Blomefield, I. p. 503.

John Funteyne and his three wives, Alice, Joan, and Agnes, and their children, three sons and a daughter. From the mouths of the four upper figures proceed labels superscribed :

**Credo q'd redemptor meus bibit
Et in nobilissimo die de terra surrecturus sum
Et in carne mea videbo deum salvatorem meum
Quem visurus sum ego ipse et oculi mei c'specturi non alius.**

The beautiful sentiment of Job xix. 25, 26. which Mr. Peters has so incontrovertibly demonstrated can belong to no other deliverance than that of the final judgement.

In the South aisle or transept of *Salle* church, Norfolk, is the brass figure of a skeleton in a shroud, the head reclined to the left, the right hand gathers the shroud across the belly, and the left hand hangs down. Under it this inscription :

**here lyth John Brigge undir this marbil ston
Who : solble our lord ihu have mercy upon
ffor in this worlde worthily he lived many a day,
and here his bodi ys beryed & colwched under clap.
to frendis fre whatevyr ze be pray for me i zow pray
as ye me se in soche degre so schall ze be a nother day.**

This is engraved Pl. XXXVII. fig. 5.

This aisle and transept seem to have been built by the benefactions of this John Brigge, esq. whose arms are scattered over the stone work ; G. three bars gemelles O. and a canton A.

In the nave of the same church are the brass figures of a man and woman in furred coat and gown, and their children in the same dress ; five sons under him, and four daughters under her ; and this inscription :

**hic jacet Galfridus¹ Woleyn qui obiit² ꝑꝑꝑ die mense Martii³
a⁴ d'ni M⁴
CCCCXL⁴ et alicia uxor ei⁴ ac pueri eord'm⁴ q' aibz p'p'it⁴
ciet de⁴ amen.**

On a label between their heads :

d' esto p'picius nobis⁴.

In the North aisle, or Fountayn's, in the same church, on a kind of pilaster, a man and woman ; the man bareheaded, whiskers and bifid beard, and in furred gown : the woman in vail divided headdress, girt high on the waist, large sleeves, with a belt like the Fountaynes, furred gown, and mittens. At his feet eight sons ; at her feet four daughters ; habited like their respective parents :

**hic jacent Thomas Roole qui obiit duodecimo die mensis octo
bris A^o d'ni M^o CCCCXL^o p'mo et katerina uxor ei⁴ q'a'ab'⁴
p'pitiet⁴ oe⁴.**

¹ Galfrid. Blomefield, IV. p. 425.

⁴ fuorum.

VOL. II.

² ob't.

³ dominus esto propicius nobis peccatorib'.

⁴ i

³ mensis Martii.

In *Howse* chancel is a brass figure of a woman in a ruff, boddice, shift plaited up to neck, long sleeves with ruffles, short fash and laced apron; and this inscription:

here lyeth the loving wyf of Roger Dalyfon sonne and heire
 apparrant to William
 Dalyfon of lawghton in the countye of lincoln, esquire &
 daughter & heire
 to William Tuthill of Relbton, gentleman, & Elizabeth his
 wyf, who ending
 her lyf in the yere of our lord god 1585, the xxvith day of
 September, and in
 the sixth yere of her age hath left here her body in the earth
 the memory of her
 name uppon the earth, and her blessed spirit above earth and
 earthly polver.

On each side of her head G. three crescents, a canton dexter Erm. *Dalyfon*¹, impaling O. on a chevron Az. three crescents A. the second single, *Tutbill*.

In the chancel at *Repeham*, before the rails, is a slab with the figures of a man and woman under two arches of quatrefoils with purfled finials. He has whiskers and short beard, is in complete plated armour, pointed helmet, with mail gorget to his armour and at his armpits, mail skirt, rich belt and long sword at left; lion at feet. She has the zigzag headdress engraved Vol. I. Pl. XXXIX; kirtle, mantle fastened by a double cordon, mitten sleeves with buttons at wrist. Under their feet a base of quatrefoils; and round the slab this inscription:

hic in pace bona latitent precor absq' reatu,
 hic subit fata post fidis festa peracta
 Virgo parens natum p'ete ne metuas malefacta,
 Fausus militie quondam Wilhelmus honore,
 Puppi Ceciliæ Breves virtutis amore
 De Berdeston qui gaudebant

Over their heads were their respective arms; but the shields are lost; but not the *greatest part* of the epitaph, as stated in Blomefield, IV, 405. it being as here given in 1794.

Over a tomb on the South side of the altar at *Ketteringham*, partly built into the wall, brass plates of a man kneeling on double cushion; bareheaded, in curled flowing hair, mail gorget, plated armour, long sword, on his tabard on his shoulders and breast his arms quarterly O and G. in a bordure ingrailed S. nine escallops A. Five sons in long hair and gowns kneel behind him. Over his head on a scroll:

¹ Blomefield, III. p. 314. gives the Dalyfon arms A. on a pile ingrailed Az. three crescents of the field. But the above are the arms on Judge Dalyfon's monument in Lincoln minster.

Orate pro aia Thome hebenyngham armigt filii et heredis
 hebenyngham militis & banerette qui obiit ulti'o die Janu-
 arii a°
 d'ni M° CCCC LXXXIX. Eui anime propitietur deus.
 Amen.

Behind him *Hevenyngham* quartering O. 6 fleurs de lis. *Redisbam*.

His lady is drest in the long headdress turned back and studded; a necklate of ribband studded with rings, and drops from it; her cuffs furred: on her mantle the arms of *Hevenyngham*, on her kirtle a chevron between three water-bougets: behind her kneel five daughters, four in headdresses like her own, except at the top; and the fifth in long flowing hair. Behind her head O. three torteaux under a label of three Az. *Courtney*, impaling O. in a bordure engrailed G. three Catharine wheels Sable. Over her head on a scroll:

Orate p' aia Anne nup' uxoris Thome hebenyngham
 armigt filie et heredis Thome yerde armigt que obiit
 die a° d'ni M° CCCC cui aie p'pictet de' ame'.

This Thomas Hevenyngham was a great favourite with Humphrey duke of Gloucester, who settled on him an annuity of £.10. out of the manor of Rotham Berners, Essex. He married Anne daughter of Sir Henry Grey, by whom he became possessor of this manor of Keteringham, and who, by the will of Sir Henry, 1492, compared with her epitaph, appears to have been lady Grey's daughter by a former husband, Thomas Yerde.

On a slab in the chancel of the same church are the brass figures of a man and lady. He is in cropped hair, plain gorget, plated armour, scales in right arm, that of the left a different and plain pattern, gauntlets in the form of pointed mittens, long sword, mail codpiece, round rowels to his spurs, lion at feet. What is most remarkable on this figure is that he has the *rest* for the lance on his right breast. She is in the mitred headdress, furr tippet girt high, with a broad belt, long sleeves. Round the ledge is this inscription:

Here lyeth Syre Henry Gray the son of Syre Thom. Gray of
 Heton and Jane hys Wyfe, that was syster to the duke of
 Norff that dyed at Uxys, and Emmie the wyfe of the forseyde
 Henr. Gray the dowtyr of Will'm Appleyerde = = = =
 on Woys sowles God have mercy.

Between their heads three lions passant guardant, *Brotberton* impaling G. a lion rampant in a bordure engrailed Arg. *Grey*, and Grey impaling Az. a chevron O. between three owls A. *Appleyard*. The latter shield gone.

The lady here plainly called *Emma* is in the will of Sir Henry Grey her husband named *Jane*. Mr. Blomefield thus reconciles the will and epitaph.

Jane Howard—Sir Thomas, William Appleyard.
 Henry Grey—Jane or Emma—Thomas Yarde.
 Anne—Sir Thomas Hevenyngham.

? See Blomefield, III. p. 61. Weaver, p. 854.

At *Linton*, Cambridgeshire, is a brass figure of a man in plated armour, oval shoulder pieces, scalloped elbow pieces, mail across his breast, pointed helmet, ornamented frontlet, glove-top ornamented, belt of roses, long sword at left side, round rowels, lion at feet: on each side his head three bearded unicorns' heads.

In the church of *Boston*, Lincolnshire, is a brass figure of a priest in a rich cope adorned with the figures of the Virgin and child and three more saints on the right facing; St. Peter, James the Less, Andrew, and Bartholomew, on the left; mittens on his hands.

Mr. Camden censures the epitaph on the English Achilles John Talbot first of that family, earl of Shrewsbury, at Whitchurch, as unworthy so great a hero. He gives it in order to afford his readers an idea of the style of funeral inscription in different ages. It ran thus:

"Orate pro anima prænobilis domini domini Joannis Talbot, quondam comitis Salopiæ, domini Talbot, domini Furnivall, domini Verdon, domini Strange de Blackmore, et mariscalli Franciæ, qui obiit in bello apud Burdews 7 Julii, M CCCC LIII."

It certainly is not the best specimen of epitaph-making in the 15th century; and yet, if the great duke of Marlborough had lived at that period, it may be doubted whether he would have been immortalized by a more classical epitaph. Such as it was with the older monuments of the family of the time of Richard II. entirely done away in the rebuilding of the church about the beginning of the present century, and all that remains is a figure of Sir Gilbert Talbot third son of John the second earl, who died 1516, and was buried in the chantry of his own founding in this church. This figure, apparelled in the robes of the Garter, had been hoisted up into a window of the chancel, and clotted with white-wash.

In the Cholmondeley chancel at Malpas, in Cheshire, on a brass plate, is this comprehensive epitaph, which, from the style, I should refer to the 14th century:

**¶helipp de egerton ses fem'es et ses enfantez
gisount icy dieu de lo'almez eit mercy.**

In the South aisle of Tredington church, Worcestershire, under the brass figure of a lady in a laced apron, rust, veil falling behind:

— onur the bodies of William Barnere
— Wyffe daughter of Tho. Peddletun
— Barnere, died the 8th day of May
— Whiche Alyce his wyffe continuing
— er death died in the year of our Lord
— s God have mercy.

The man in armour and two sets of children gone.

This epitaph is thus given in Dr. Nash's Worcestershire Collections, p. 431. I suppose from Habington:

"In

"In the South aile on a stone inlaid with brass the figures of a gentleman and his wife with this inscription :

"Here lieth buried under this stone the bodies of William Barnes of Talton, esq. and of Alice his wife daughter of Thomas Middlemore of Edgbaston, esq. which William Barnes died 8 May, 1561."

All that follows is omitted, and no notice is taken of another stone whereon is cut in a cross ✕ between a book and chalice.

An observation here may not be unworthy of notice on the cross prefix to so many epitaphs in all ages of the Christian æra. Here, as before the legend of coins, before the alphabet in the hornbook, and at the beginning of the Saxon charters, this ceremonial was owing to the superstition of the times when nothing was judged safe or decent without it¹. Hence the alphabet is to this hour vulgarly called "*The Christs Cross Row*." For the same reason the cross was used as a *signature*, and accompanied with the phrases *confirmavi, corroboravi, muniri*, and the like.

The epitaph of Thomas Hylle, at New College, Oxford, II. 218. is of the punning kind.

To the instances of letters on priests' garments already given, p. cccix. and from Balham² and Wilberton³, should be added a remarkable one on a priest in the chancel at Great Shelford, Cambridgeshire. The inscription under the feet of the figure is gone, but the letters on the facing of his robe read upwards determine it to have belonged to Thomas Pattesle, rector from 1396 to 1411. Tradition says he was a *bishop* of Ely, and made the font at Shelford: but the first assertion is a mistake, founded in his having been archdeacon of that cathedral. Against the second the crosses on the slab are *flory*, on the font *pattée* pointed⁴.

VARIETIES OF GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS.

In the North aile at Southwell,
animarum propicietur for animabus.

BLUNDERS IN THE MAKER.

Sr'do after the date LXXXII. on the Sherard brass at Stapleford, II. p. 372.

All the inscriptions upon gravestones in the church of King's Walden, Hertfordshire, begin from the East end, and must be read with one's face to the East⁵.

The fine figures on the monument of John lord Williams in Tame church, who died in the reign of Elizabeth, have, as Sir William Dugdale⁶ observes, their *heads* towards the *East*. So, at least now, has a brass figure of Thomas Leucas in North Mimms church, mentioned before, p. cccvi.

The first instance I have met with of arms on an episcopal monument is on that of bishop Marshal, at Exeter, 1206. Those over the tomb of bishop Foliot, at Hereford, 1186, I believe were put on when it was repaired by the late bishop Beauclerc, who claimed alliance to him⁷.

¹ See Mr. North's Remarks on Mr. Clarke's Conjectures on the Coin of Richard I. p. 23.

² Vol. II. p. 9. ³ Ib. p. 255. also one at Wingfield, p. 9. and on a cushion under an abbot's head at Westminster, ib. p. 56. They occur also on the belt of Braunton, ib. p. 8. and of Phelip, ib. p. 44. and on the sword of Phelip, ib. p. 363.

⁴ Benthams's Ely, p. 275.

⁵ Salmon, Herts, p. 154.

⁶ Baron, II. p. 394.

⁷ Lord Hailes sees no evidences of any coats armorial in Scotland before William the Lion, who began his reign 1185. Remarks on History of Scotland, p. 14.

"Many monuments of the dead in churches in and about the city of London, as also in some places of the country, are covered with seats or pews, made high and easy, for the parishioners to sit or sleep in; a fashion of no long continuance, and worthy of reformation¹."

Much as we are indebted to honest master Weever for the preservation of antient epitaphs, many which have outlived him give evidence against the accuracy of his transcripts: to mention only one at Hornsey, which he gives²,

Jesus Christ, Maryes Son,

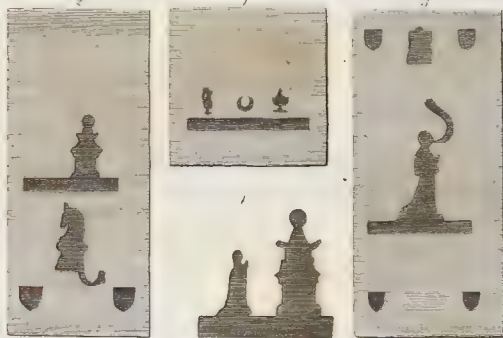
Have mercy on the soul of John Skevington.

but which really runs thus,

**Jhu Criste Bari is Son have +
mei o' the Soul of Jhon Skevi'gto'.**

Weever, at the place, says this was "an antient family residing at Brumfield near adjoining." It may be so; but more probably the family lived at *Hornsey*; for at the end of Mr. Abindon's *Antiquities of Worcester*, in the *Antiquities of St. Michael's church at Lichfield*, p. 24, among several epitaphs for the name of Skeffington, one occurs for James Skeffington of Hornsey, Middlesex.

In St. Andrew's church, Hertford, all the slabs here represented, which Mr. Schnebbelie amused himself with sketching, are robbed of their brasses. Salmon³ inclined to think fig. 1. was brought from the church of St. Nicholas, and lay over Nicholas Pynere, 1419, butler to Catharine queen of Henry V. given by Weever, p. 542, who mentions a flaggon⁴ and a cup cut on his grave-stone. It is more than probable Weever mistook St. Nicholas for St. Andrew's. The former church stood behind the Maidenhead-inn, in the street of its name. Whether it was existing in Weever's time I know not; but it is much more likely the servants from the castle enumerated Vol. II. 116*. should have been buried in St. Andrew's, as the nearer church, in which Weever has preserved no epitaph.



Vol II. Antient p. cccxvi

¹ Weever, p. 701.

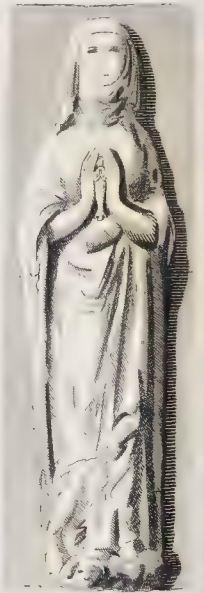
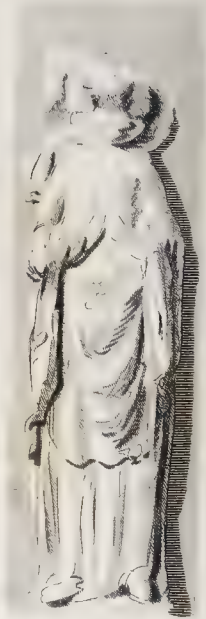
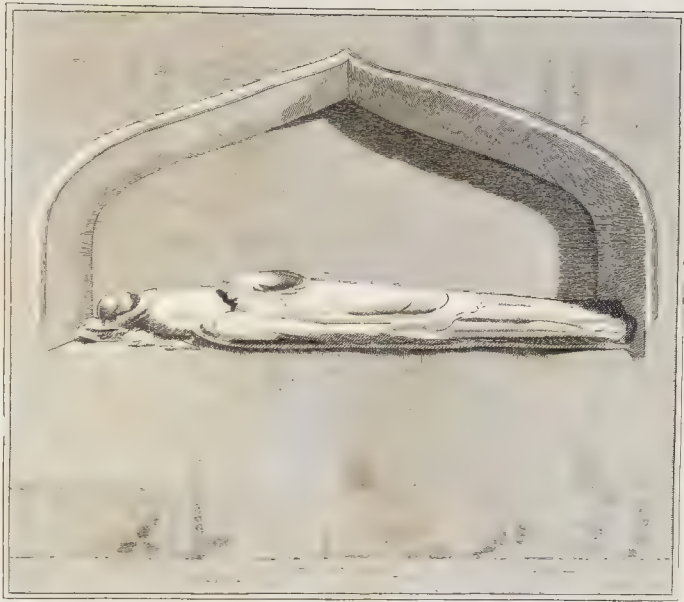
² P. 534.

³ P. 44.

⁴ Salmon has omitted the flaggon.

The





Monuments in Westminster Church.

The late Mr. Cole observed¹ that where he had occasion to trace him, and that has happened often in and about Saffron Walden, he found him the most *inaccurate* and *faulty* person for inscriptions he ever met with." I may add other instances of Leek in Walden church², and at Newport³ in that neighbourhood, Lady Tiptoft at Enfield⁴; and of some he seems only to give the substance, as Phelip's at Dennington⁵. See also the Rochfords at Walpole⁶.

There is little reason to doubt that many monuments had no epitaphs, particularly those of founders or priests, worked in the wall of the church or chancel: as the Burghs, at Burghgreen, that under the large arched monument of freestone raised on the foundation of the South aisle facing the churchyard at Foulton, Norfolk, under which arch lies a flat marble gravestone, partly covered by the arch, and partly by the wall. These arched monuments, and the immuring of founders, was practised in antient days, and this particular one seems to have been built in the reign of king Edward I. Sometimes shields with arms supplied the deficiencies.

Many of the epitaphs in Weever seem to have existed only in the records of religious houses, the spontaneous effusions of some monk in honour of the benefactor. Such are those of the Veres, at Colne priory in Essex: though the founder had a Latin Leonine, and an English prose one on his monument⁷.

Instances of preservation of brasses when by accident or rebuilding they have been loosened from their slabs, we have in those of Helen Bramble, &c. at Ware, and those in Harlow church, taken out of its ashes, and nailed to boards, and fastened up against the wall, in a safe place. How much more judicious a method than lodging them out of sight, but not always out of reach, in the parish chest.

I cannot conclude this long dissertation on epitaphs without noticing the misapplication of monuments, of which perhaps the strongest instance is at Axminster, where long tradition gives two figures under arches in the church to certain Saxon noblemen¹, said to have been slain on the side of king Athelstan in a battle between him and the Danes, in its neighbourhood. Mr. Carter's drawing engraved in Pl. XXXVIII. will shew that these represent a priest and a lady, perhaps some of the Briwere family. King John gave the church to Newenham abbey adjoining, which he founded, and whence the figures may have been removed. It is remarkable that the lady holds a little figure between her hands, which may be her *soul*, which she is offering up in prayer, as other figures hold *beats* in the same position. In the church of Hitchenden, Bucks, near High Wycombe, is on an altar tomb, a figure of a man in a shroud, eight crosses on his body, and in his open breast a little figure with the hands elevated, representing his soul. This monument is uninscribed, and of the 16th century.

¹ Letter to me, Jan. 25, 1774.

² P. 625.

³ P. 636.

⁴ P. 534. The Christian name of *Charles* was so very uncommon in the 15th century that it was with difficulty Mr. Cole could be persuaded that this lady's father bore it.

⁵ P. 782.

⁶ P. 818. See Vol. II. p. 8.

⁷ P. 614.

I cannot

Rymer¹ has preserved a writ of safe conduct for black stones to be fetcht from Flanders to make a tomb for David Bruce, deceased, brother to the king.

"Andreas Peyntour, Willelmus Clerik, et Joh'es de Edynburgh, de Scotia, habent literas regis de salvo conductu cum 4 focis suis versús partea Flandriæ per dominium et potestatem regis tam per terram quam per mare pro diversis lapidibus nigris pro tumulo David de Bruys de Scotia fratris regis defuncti ibidem emendis et providendis transeundo et in regnum Scotiæ cum eisdem lapidibus redeundo per biennium duraturas. Teste rege apud Westm' 28^o die Maii per Cancellum, 47 Edw. III. 1373."

David Bruce, king of Scotland, married Joan sister of Edward III. and died 1370. It is remarkable that in this warrant the title of *king* is not given to the Scottish monarch, but only to the English. He was buried before the high altar of Holyrood abbey church; but his monument has been long destroyed. His consort died 1362², and was buried in the Grey Friars at London³.

From a drawing among Dr. Rawlinson's, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, made by the late Mr. Vertue, I am enabled to give a view of the coffin in the Confessor's shrine at Westminster, as it appeared above in 1734, and as it appeared to me 1781⁴:

Vol. Whitn. p. cccxviii

Stone coffin



Stone coffin

a a head of the coffin two feet one inch.

b b foot of the coffin, twenty-three inches.

c c double splash hinges.

d d iron bars fastened into the stone wall with lead.

The coffin is four feet one inch deep; in which it is supposed his body yet remains.

¹ Scot. 47 Edw. III. m. . . . Rymer, XII. p. 10.

² Fordun says she went to England 1357, and died after she had remained there some time, *aliquanto tempore commorata*, XIV. c. 18. The Scala Chron. in Leland Collect. I. p. 568. says, She "cam oute of Sotland to Wyndesore to speke with her brother, and after was with her mother, at Hertford, and "ther dyed." Isabel died 1358. David speaks of his wife as alive, Feb. 21, 1358-9. Rymer, VI. p. 118. and May 3, 1362. Edward grants a passport to John Heryng the servant of Johanna queen of Scotland our sister, Rymer, VI. 364. Walsingham places her death 1362. Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, II. p. 250.

³ Sandford, p. 155.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 7, 8.

Immediately





Monument of the Cheswath Family in the Church of St. Martin Outwich, London.

Immediately under the monument of Sir John Grove, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. in the middle aisle of St. Peter's church, Sandwich, Mr. Boys found an archt grave, containing a coffin, dated 1664; but he supposes the remains of Sir John were removed into the church when the steeple fell and beat down this aisle¹.

Mr. Essex and myself having obtained permission to open the altar tomb of Catherine Swinford dutchess of Lancaster, on the South side of the choir of Lincoln cathedral, our search was soon stopt by the solid construction of the tomb, which decided that it was not hollow. And if the body was lodged in a vault below, it was not more easy to find the arch over it. This inquiry was therefore given up. On the taking down the monuments in the church of St. Martin Otefwich, London, in March, 1796, previous to the rebuilding that church, a fresh opportunity presented itself to examine the three altar tombs there of different dates. The oldest in the South aisle, belonging to one of the patrons of the rectory, John or William Otefwich, who died in the beginning of the 15th century² and whose figure, with that of his wife, are engraved Pl. XXXVIII. was found to be a mass of solid brick work of no very antient date, and though the earth was dug up and bored to the depth of four or five feet below the surface, even to the original soil, no marks of burial appeared. A leaden coffin of one of the Clutterbuck family late in the last century was uncovered, and if the monument and the body were not removed from some other part of the church, it is probable the latter gave place to this or some other person. The tomb of alderman Hugh Pemberton 1500, on the South side of the chancel, was found to be hollow, but partly filled with rubbish or loose stones which had fallen in from three stone stalls demolished when the canopy of the monument was erected. The last altar tomb of William Clitherow 1462, on the opposite wall of the chancel, was completely empty and clear of all incumbrance. From all this it was reasonable to conclude, the respective bodies belonging to these two last tombs repose in vaults below, whose crowns were supposed to be felt by the iron crow; but no such were discovered when the walls were rebuilt farther in on the new foundation. The bodies under the Chidioc monument in Christ Church, Hants, were found in a grave five feet deep between the base of the tomb and the crown of the arch of the charnel-house below, having a layer of fine chocolate-coloured dust, which had been the coffin, between them and the earth³.

The body of John Greenway, who rebuilt the South aisle of Tiverton church, between 1517 and 1529, when he died, was deposited in a vault about eight feet square, lined with brown glazed tiles, in which Mr. Dunford, 1776, found a scull and bones, and dust under the arch which supports the front wall⁴.

¹ Sandwich, p. 353.

² Newcourt, I. 418.

³ Gent. Mag. LXXI. p. 816. Hutchins, I. p. 548. 2d edit.

⁴ Hist. of Tiverton, p. 319.

"One of the most magnificent works perhaps ever executed in this kingdom is, a history and pedigree of the Howard family, in a large folio volume, containing near 600 folios of velum, elegantly written and most beautifully illuminated; bound in crimson velvet, richly embossed with silver gilt; which seems to have been done for the earl of Northampton, in the reign of Charles I. and is said then to have cost upwards of £.1000. It contains all the family monuments painted in their proper colours, in so highly a finished manner that each figure might deserve a frame; particularly those at Framlingham, all those engraved in Weever, and a fine collection of the portraits of the Mowbrays and Howards painted in the windows of Long Melford church in Suffolk, and many others which I never heard of before, and too numerous to be recited. Among others of the Howard monuments is a representation of the tomb of the second duke of Norfolk, who died 1524, and the ceremonial of whose funeral is printed in Martin's History of Thetford, App. N^o VIII. p. 38. which tomb was set up at that place, and brought to Lambeth, and laid in the Howard chapel when the abbey was destroyed. It represents his effigy in brass cumbent, with the arms, but no inscription. There are also two other most rich and sumptuous brasses for the dukes of Norfolk at Lambeth, now destroyed. The brasses are done with gold lacquered over in such a manner that they appear exactly like the real metal, and then the lines in black are traced upon it. The book was done by Henry Lilly, Rouge-dragon pursuivant, who died 1638, and lies buried in Farnham church near Bishop Stortford, Herts. It seems never to have been in possession of the Howard family; for by a note it appears that it was bought of Lilly's heirs for £.100. by Compton earl of Northampton, in the reign of Charles II. merely because it had been done for an earl of Northampton, and it now belongs to the present earl, if it has not been purchased by the noble family to whom it was intended to be offered about fifteen years ago. The late duke of Norfolk is said to have employed Vertue to copy the effigies, &c. but what became of his drawings I have not heard. The inscription on the Howard monuments at Lambeth may be seen in Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. V. p. 236—238, and in Dr. Ducarel's History of Lambeth, p. 49—52. Not the least vestiges of the family are now to be discovered in Lambeth church, except one shield of arms in the East window of their chapel, *Howard* quartering *Broberton*, *Warren*, and *Mowbray*, and surmounted with a ducal coronet. The chapel is so small that one can scarce conceive where so many monuments could have been placed in it, not fewer than twelve inscriptions being given by Aubrey; the greatest part is now covered with a gallery erected for charity children. Dr. Ducarel for thirty years back remembered no monument there, and nothing was under the gallery when erected but the bowels of archbishop Parker, found in a box. It is strange what is become of these brasses, as all in other parts of the church remain."

This is not a single instance of a pedigree so illuminated. That of the Digby family seems to be similar, formed at equal expence, by Sir Kenelm Digby,

¹ Mr. Brooke, letters to me, 1779.

and now supposed to be in the possession of Mr. Williams of Penbeddew in Wales. It included all the existing monuments of the family¹.

Earl Ferrers, and the earls of Harborough and Aylesbury, are possessed of others drawn out on long rolls, with arms, seals, and monuments, accompanying the descents.

See also the monument at Lydiard Tregoze², that of the Cornwalls at Tetbury³, and the pedigree of the Hampdens on a large tree, on marble, in the church at Hampden.

The instances of MS books of devotion being adorned with the portraits of their owners is not very common in England whatever it may be in foreign countries. One among us is in a quarto volume on vellum, the property of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Denne, Rector of Wilmington, Kent, and F. A. S. which, besides sundry illuminations executed with nice delicacy of finishing, carries a representation of Sir Gilbert Talbot of Grafton, in Worcestershire, Knight of the Garter, and third son of John second earl of that house. By the calendar months it was easy to ascertain the year in which it was written: for Easter-day (*Resurrexio Domini*) is on March 27, and in the time of Sir Gilbert, Easter-day only fell on that day in the years 1502 and 1513, in one of which it must have been made. Sir Gilbert was a man of much eminence in his time, and much favoured by the different princes under whose reigns he lived, and from him descend the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Talbot. He was made Knight of the Garter 11 Henry VII. for his martial valour, as Camden says⁴, and died 1516, and was buried in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist adjoining the church of Whitchurch, in Shropshire, where his mutilated figure, in the robes of the order, remains in the South window. Sir John Talbot first earl of Shrewsbury founded at Bridgenorth, in the reign of Henry VII, an house of Grey Friars; and it is probable this book was written and presented to Sir Gilbert his grandson by a friar of that house. That it was executed by a member of the society of Friars minors is likely, because it has not only the collects, &c. that were used on the festival of St. Bernard of Sens, May 20, but there is also his portrait. Sir Gilbert, by his will, bequeathed to a chantry or chapel of St. John the Evangelist in Whitchurch one robe of black velvet used for the order of the Garter, one image of our blessed Lady the Virgin, and *one book lined with gold*, to be used within the said chapel. It is extremely probable that this was the very book so bequeathed.

¹ Note in the Digby pedigree in Hutchins's Hist. of Dorset. Pennant's Journey from Chester, p. 398. Gent. Mag. LXIV. pp. 791. 918. 1077. If this pedigree gives the name of *Marmore* to Alice wife of William Mul'o it must have been compiled by some ignorant blockhead, and not by a herald: not to mention that Steele saw and read the brass itself. See his notes in the History of Dunstable, Bibl. Top. Brit. N° VII.

² Camden, I. 90.

³ Vol. II. p. 79*—82*. Nash's Worcestershire, II. p. 418.

⁴ Britannia, Worcestershire, II. p. 352. Nash's Worcestershire, I. p. 158.

An abbot of *Beaume*, in the last century, destroyed all the old monuments in his church¹. What his caprice began in a single instance has probably been completed all over the kingdom on different and far worse motives in the present century, wherein not only the memorials of the dead, but the dead themselves, with a political phrenzy, equalled only by the religious ones of former ages, but which one would have thought this age too far removed from Barbarism to have practised or even thought of.

In Camden's *Annals*, 1580, is an account of the sacrilegious ravages made by our countrymen at Mechlin: "Non solum civium opes omni prædandi insolentia diripuerunt, sed etiam in templa, sacra, et sepulchra sævierunt, vim mortuis inferentes. Vidimus enim (pudet dicere) plures sepulchrales lapides inde in Angliam transmissos et venum expositos, ut impietatis publice profarent monumenta²."

Bells, plate, pictures, and ornaments from churches and pagodas, have been transferred from one kingdom to another, and from the Continent to England, by right of conquest, and a public memorial thereof; but one would not have supposed a trade of any profit could have been carried on with tombstones.

Weever³ charges Meredith Hanmer vicar of Shoreditch with converting "the brass of several antient monuments there into coin for his own use, and presently after (ashamed belike of such a detestable act) went over into Ireland, and there ignominiously ended his days⁴."

The church of the Friars Minors, or Christ Church, by Newgate, was honoured with the sepulture of four queens, four duchesses, four countesses, one duke, two earls, eight barons, and some thirty-five knights, whose names are set down by Stowe⁵ in his Survey, and in all, from the first foundation to the dissolution, six hundred and sixty-three persons of quality were there interred. In the choir were nine tombs of alabastr and marble, invironed with bars or strikes of iron, one tomb in the body of the church coped also with iron, and seven score gravestones of marble in divers places: all which were pulled down, taken away, and sold for £.50. or thereabouts, by Sir Martin Bowes mayor of London, 1545. The rest of the monuments were wholly defaced in Weever's time⁶, not one remaining, save such which are of later time: little therefore was left for the fire of 1666 to destroy.

Forty-four pounds of brass taken out of Walberswick church, in Suffolk, by Dowling, was sold at three pence halfpenny per pound for eleven shillings and eight pence⁷.

Many brasses in Luton church were applied to make the chandelier there: a cruel absurdity! useless in a country parish church.

¹ Voy. lit. de deux Benedict. I. 172.

² Edit. Hearne, p. 345.

³ P. 427. See before, Vol. I. Introd. p. cxxi.

⁴ He went to Ireland 1592 or 3, and at length became Treasurer of Trinity Church, Dublin, where he died of the plague, 1604. Ath. Ox. I. 279. Ware descriptio Hiberniæ, p. 137. Fuller's Worthies, Flintshire. The tradition of the inhabitants of Shoreditch, perhaps founded only on Weever's expression, makes him hang himself. Ellis's Hist. of Shoreditch, p. 24.

⁵ P. 347. ⁶ P. 388.

⁷ Gardner's Dunwich, p. 160.

A gentleman of large funded property destroyed the monuments of the Daniels of Acton, Suffolk, and lockt up the chapel where they were erected. And as if this county was to be the scene of sacrilege, the parishioners of Letheringham being under the necessity, by direction of the ordinary, to put their defecrated church into decent order, and choosng to rebuild it, though it might have been repaired at less cost, sold the whole of the old fabric, monuments and all, to the contractor for building the church, who beat the fine series of the monuments of the Bovilles, Wingfields, Nauntons, &c. to powder; and sold as much, at 3s. per pound (nearly six hundred weight), for terrace, as came to eighty guineas.

Of the fragments that could be rescued from the wreck a pyramid was erected, in 1789, by the Rev. Mr. Clubbe, in the garden of his vicarage at Brandiston in the same county, with these inscriptions:

I. *FUIMUS.*

INDIGNANT READER!

THESE MONUMENTAL REMAINS

ARE NOT

(AS THOU MAYEST SUPPOSE)

THE RUINS OF TIME,

BUT

WERE DESTROYED IN AN IRRUPTION OF THE GOTHs

SO LATE IN THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA

AS THE YEAR 1789.

CREDITE POSTERI !!!

3. Undique collectis membris—

Abi, Lector!

Et, si nomen p  renne cures,

Qu  ras aliunde:

Marmori famam credere

Quam fallax vanumque fit

Hinc collige.

4. M. S.

Antiquis* Famil  

Restitutum

(Quoad restitui potuit)

A^o Dom. 1789.

Quicunque fis

Hos hortos posth  c coliturus

Vive memor mortuorum.

Neu finas

H  c   Reliquias

Iterum in ruinam labi.

H  c conditione, valeas.

3. Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
The hero perith, or the sparrow fall.

POPE.

A few brasses from the ruins, worked off in Vol. II. Pl. IX. X. XI. and the large brass plate of Sir Robert Naunton's monument, were rescued from the melting-pot by Mr. Nichols.

* P. 388.

" Herodot. IX. 69.

III. 190.

In St. Faith's vaults, May 19, 1783, I saw, with Dr. Hamilton, prebendary of St. Paul's, Mr. Ord, and Mr. Brooke, the following figures remaining of the old monuments, in tolerable preservation; the hands, that were elevated, gone.

Dr. Donne's whole figure: the urn flat at top, and never open, in the window of a separate vault; and fragments of his tomb are on the other side of the church.

Sir Thomas Heneage, to the knee.

His lady, perhaps.

Sir John Wolley ¹ (only half his head gone).

His lady perfect.

Closet by Heneage a half length of Sir Nicholas Bacon in armour with matras, A whole figure of a lady. Q. his wife.

Sir William Cockayne, alderman, (a bust in gown) and his wife.

A bust of whiter materials, as of plaster ²; hands down on base gone.

A bust concealed, seemed of an elder knight.

The skull (faceless) and the spine on a mat ³ all of wood, of Colet, in a separate vault.

The shield and impalement of Wolley lay in another vault among pillars and bases, and other fragments.

How laudably attentive the churchwardens of parish churches among us are will appear from the following advertisement:

"Whereas there are many monuments, tombs, and vaults, in the church and chancel of the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, in a ruinous state, and many flat and head-stones broken and sunk, or buried in the said churchyard; and the said churchyard from the great number of burials therein is become uneven, and in great need of a reform; the churchwardens of the said parish hereby give notice that all and every person or persons interested in any monument, vault, or flat stone, in the said church, or monument tomb with flat or head stone in the said churchyard, and who wish to preserve and perpetuate the same, that unless they apply to the churchwardens, or any one of them, on or before the first of January next, and agree to perform or pay for such repairs and replacing as are respectively necessary to such monuments, tombs, vaults, head and flat stones, that the same will respectively be removed without further notice, and that no grave in the said churchyard will for the future be suffered to be raised above the surface of the ground.

Thomas Taylor, churchwarden, Ratcliffe.

John Williams, churchwarden, Poplar and Blackwall.

Matthias Kitchen, churchwarden, Mile End Old Town.

William Cox, churchwarden, Mile End New Town."

¹ Large fragments of this tomb lay in an adjoining window.

² See Knight's Life of Colet, p. 262.

³ This fine carving had been by some accident removed among some old lumber; in which situation, Oct. 3, 1786, it was discovered by Dr. Ducarel and Mr. Nichols, and restored to its proper place.

Those of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, behaved in the same manner about twenty years before; and the like, or even superior attention, was paid in 1795 by the trustees for repairing St. Bride's church, where all the monuments were completely repaired, and the writing on every tablet was restored.

Compare this with the conduct of the late diocesan and chapter of Salisbury, and the chapter at Hereford, in whose conduct there is only this difference, that the former before they levelled the churchyard into a lawn caused a plan of all the graves and vaults to be taken and preserved as a guide to future interments; while the latter do not appear to have taken this precaution, or to have consulted the survivors on their levelling system. To these examples without doors may be added the transplantation of some monuments, and the total demolition of others within.

"Through the covetousness or necessity of some poor clerks or sextons, or the want or poverty of some needy curates, many of these antiquities are broken, ruined, and utterly defaced, for which inhuman and sacrilegious acts many devise and maintain some reasonable colours and specious pretences; and indeed the like has happened many years since, as appears by the lady Wiche's case, in the Reports of the Laws in the reign of king Edward IV. anno 9. fol. 15. The case there is this: the lady Wiche brought an action in the King's Bench, against a parson of St. Margaret's church, at Lothbury in London; for the parson had taken away a coat armour and certain pennons, with the arms of Sir Hugh Wiche, mercer, formerly mayor of London, her husband (who died 1466), and a sword forth of the chapel, where the said Sir Hugh was buried. The parson pleaded that these arms, pennons, and sword, were matters of offerings and oblations, and therefore (of right) did belong unto him. But justice Yelverton, lineal ancestor and predecessor unto the late reverend judge, Sir Christopher Yelverton, knight, and one of the justices of the King's Bench, who giveth the rule there in the case, holds it no plea; and that these are not intended as either offerings or oblations, but were hung up in honour of the party deceased, and therefore do not belong to the parson. For (says he) I use to sit in the chancel, and I have brought thither a carpet, a cushion, and a book; shall the parson have these because they are brought into the chancel? I say no; no more in the other case." Thus that learned antiquary William Burton¹. To which the Chetwynd MS. in continuation of his History of Leicestershire, adds, "If a nobleman or gentleman be buried in the church, and have his coat armour, pennons, and other ensigns of honour, which belong to his degree or order, set up in the church, or if a tomb or gravestone be made or laid in the remembrance of him; in this case, although the freehold of the church be in the parson, and that these be annexed to the freehold, yet the parson, or his successors, cannot take away or deface them, but are subject to an action at law to the heir, or his heirs, in the honour and memory of whose ancestor they were set up; and it was held for law by all the judges of the Common Pleas in Pym's case²; and herewith agree the laws of other countries; as appeareth in B. Cassaneus, p. 13. canon 29; and it is held by Mr. Marrow, in his Reading, and vouched by Mr. Lambard³, that if one take away a coat armour which hangs over a tomb, the indictment must be *bona executorum*, not of the dead man; but if a grave-stone be taken, the indictment must be *bona ecclesie*⁴."

¹ Leicestershire, p. 97.

² Mich. Term. 10 Jacobi.

³ Eitenarcha, p. 494.

⁴ Nichols's Leicestershire, vol. II. p. 178.

Sacred horror possessed all nations of antiquity in regard to their deceased contemporaries. Patriarchal feelings say, "Let me bury my dead out of my sight." An idea of pollution concurred with humanity. The polished Roman held it his duty to contribute to the decent interment of every person whom accident had deprived of this last comfort.

Pausanias, with true magnanimity, refused to insult the dead body of Mar- donius, the most inveterate and insolent enemy of Greece. He considered such conduct as violating every principle of equity, and stamping his name with infamy¹. Homer perpetually inculcates, that to insult the dead is cruel and unjust. Dr. Young, in the *Revenge*, makes Zanga say,

"I war not with the dead."

And in the *Night Thoughts* he exclaims,

—"What guilt

"Can equal violations of the dead?

"The dead—how sacred!"

Strabo, speaking of cities in his time so completely destroyed that it was doubtful whether they had ever been inhabited, adds, "yet travellers visit them to see the remains of such noble works, as also the tombs of eminent men".² Augustus visited the tomb of Alexander the Great, which he caused to be opened, and in examining the body damaged the nose³; but he put a crown of gold on the head, and scattered flowers over the whole⁴. Cicero dates the *sacredness*⁵ of a tomb from the moment of throwing the earth on the body, and adds, "in ipso solo est quod nulla vi movere neque deleri potest." "We feel, says Quintilian⁶, not only pity for the dead, but a religious sympathy." Solon provided by law against the violation of them; and the Roman civil law is very express, though it excepts the tombs of enemies⁷. This violation is extended to the removal of stones, earth, turf, statues, or ornaments⁸; or even by burying other bodies in them⁹, or obstructing the way to them¹⁰; by alienating or selling them¹¹; by opening them, and disturbing the dead and stealing the body for *magical* purposes¹². The punishment was death, exile, fine, and cutting off the hand. A clergyman so offending was punished with degradation and banishment. Hear the law of Valentinian on this subject: "Clericos vero quos tam diri operis confiterit¹³ autores dignos credimus majore supplicio. Vehementius enim coercendus erit quem peccasse miseris scelus omne gravius facit claritudo personæ. Intolerandum, nimis execrabile, non ferendum, induere nomen et titulum sanctitatis, et abundare criminibus. Quisquis igitur ex hoc numero sepulchrorum violator extiterit illico clerici nomen amittat, et sic stylo proscriptionis addictus perpetui deportatione plectatur¹⁴." The council of Toledo inflicted degra-

¹ Herodotus, IX. c. 78, 79.

² Ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀπολῆται τῶν αἰῶνων ἀποκατασκευαμένων ἐργῶν καὶ τῶν ταφῶν τῶν ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν. II. p. 121.

³ Dio L. p. 647. ὡςτις τὴν πύλιν, ὡς φασί, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιόχου.

⁴ Suetonius, Aug. c. 18.

⁵ religio.

⁶ Nobis (rerum natura) adversus exanimis genuit non solum miserationem quæ cogitationi nostræ subit, sed etiam religionem. Declam. 5.

⁷ Cels. l. 4. de sep. viol.

⁸ L. 4. & 5. Cod. de sep. viol. Ulp. leg. 2.

⁹ L. 3. de sep. viol.

¹⁰ Ulp. 12.

¹¹ Ib.

¹² L. 4. c. sep. viol. lib. 7. de cod. Quintil. decl. 15. Apul. II. Kirchman, III. 23, 24.

¹³ L. Constantii, c. de sep. viol. Paulus, L. 11. de sep. viol. Valentinian in cod. Theodos. &c. ap. Kirchman, III. 26.

dation and three years penance. Slaves and the lower class were condemned to the mines for barely demolishing a tomb; but with death for disturbing or removing a body¹. Fines were the general punishment by law, and by the will of the persons erecting the monuments; but slaves and the lower class were put to death, after being tormented to confess who set them on. Persons of rank incurred a forfeiture of half their property, and were declared infamous²; and Ulpian says, "*Sepulchri violata actio infamiam irrogat*;" and such an action was deemed sufficient cause for a divorce between man and wife³. It is the wish of an old inscription, that the offender may have his own bones disturbed; and the king of Moab was threatened by God himself⁴ because he burnt the bones of the king of Edom into lime, to make plaster for his palace, says Kirchman. The emperor Henry caused to be dug up the bones of Tancred king of Sicily and his son, and stript them of their crowns and sceptres, and other royal ornaments⁵, saying they were not lawful kings, but usurpers, and violent detainers of the kingdom. In France the dead of all ranks are disturbed in their most sacred recesses, and their leaden coffins melted into bullets to compel Europe to submit to the tyranny of Republicanism.

"In the city of Angers, which, before the Revolution, abounded with religious monuments, the tombs were violated, churchyards overturned, bones scattered about or tossed by gravefalls into the river, which threw them upon its banks, children playing with the spoils of the dead, and sometimes with the bones and skulls of their parents, the sepulchral mould carried to enrich gardens with the substance of fellow citizens, friends, relations, urns which had enclosed the ashes of husbands put up to sale under the eyes of their wives. We saw in Angers all these melancholy sights, said several priests escaped from captivity, and we wept over a revolution which annihilated even the natural feelings and respect for the dead. I saw, said one of them, the shovel and hoe disturb and remove the ashes of my father, destroy and overturn the tomb of my ancestors. All the consolation we could offer to these priests, thus hurt and provoked, was by saying, you would have seen the same sight, the same degradation of nature and of religion, and civil society, in two hundred other towns of our unhappy country⁶."—"Tumulo quoque sensimus hostem⁷."

The sanction of laws have confirmed the sentiments of nature. The monuments of the deceased are protected from every parish priest after he has received his fee for their erection. In the times of Popery the monks did not permit one benefactor to buy away the memorial of preceding ones; and while they secured to themselves much of the property of those whom they honoured with a place in their sanctuary and a passport to heaven, they left their memorial sacred, and did their utmost to preserve it from accident and decay. Thus did Popery. Nor did it stop here; for its convents provided a subsistence for the national poor, which all the statutes enacted from the reign of Elizabeth have not found a substitute for, in the coffers of the grantees of the monastic

¹ Valentinian, ib.² Leg. ii. de sep. viol.³ Ib.⁴ Theod. et Valent. de repud. leg. 8.⁵ Amos ii. 1.⁶ Hoveden, p. 424. b.⁷ What they were may be conceived from those before described about the royal bodies at Palermo.⁸ Baruel, Hist. de la Clergé pendant la Revolution Française, p. 231, 232.⁹ Ovid, Met. xiii. 504.

estates, or in the public revenue. Nor has the boasted public spirit of a neighbouring nation, in their dissolution of religious houses, and with a larger proportion of ecclesiastical revenue in their hands, been able to prevent or obviate Mendicity. But I feel myself transported out of my province, and return to the unpleasing contemplation, that our system of ethics, our code of laws, our natural feelings, and our philosophical reasonings, are in a train of violation by the inconsiderate mode of reforming and renewing our churches. With a different eye shall I ever behold the justice and propriety of the reparations bestowed on the chapel of St. George at Windsor, where the tribute of impartial, uninfluenced applause must be paid to the ROYAL PATRON of Antiquaries and Artists, under whose eye, by the skill and judgement of Mr. Sandby architect, and Mr. Emlyn clerk of the works, innumerable beauties and graces have been brought to light and restored to their pristine splendor, with the strictest adherence to truth.

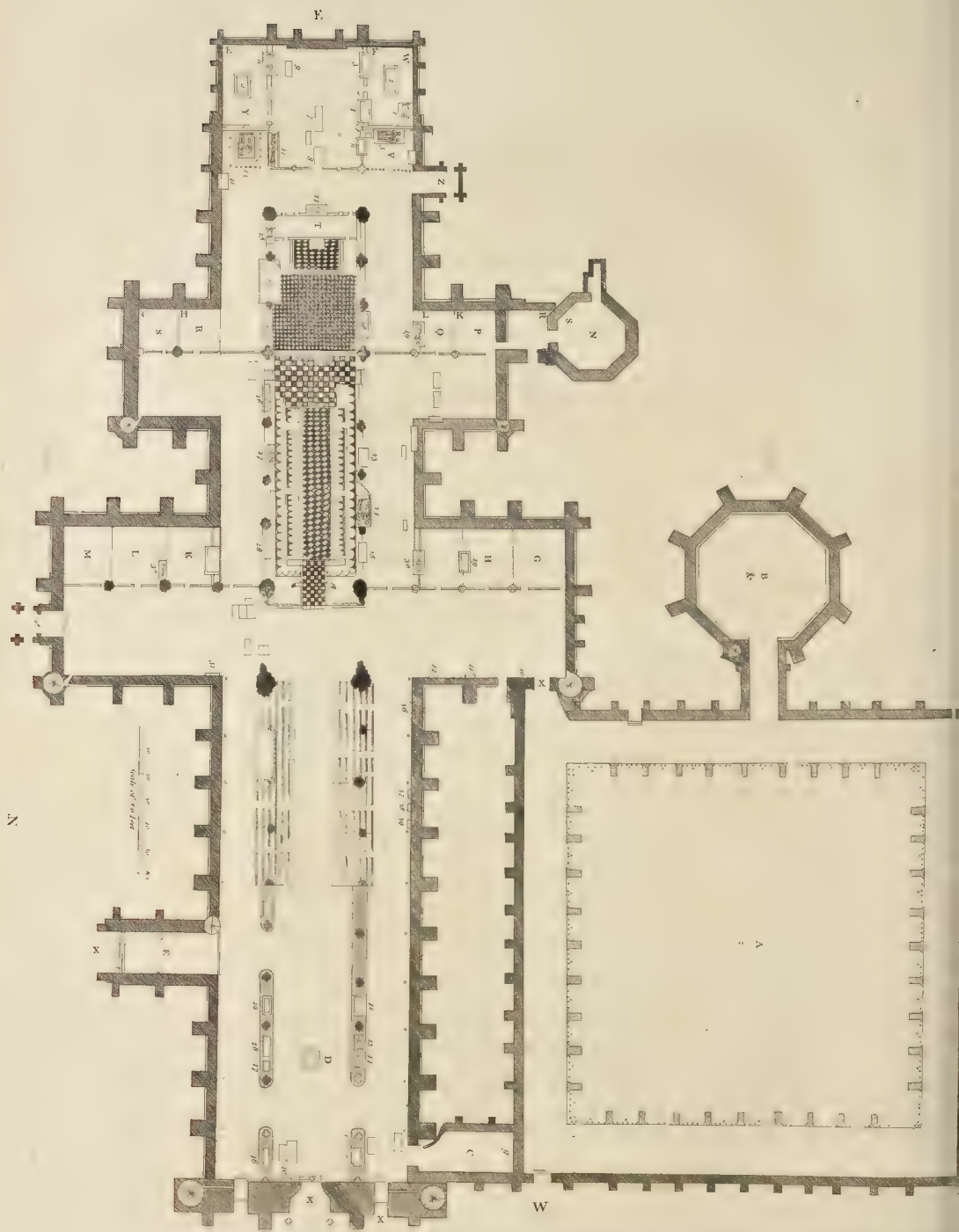
What shall I say (I am sure in this enlightened age and nation I shall have leave to say it) to the dilapidations committed in one of our finest cathedrals, under the sanction and with the concurrence of its diocesan and the majority of the chapter (the Dean excepted); when, under the idea of improvement of the structure, the most venerable and oldest monuments were removed, the bodies taken up, and the vaults of two eminent and respectable families, benefactors to the church and nation, entirely removed, so that not even the site will be hereafter distinguishable! It was in contemplation to have removed every monument from the side of the choir, even chapels as well as altar-tombs; but reflection, aided by the want of finances, saved them in time. Posterity, who forgot or overlooked the scraping from the roof of the church some of the finest remains of antient paintings among us as old as the reign of Henry III. will laugh at the excess to which the levelling principle was carried, when they are told, that the very churchyard was made as smooth as a bowling green by covering every tombstone with turf, so that it was necessary to make a plan of the situation of every departed inhabitant of Salisbury, that his relations might be enabled to deposit their dust in the proper place, and that this plan is lodged among the archives of the church. Flowering shrubs and trees have been planted in the church-yard. The same levelling has taken place at Hereford, as a completion of the repair of that cathedral: Whether the same precaution had been observed I know not*. Mr. Essex was not warranted in transferring

* On this ever memorable transaction see *Gent. Mag.* LIX. pp. 873. 1065. 1194.

“ They write from Hereford, that in consequence of an order of the dean and chapter all the tombstones in the cathedral yard were levelled and removed, in the presence of an assembled multitude, who could not refrain from venting their grief at this outrage offered in a civilized and christian country to the memorials of their relations, many of them erected at no little expence, part of which had been paid for the use of the ground. It is even added, that a subscription is set on foot to try if redress cannot be obtained in a course of law.” See *Gent. Mag.* LXVI. p. 607.

To this cathedral was annexed a parish church of St. John Baptist. After the fall of the tower the parochial service was performed in the choir, and continued there till last year, 1796, when some of the chapter objected to the parishioners going there; who in reply told the chapter, that as they had used the materials of their late parish church, they must provide them with another. At last, after a ridiculous squabble, and, instead of making some new seats in the new nave, where it was before, it was concluded that the fine North transept, which has more curious and valuable monuments in it than any other, should be all taken up with the new church, so that there will be left to the sight of the curious, among other fine monuments, those of bishop Westfaling, St. Thomas Cantelupe, Aquablanc, and John Phillips the poet. Such is the folly and want of taste in modern chapters!





Plan of Salisbury Cathedral.

the tombs of Ely from their proper places; but he left at least the bodies behind; and Mr. Bentham preserved the sites by a plan engraved in his history of the church. In the present instance the bodies were taken up and intended to accompany the monuments without any plan previously engraved of their old situations, or it may be those situations ascertained so fully as might have been from the archives of the church. All the inquisitiveness after antient inhumations, all the eagerness of prying into those at Lincoln, when an opportunity offered by the new pavement, which lifted the stone covers level with the old pavement from the coffins below them, have not offered a violation equal to this, where no attention has been paid to the elucidation of one fact or custom in our history¹.

It would be a curious enquiry to trace how many remain of the monuments which our ancestors formed to perpetuate the succession of their families, and with which they decorated our cathedral, conventual, and even parochial, churches, or the chapels which they attached to them for that purpose. The Vere monuments were removed from the priory into the parish church at Earle's Colne; those of the Fitz Walters continued in the conventual church at Dunmow, but were transferred from the demolished chancel into the nave. The

¹ To assist posterity in ascertaining the original monumental arrangement of the church I have engraved Pl. XXXIX. a plan which fell into my hands among some papers of Mr. Vertue, with the following references. The new arrangement may be seen p. ccxxxi*. The plan will shew their original situations.

Monuments of

- 1 Bishop Richard Beauchamp.
- 2 Sir John Cheney.
- 3 Bishop Robert Wikehampton.
- 4 ——— Henry Brandelion.
- 5 Earl of Pembroke.
- 6 Lord Stourton.
- 7 Bishop Osmund.
- 8 ——— N. Longespe.
- 9
- 10 Robert Lord } Hungerford
- 11 Margaret Lady }
- 12 Longespe and Montacute Earls of Sarum.
- 13 Sir Thomas Gorges.
- 14 Bishop Blythe.
- 15 ——— R. Poore.
- 16 ——— Edward Audley.
- 17 ——— Robert Bingham.
- 18 ——— William York.
- 19 ——— William Ayscough.
- 20 Seth Ward, Treasurer.
- 21 ——— Bishop.
- 22 Bishop Davenant.
- 23 ——— Capon.
- 24 Sir Richard Mompeffon.
- 25 Bishop Simon de Gant.
- 26 Precentor Benet.
- 27
- 28 Bishop Robert Mortival.
- 29 ——— Richard Metford.
- 30 ——— Giles Bridport.
- 31
- 32
- 33
- 34
- 35 Bishop Walter de la Wyle.
- 36
- 37

Monuments of

- 38 Bishop Alexander Hyde.
- 39
- 40
- 41 Bishop Roger.
- 42
- 43
- 44
- 45
- 46
- 47
- 48
- 49
- 50
- A. Cloister.
- B. Chapter house.
- C. Consistory court.
- D. Font.
- E. Porch.
- F.
- G.
- H. St. Margaret's
- I.
- K.
- L. St. Edmund's,
- M.
- N. Vestry.
- O.
- P.
- Q.
- R.
- S.
- T.
- V.
- W. Beauchamp
- X. Lady
- Y. Hungerford.
- Z. Porch.

} Chapel.

} Chapel.

Howards

Howards at Thetford were involved in the total ruin of the abbey church, while that branch of that antient and noble family which chose the parish church of Framlingham for their place of sepulture still survive, as do the Ruffels in their parish church at Cheney; the Rosses at Bottesford, the Wingfields and Delapoles at Wingfield; the Willoughbys at Spilsby; the Mannours and Fitz Hughs at Tanfield; and the greatest part of the Cobhams and Brookes at Cobham. The Staffords followed the fate of the priory at Stone; the Wingfields, that of their parish church at Letheringham; the Hungerfords have lately fallen with their chapel at Salisbury; and the Nevilles in Durham cathedral shared not a much better fate; but survive with a little change of situation at Staindrop. The Digbys at Stoke-dry have undergone some change. Of less considerable families the Montforts at Hitchenden, the De-la-Beches at Aldworth, the Chicheles at Higham Ferrars, the Rythers and Gascoignes at Harewood, the Hungerfords at Farleigh castle¹, have a somewhat regular series.

It would be no less curious to ascertain the sites of the several bodies which were bequeathed to particular spots in churches, or before particular altars; as for instance those at Belvoir priory, and the Furnivalls at Retford. Before the entrance of the chancel at Howden I saw a small stone coffin removed, and emptied of the bones of a small body which it is not easy to ascertain, for the Methams have their peculiar chapel and monuments.

The following extract from MS. Harl. 3775, dated 1429, may serve as a guide in the abbey church of St. Alban's.

"In presbiterio ecclesie prope extremum gradum altaris jacent quatuor abbates hujusce monasterii separatim sub lapidibus marmoreis eorum epitaphiis insignitis; viz. d'ns HUGO EVERDON, RICU's WALYNGFORD *borologarius* med. d'ns MICHAEL MENTMORE et d'ns THOMAS DE LA MORE extrem' quorum laudes et beneficia

¹ See a Plan of the castle and chapel, with the bodies in the vault below, Pl. XL.

References to the chapel:

- A. a slab, supposed of Sir Giles Hungerford, on which was once cut a figure of a man and an inscription, both now obliterated.
- B. A table tomb unknown, over which, on the North wall, is a mural monument and brass plate, with an inscription to Mary daughter of Walter Hungerford, and wife of Thomas Shaa, 1618.
1. 2. 4. Altar tombs of the Hungerford family.
6. Altar tomb with figures of Sir Edward Hungerford, K. B. and lady, 1648.
5. Window, in which was an inscription to Sir Edward Hungerford and lady, 1648.
7. Window, in which was an inscription to lady Margaret relict of Sir Edward Hungerford.

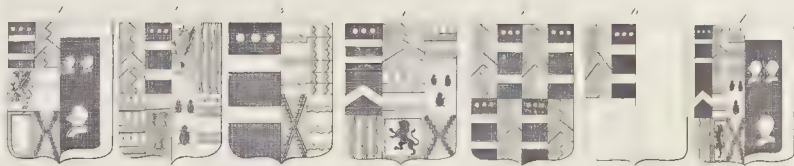
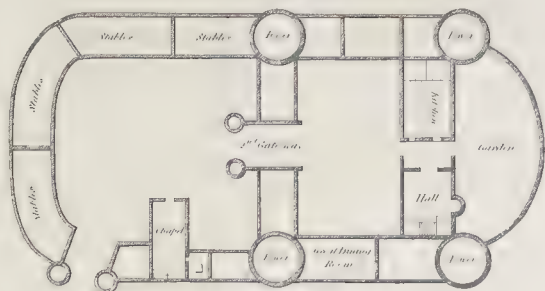
References to the plan of the vault:

1. Bones of Walter lord Hungerford, 1585.
2. 3. Coffins of Sir Edward and lady Margaret Hungerford, 1648. with an inscription and arms on copper plates on the breast of the first.
4. 5. Two wives of Sir Edward Hungerford, who died in childbed, and their infants are placed in smaller coffins on them.
6. Giles Hungerford.
7. Alethea wife of Edward Hungerford.

These coffins very much resemble Egyptian mummies, having all the features of a face in strong relief, and the bodies gradually tapering from the shoulders to the feet.

Against the wall, near the door of the vault, is an urn, or canister of lead, eighteen inches high, and twelve in diameter, containing the bowels.

² The upper half of his brassless slab now remains in its place, the lower removed into the North aisle, when a modern gravestone assumed its place.



in libro benefactorum et gestis abbatum perspicue sunt conscripta. Ex alia vero parte magni candelabri ibid' p' primo chori jacent tres abbates hujus monasterii d'corum abbatum predecessores, JOH'ES MARYNES, JOH'ES BERKHAMSTED, et ROGER NORTON, medi' oni' eor' coram altare Sc'e Marie quatuor cercor' ¹ sub figura ejusdem effigiei tenend' sunt tumulat'. Cetera vero corpora abbatum hujus monasterii an conq' rabie Normannor, ubi jacuerint sunt nobis incognito: sed in capitulo sub relacione antiquor' patrum didicimus veraciter sic recondita. In postio capituli JOH. MOOT sub lapide plano marmoreo ipsius media figura et epitaphio deaurato; deinde vers' oriental' frontem capituli sub lapide marmoreo figura et epitaph' quatuor abbatum, GUARING sive WARING DE CANTEBRIGIA, RAD. GOBYON, WILLIAM TRUMPINGTON, et JOH. DE HERTFORD. Ex altera parte Analogii vers' orientem sex, PAULI DE CADOMO, RIC. DE EXAGUIO, GALT. DE GORHAM, ROBERT DE GORHAM, SIMON' et JOH. DE CELLA, sub lapidibus marmoreis medi' scrip'tior' eor' epitaphia continent'.

It was the opinion of my good old friend Kent, who had been the clerk of the abbey church fifty years, October, 1796, which office his predecessor held forty years, that none of the bodies lie at present under the stones that recorded them. We find, however, by this extract of the abbots, that four lay before the high altar, three on one side of the great candlestick in the choir on one side of the reading desk, one at the door of the chapter-house, and one in the front of the same building; and as to Thomas Ramridge nothing is known but that he has a monument on the North side of the altar.

How long the place of king John's sepulture was controverted may be seen in Mr. Green's History of Worcester, I. 67—75. The repairing of the cathedral this summer [1797], "the caprices of modern reformation having no share in the projected arrangements planned by the judicious taste of the present dean Onflow for the improvement and beautifying the interior of the cathedral," brought the unfortunate monarch to light, lodged, as his successors at Westminster, within the altar-tomb, and immediately under the slab that covered it with his figure, the tomb standing precisely on the centre of the arch at the extreme East end of the crypt, the stone coffin laid *upon*, and not buried *under*, the pavement of the choir. Immediately under this, as the workmen were taking the whole to pieces, in order to remove it, as a cenotaph inconveniently situate before the high altar, lay the royal body, the bones and teeth perfectly found, the under-jaw fallen, the right hand on the breast, and on the right breast a number of dried maggots. The robe, wrapt round the body, had once been red, but changed to a dingy yellow, except where the folds preserved the original colour, and the material of the robe was coarse and ordinary: on his legs were a kind of half-boots slit at the toes, and under them something like stockings. By his right side a sword, which, on being exposed to the air, perished. This discovery being made by mere labourers was not immediately attended to, and in the mean time one man stole a finger-bone, and sent it up to London to be tipt with silver, and refused a large sum for it; but afterwards lost it on the road. Mr. Thompson of Worcester took some of the maggots to bait his angling-rod;

¹ In Mr. Newcome's plan of this church, in the reign of Henry III. the altar *quatuor cercorum* is placed against the North side of the front wall of what is now the school.

but it was three days before a fish would bite, and when he drew out a dace he carried it in triumph through the streets. As soon as the Dean and Chapter heard of the discovery every proper precaution was taken, and only six persons admitted to see it at once, and within forty-eight hours the whole was closed up, and the tomb suffered to remain in its place.

“On the removal of the royal effigy, and the stone slab on which it had been laid, and which had been broken in two, in some former operations about the tomb, the objects first presented to view were two partition walls of brick raised to assist in the support of the superincumbent covering the figure of the king, and to take an equal bearing of their weight, with the side and end panels of the tomb. The spaces between these walls, and between them and the ends of the tomb, were filled up with the rubbish of bricks and mortar. On taking down the pannel at the head and one at each side, and clearing out the rubbish, two strong elm boards originally joined by a batten nailed at each end of them, but which had dropt off and left the boards loose, were next discovered, and, upon their removal, the stone coffin, of which they formed the covering, containing the entire remains of king John, became visible: the body measured five feet six inches and an half. The skull, instead of being placed with the face in the usual situation, presented the *foramen magnum*, the opening through which the spinal marrow passes down the vertebræ, turned upwards. The lower part of the *os frontis* was so much perished as to have become nearly of an even surface with the bottoms of the sockets of the eyes. The whole of the upper jaw was displaced from the skull, and found near the right elbow; it contained four teeth in very good preservation, and free from decay; two of them were *dentes molares*, and two *bicuspides*. The lower jaw was also separated from the skull; the *coronoid processes* were very perfect, as well as the *condyles*, but no teeth. Some grey hairs were discernible under the covering of the head. The *ulna* of the left arm, which had been folded on the body, was found detached from it, and lying obliquely on the breast; that of the right arm lay nearly in its proper place; but neither the *radii* of the arms, nor the bones of the hands, were discernable. Those of the ribs, *pelvis*, &c. were so much covered with dust, and the folds of the decayed robe, as not to be clearly distinguishable. Part of the tibia of the right leg, nearly in its proper position, was exposed. The knee of this limb appeared to have been contracted, perhaps by other bones or fragments having fallen under it. The bones of the toes were in good preservation, more particularly those of the right foot, on two or three of which the nails were still visible. The rest of the bones, especially of the lower extremities, were nearly perfect. Some large pieces of mortar were found on and below the abdomen, and a vast quantity of the dry skin of maggots were dispersed over the body; these are supposed to have been produced by some part of it having gone into putrefaction previous to removal, or by the natural putrefaction of the leather part of the dress. The head was wrapt in a monk's cowl closely fitted to it, and had been buckled under the chin by straps, parts of which remained. The body was covered by a robe reaching from the neck nearly to the feet, some of its embroidery remaining near the right knee. It was apparently of crimson damask, and of strong texture; but its colour so totally

totally discharged by time that a dusky brown pervaded the whole. The cuff of the left arm, which had been laid on the breast, remained. In that hand was placed, as on the tomb, a sword in a leathern scabbard; parts of which, nearly decayed, were found at intervals down the left side of the body to the feet, as were also parts of the scabbard, but in a much more perfect state than the sword. On the legs was a sort of ornamented covering tied round at the ancles and extended over the feet, shewing the toes through the decayed parts. The string round the left ancle remained. The upper part of these coverings could not be traced, so as to ascertain whether they were whole or half-boots, or of what materials.

"The coffin is of the Higley stone of Worcestershire, white, and chiffer-levelled, totally different from that of the tomb or the effigy. A considerable fracture runs through it, obliquely, one foot six inches from the left shoulder to two feet nine inches from the right. It is laid on the pavement of the choir, without being let into it; its original covering, the stone out of which the figure is carved, now lying on the tomb, the shape of which is exactly correspondent with that of the stone coffin.

Measure of the coffin.

	feet.	inches.
Depth,		9
at the head,		6 $\frac{1}{2}$
outside,	1	
Thickness,	3	
Length within,	5	7
without,	6	1
Breadth at head,	2	3
feet,	1	
Length of the cover,	6	4
Breadth at head,	2	5
at feet,	1	2

That the coffin had been opened at some former time is inferred from the disposition of the head, the want of several bones, the mortar under the abdomen, the fracture of the coffin, and the modern construction of the tomb, by Alchurch, sacrist of the church just before the Reformation¹; "paired, indeed, but not matched with the antient²." Mr. Green further infers, that as the sites of the antient graves of bishop Oswald and Wolstan, were occupied by bishops Sylvester and William de Blois his successor, their remains having been taken out of their graves, and put into shrines³, and those of their successors found in their places⁴; so the king himself may have been removed from his situation in the Lady Chapel to his present tomb, to which Mr. Green at first inclined to suppose only his effigy had been transferred. The late dean had

¹ In presbiterio Johannes Rex, cujus sepulchrum Alchurch sacrista nuper reparavit. Leland. Itin. VIII. 113, a. Green, l. 70.

² Green's account of the discovery of king John's body, p. 7.

³ These shrines were taken down 1538, and their bones, with those of de Constantis, laid in lead, at the North East of the high altar, perhaps under a cross of painted tiles in the North aisle of the Lady Chapel. Green, l. 65.

⁴ Mr. Green has a piece of one of these vestments on which is embroidered a figure, inscribed, IREMI. Ib. l. 72. Compare this with bishop Heaton's robe at Ely, and the Scapula at Salisbury, in Antiq. Mus. N° XII.

proposed to examine it, but was prevented by death. The present therefore, availing himself of the repairs, intended to remove the tomb, and place it over the supposed grave of the king in the Lady chapel. It is plain Mr. Garbot knew nothing of the matter when he said, "the sepulchral *case* or stone-coffin within the tomb was adorned with lions; but no bones were found within it." He confounded the inner coffin with the outer tomb, which has three lions in quatrefoils on the sides¹.

The cathedral of Worcester affords various instances of the removal of monuments to make way for others: those of bishop Giffard and the countess of Surrey gave way to prince Arthur's: that of bishop de Constantiis had been previously removed by bishop Giffard, who was himself buried on the opposite side of the altar to that which by his will he desired, and where he had erected his monument, which the monks placed with his remains on the South side of the high altar, which probably replaced the tomb of de Constantiis².

The body of king John was deposited under his monument, with the novel circumstance of having a sword with scabbard deposited in his coffin, instead of the paraphernalia observed in that of Edward I. and preserved in that of Henry III. a difference perhaps to be accounted for by the different forms of their family; the body of John being lodged on high above-ground, like the royal bodies at Palermo, while those of his successors were concealed from sight.

However novel the circumstance of finding a sword in the coffin, it is not uncommon on the continent. When the tomb of the emperor Lotharius, who died 1137, was opened, 1618, he was found lying in it, holding in his right hand a sword, in his left a globe surmounted by a cross³ of lead gilt, a chalice and paten⁴.

In the same tomb was found the plate of lead before mentioned, p. cxxl. but given there differently from what Scheidius copied it from the original, in his "Origines Guelficæ, Hanov. 1751." II. p. 352. Pl. VIII. as follow:

LOTHARIUS DI' GRA
ROMANORV' IMPERA-
TOR AVGVSTVS.
REGNAVIT ANNOS
XII. MENSES. III. DI-
ES · XII · OBIT · AVTEM
II · NONAS · DEC · EM
BCIS · VIR INXPOFIDELIS
SIM' · VERAX · CONSTA'S · PA-
CIFICVS · MILES IMPTERRITIS.
REDIENS · AB · APVLIA · SAR-
RACENIS · OCCISIS · ET · E-
JECTIS.

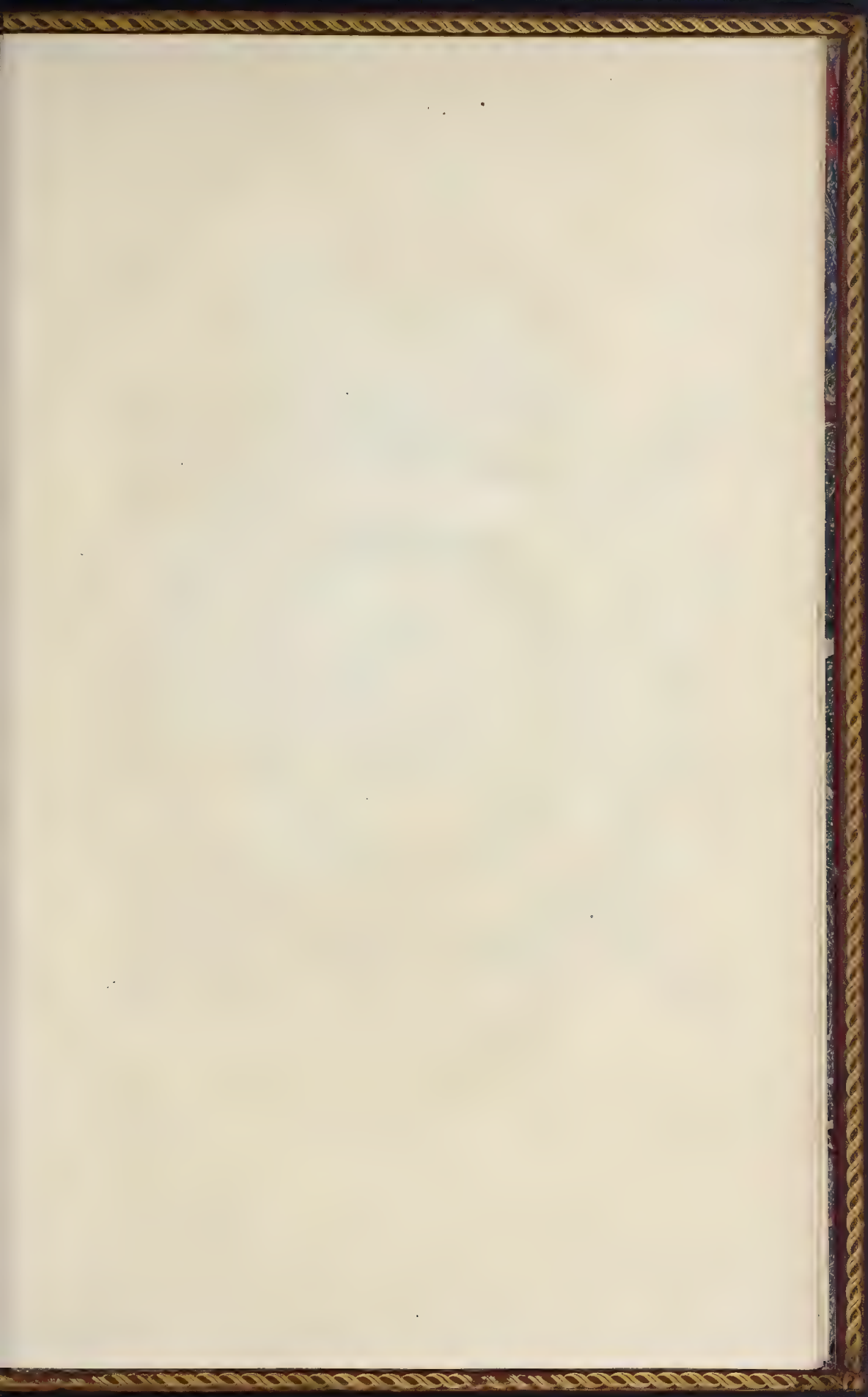
What authority there is for saying king John's name was within his crown on the monument I know not: it is not there now.

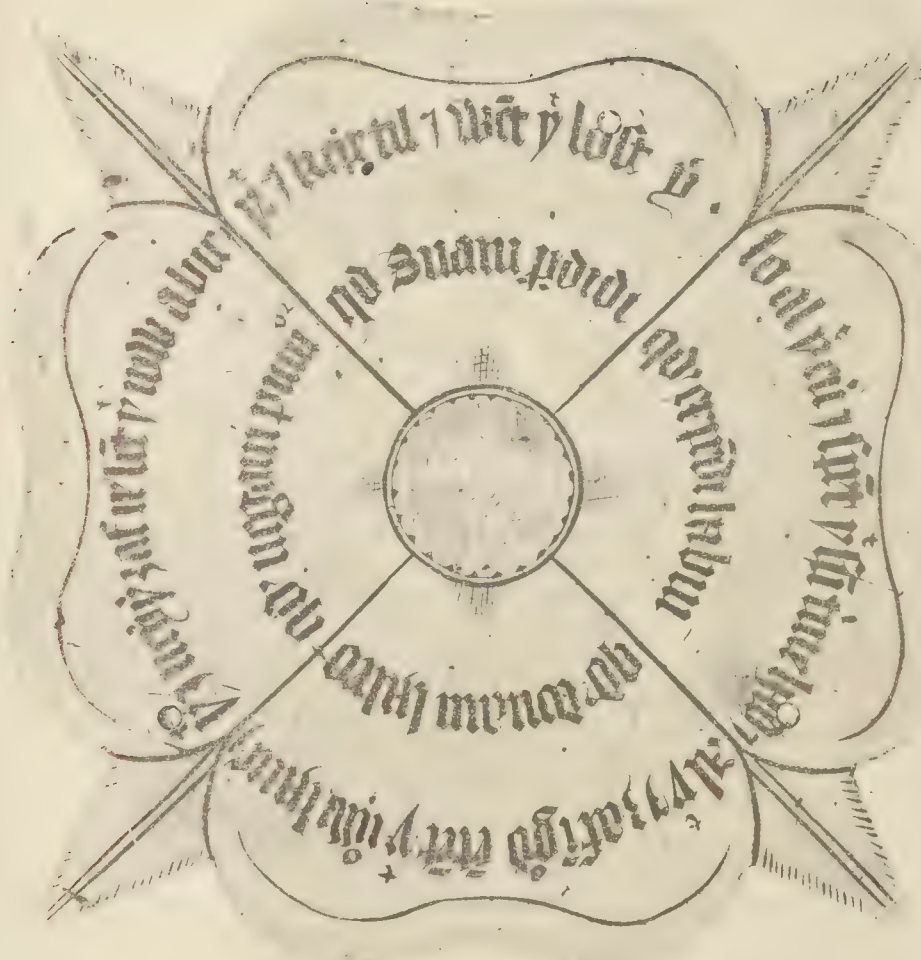
¹ Sepulchral Monuments, I. p. 37.

² Green's Worcester, I. p. 65, 66.

³ Pomum imperiale cruciferum.

⁴ The paten resembling one of those in Drake's Eboracum, having a hand reaching down to the cross, was thus curiously described by Rehtmeyer: "There was in the left hand of the deceased a gilded box, in which the consecrated hosts were formerly kept, and in it lay the fingers of the right hand;" *extitisse in manu defuncti sinistra scutulam deauratam in qua hostie consecrata olim asservata et in hac repositos fuisse digitos manus dextre.* Scatula, pyxis, botte. Du Cange.





1871 Regal 1 Wt y lot 6.

no suam pidi

no de pidi

no de pidi

no de pidi

no de pidi

The monument of Orgar and Benedict, two distinguished commanders who afterwards turned monks in the monastery of Tegmel, which the former had founded, has their figures in the habit of religious, under a round arch of five mouldings, the innermost charged with seven angels, each carrying a soul in his lap; and the next but one has in the centre the Deity surrounded by four angels sounding trumpets, and two holding a sword and a spear, and under the four first bodies rising from their coffins and lifting up the lids. Against the pillars stand six statues of the two persons and their family. An engraving of this monument makes Pl. II. Vol. I. of Schedius' "*Origines Guelficæ*," p. 52.

In the late repair of St. Peter's church at St. Alban's, on taking up the pavement it was discovered, that at the back of the slab of Roger Pemberton, Esq. high sheriff of the county, who died 1627, was another inscription, as I was informed by Mr. Nichols the clerk; but, the brass plate being refixed in the pavement of the South aisle it cannot be read. The coat on Pemberton's side differs from that given by Salmon, being three bars, or barry of six. The figures are a man in amour, and his wife, with an inscription at their feet; a son under him, and a daughter under her.

In the South transept of this church two brasses figures in shrouds and labels; a groupe of children with a label; arms, Barry of six, in chief a greyhound courant.

In the chancel brass figures of a man in his hair, bag sleeves, mittens, pointed half-boots; his wife in the vail headress, mantle, and long sleeves. Under them,

*Hic jacent Johes Atkyn Glover qui obiit x^{to}
die Decembre Anno dⁿⁱ millimo CCCCXLII.
Et d^{na} Johanna ux.*

Quor' atads broken off, and the shield with a pair of gloves lost since Salmon's time, p. 89, where it is not very correctly given, nor at all in Chauncy, p. 473.

A large priest with the maniple and amice, had under him inscribed the rose given Pl. XXIX. p. cclvi. but here more correctly from the original brass.

Ecce

*Io al ' yt eu ' I sp't yt su'time ' had I
al yt I gaf i ' ' g'd e'te't yt n'w have ' I.
yt I ney'd'gaf ' ne' ' l'et yt now avie ' I.
yt I kepe til I we't yt lost y.
qd' erpe'di habui
qd' donabi habeo
qd' negabi puni'
qd' f'vabi p'didi.*

There is the mark of a similar rose on a slab in the North aisle of the abbey church, and another on a stone in Croyland church. A slab in Edlesborough church, Bucks, has a similar one⁹; and Weever¹⁰ describes one which he calls "*a trewe love's knot*," at Prittlewell, Essex.

¹ all. ² conventum. Salmon, ³ gave to good intent. S. ⁴ have. S. hau. C. ⁵ That which I. C.
⁶ gave. S. gau. C. ⁷ noc. S. ⁸ atq. S. C. ⁹ punior, Chauncy, p. 474. Sontym, C.
¹⁰ See before, p. ccvii. ¹¹ P. 607. See before, p. ccxcii.

By him a lesser priest, in the same habit, holding between his hands the chalice.

In the North transept lies a stone, discovered on the outside of the North West corner, during the late repairs :

Under this stone where now your eye you fix

Anne Anis lies, who died in 66.

April 19. æt. 9.

Peste correpta.

John Annis after her his exit made,

In 82, and here is with her layd,

Aged 8 years.

Against the West wall of this transept a tablet for Thomas Annis, arm. 1726. 74.

In the North aisle, under a brass figure of a man in a coat and cropt hair :

Will'm Victor and his wyfe Grace § under this stone

lie buried there.

In heven good lord graunt him a place §

As thu bought them with his blode ful deere.

Whiche Will'm as here it doth appere §

The xxth day of marche past this pres^{nt} tye

¶ CCCC LXXth & VIth yer of K^{ing} Ft. whos grace be their preservatyfe.

The creed inscribed on a heart and scrolls, with the text in Job, issuing from it, occurs in a brass in the middle aisle of St. John's church, Margate¹³.

Mr. Carter has some of the bones of the feet, and a piece of the black robe found in abbot Eastney's tomb at Westminster abbey, given him by the clerk of the works, who assisted at opening it.

Oct. 2, 1797, I had an opportunity of opening the tomb of abbot Whet- hamsted at St. Alban's. After removing the brasilefs slab, which a former removal had broken into several pieces, which had been joined together with blue clay, the workmen came to a layer of rubbish, or the mortar in which the slab had been bedded. Under this was the crown of an arch of rubble work and flints, which being carefully pierced, and a hole made in it capable of letting a man down, the labourers descended into a vault which had first been explored by a candle, and found to contain only rubbish and mortar. Mr. Carter descended three several times, and last of all myself. It was workt up clean at the sides, and ends ; but had been pierced at the West end, and the opening closed : through which it was not to be doubted whatever then remained of the abbot's body or coffin had been carried off. The dimensions of the vault were nine feet by three feet seven inches, and the original entrance into it was an

¹ Salmon, p. 90. *Wilton, wyffe Grafe*. Chauncey, p. 473. *Wittor*.

² undyr. C.

³ flon ben. C.

⁴ buryed. C.

⁵ heyn. C.

⁶ grant them playe. C.

⁷ Thou, S. Thow, them, boght. C.

⁸ thy blood so der. C.

⁹ her, hir. C.

¹⁰ ninth. C.

¹¹ present. C.

¹² One Thousand four hundred, S. without the decimals, which Chauncey adds in letters ; besides other variations in the spelling. Salmon copies implicitly from Weever, p. 580.

¹³ Lewis's Hist. of Thanet, 2d ed. Appendix, p. 82.

oblique passage under the steps of the West door which led into the chapel above from the South aisle of the choir. The opposite vault of abbot Ramridge had been occupied by one of the Harringtons, recorder of St. Alban's, whose arms and crest are painted with texts of scripture on the lower wall of the chapel; and in the vault are now three decayed coffins covered with black cloth, and in one of them a skull and bones.

Before we determined to pierce the crown of the vault, we searched if there might be a descent from the choir by steps to a door, as to duke Humphrey's vault, but in vain; and the reason is obvious; for, when Whethamstead made the vault for his worthy friend and patron, he considered that others of his family might be laid in it, which could not apply to his own tomb.

I am favoured with the following account of discoveries in and near Winchester, by Edmund Cartwright, jun. esq. of the York militia.

"During my stay at Winchester I opened three barrows: two of them were between Winchester and Sutton, and within a mile of the latter place. They were in a field which had been lately inclosed and ploughed; in consequence of which they were rather flattened, but had not the appearance of being opened before. We found in each, about two feet from the surface, about two bushels of rich garden mould, which was perfectly unlike the ground of which they were composed. The other was on the South side of Cranbourne wood; and, from its dimensions, which were at the base about thirty yards in diameter, and upwards of twenty feet high, I had hoped for more success. We cut a trench through the top of it, and about five feet from the surface in the centre was a quantity of ashes mixed with charcoal. We did not find any bones or articles of dress or war. Having cut through the ashes, which were about a foot in depth, we dug in the barrow near seven feet, but without finding any thing. What we had already done, as the barrow was composed of stiff clay, was done with great labour; and, as four men had been employed on it for two days with so little success, I was completely disheartened, and desisted from any farther search. Had I staid longer in that city I had designed to have opened many more in the neighbourhood of Winchester and Stockbridge.

I will take the liberty to give you a minute detail of a transaction which was undertaken by my request, and executed under my inspection. My friend the dean of Winchester gave permission to two other gentlemen of this regiment with myself to open any tombs in the cathedral, provided it was done with privacy and decency, and under the direction of the master-mason of the chapter. We proceeded to open the tombs which are ascribed to St. *Swithun*, king *Lucius*, and bishop *Fox*; and to open the boxes which are said to contain the bones of Saxon kings.

In the central line of the cathedral, behind the choir; and about ten feet East of the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or *Holy Hole*, where the Saxon kings were formerly buried, a large blue stone, twelve feet by five, is inserted in the pavement.

pavement. This stone has been ornamented with the effigy of a bishop in brass plates, which is said to have been torn from it by Cromwell's soldiers; and the tradition of the church is, that bishop Fox, when he ornamented and repaired this part of the cathedral, about the year 1525, removed the body of St. Swithin (to whom it was dedicated) from the place where it had been formerly buried, to a tomb which he prepared for its reception in this spot. We ascertained, both by sound and measurement in the crypt below, that a solid masonry, the size of the slab, was carried down through the crypt to the surface of the ground itself.

Under this slab (which was calculated to weigh three tons and an half), there appeared an oblong tomb, or opening, seven feet long, and two feet five inches wide, formed of slabs of a fine white stone (similar to that used in bishop Fox's chapel), neatly finished, pointed with care and art, and as clean and dry as if it had been finished on that day. The rubbish, which consisted of pulverized stone and decayed mortar, with which it had probably been filled up to the level of the under part of the great slab, was rather sunk towards the centre, apparently on account of its having, as we afterwards discovered, broke into the coffin itself.

After removing two feet and an half of this rubbish, the flat lid of an oak chest, or coffin, appeared; and several large iron nails, much decayed by rust, came out at the touch. The wood was moist, and in a decayed state, soft, spongy, light, and easily broken, but still retaining to the eye its fibres and texture. The form of this coffin, or rather chest, which was an oblong square, six feet and an half long, one foot ten inches broad, and not quite one foot in depth, was still preserved, but in some places, as has been related, it was broken into by the weight of the rubbish, which in consequence was found mixed with the bones. The bones lay in an undisturbed situation; the jaw and every rib and joint in its place: the skull, thigh, leg, and arm bones were still solid; but the smaller bones and vertebræ of the back were soft and spongy. Many of the teeth were entire, but much worn, others from the closure of the jaw-bone appeared to have been lost during life. The hands were crossed a little below the breast. No lead or inscription, coin, chalice, or ring, was found.

On the skull, which was smaller than the common size of human skulls, was an impression of linen or fine stuff, apparently white. A black serge, probably a monk's cowl, seems to have covered the whole body, and, upon the decay of the flesh, to have adhered to the bones: towards the feet it appeared in folds. The legs were inclosed in leathern boots, or gaiters, sewed with neatness; the thread was still to be seen. The leather retained some consistency, and was very damp; but, like all the rest of the remains, without any smell. The soles were small and found, rather worn; of what would be called an elegant shape at present, pointed at the toe, and very narrow under the middle of the foot, and were made and fitted to each foot. I have sent the pattern of one of the soles, drawn by tracing it with a pencil from the original itself, which I have in my possession. See p. cccxxxix.

From

[cccxxxix]



From these circumstances you will be enabled to judge whether any credit should be given to the tradition which ascribes this tomb to St. Swithin. Should it be objected, that the plain oak chest in which the body was found does not accord with the *feretrum preciosum*, in which his *reliquiæ* were placed by king Edgar; in support of the tradition, it may be said, that the stone and slab have an appearance much anterior to the coffin, which, as it was decayed, not by the dry rot, but by downright age, must, I think, be of very remote antiquity. It is not improbable that bishop Fox deposited here the remains of

the patron saint and first bishop, as he found him after the demolition of his shrine, as we are told St. Cuthbert was deposited under his altar, after the demolition of his shrine.

After this search, the remains were collected, and carefully placed at the bottom of the vault in a box, with a short narrative of the proceedings inclosed in a glass bottle: the rubbish was thrown in, and the slab replaced as before.

We found that the square stone coffin-shaped tomb, said to be of king *Lucius*, had been opened before. The skull and some bones were placed together in the center, and with them torn pieces of silk and gold lace. There seemed no ground whatever to support the tradition of its belonging to king *Lucius*.

The stone which is said to cover the remains of bishop *Fox* has been inlaid with the effigy of a bishop, in brass. On removing it, we were much disappointed in not finding any thing. Nor is it easy to say why this spot should be assigned for the sepulchre of bishop *Fox* instead of his beautiful chapel.

The boxes which are said to contain the bones of Saxon kings and bishops are six in number.

The first on the North side, beginning at the East end, is inscribed *KINIGILS* and *ADULPHUS*. It contains two skulls and two complete sets of thigh and leg bones, so that these may be of the persons named.

The second, inscribed *EGBERT* and *KENWOLPH*, contains three skulls; one of which was very small. Also two pair of thigh and leg bones.

The third box, inscribed a promiscuous collection, has no skulls, but other bones.

The fourth box, being opposite to the last, inscribed a promiscuous collection, has no skulls. [These two boxes are mentioned to contain the bones of *CANUTE*, *WILLIAM RUFUS*, queen *EMMA*, bishops *WINA*, *ALWYN*, and *STIGAND*.]

The fifth box, inscribed *EDMUND* only, contains five skulls, with many other bones.

The sixth box is inscribed *EDRED*, containing many thigh bones, and two skulls.

You will observe that the skulls, which have probably been changed from one box to another, are twelve in number; and, as well as I could judge, there were other bones to correspond with them; which number exactly agrees with the names inscribed on the boxes.

In box (No. 2.) was a remarkably small skull; and in No. 3. was a set of bones which had the appearance of belonging to a female. These probably belonged to queen *Emma*.

In No. 2. there was a hip bone, which appeared to have belonged to a lame or deformed person.

In No. 5. was a skull, which, from the appearance of the sutures, was stated by a medical person present to have belonged to an extreme old man.

I have the dimensions of most of the bones; but there was nothing remarkable in any of them but what I have already stated^{*}.

^{*} See in Mr. Milner's History of Winchester, II. p. 49, 50. an account of these discoveries, by Henry Howard, esq. another officer of the same militia.

For a conclusion, take the following explanation of the annexed Vignette. In the history of the Franciscans at Leicester¹, is a good representation of a monkish funeral, the body conveyed in the same kind of wooden chest as is still preserved, with its bier, in the abbey-church of St. Alban's.

"Processio quedam funebris antiqua, quâ cadaver vespillonibus tedas ferentibus precessum est, et Fratribus Mendicantibus asportatum, sequente magnâ colachrymantium turbâ.

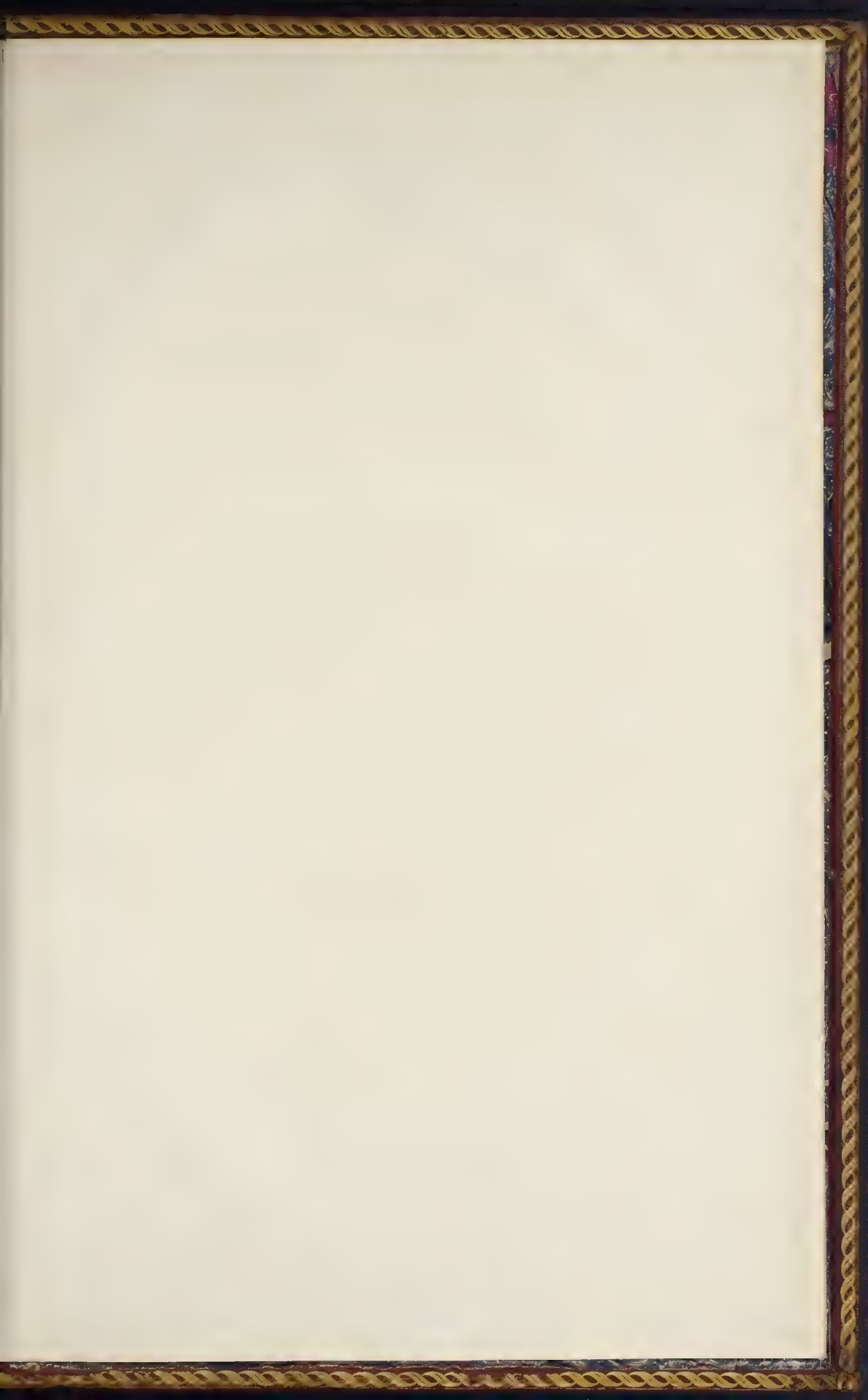
1. Vespillones atratis vestibus cereos magnos cadaveri preferentes.
2. Frater niger, sive predicator, ordinis Sancti Dominici.
3. Frater leucopheatus, sive minor, ordinis Sancti Francisci.
4. Frater albus, sive Carmeliticus, ordinis beate Marie de Monte Carmeli.
5. Frater Eremiticus, ordinis Sancti Augustini.
6. Confanguinei, affines, proximi, pauperes, populi que plurimi alii subse-quentes, condolentesque.

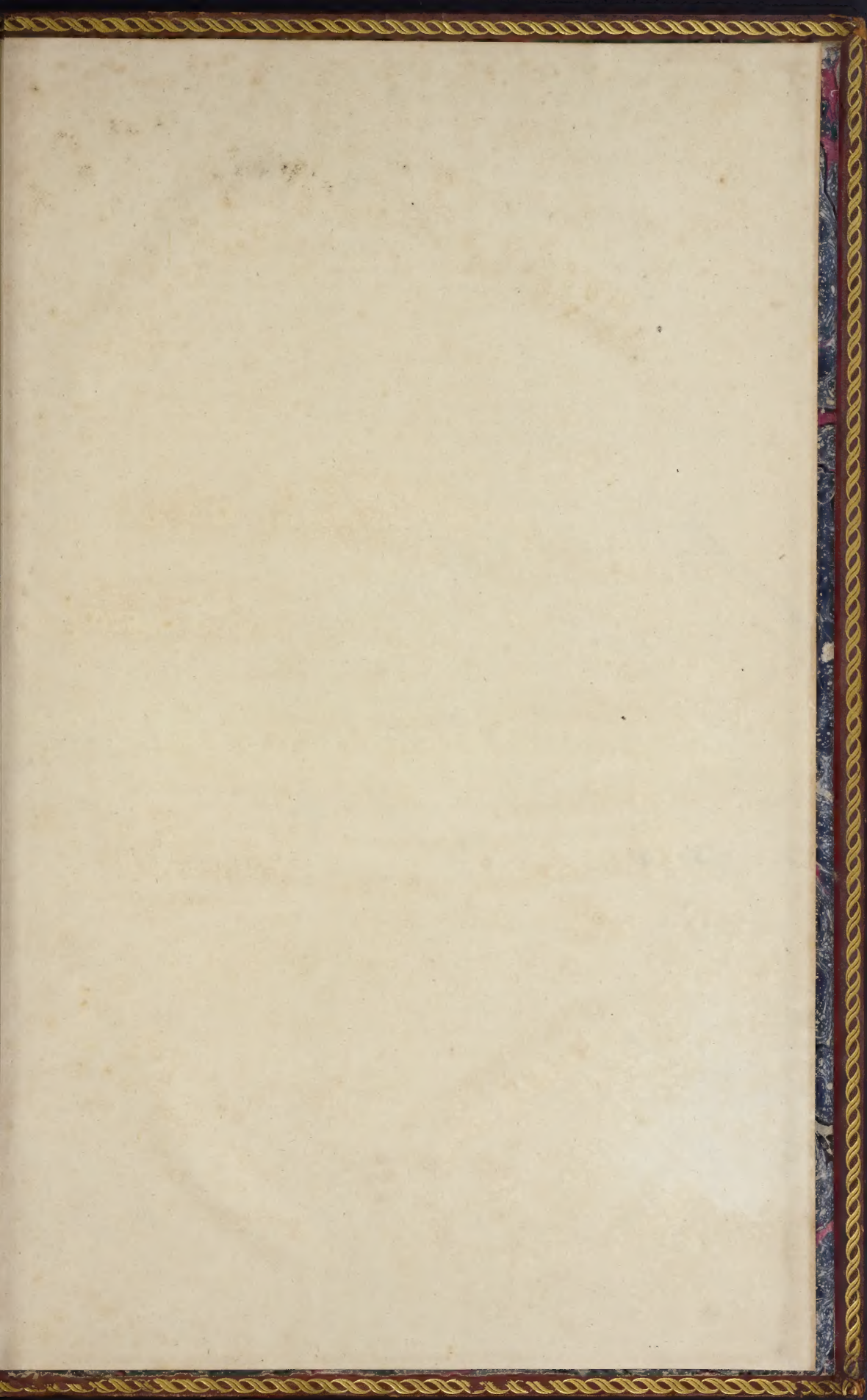
"Notandum est, quòd cum unicuique domui mendicantium aliquam eleemosinam dono dederit vir mortuus, tum cadaver ejus veste fratris mendicantis indutum est; idemque uniuscujusque ordinis frater unus linteolis ad ecclesiam sepulchrum versùs asportat, et in hunc modum eorum omnium confratri agnoscitur mortuus, et bonorum operum cujuscunque ordinis mendicantium (uti asseritur) fit particeps. Nec mirum igitur, quòd super tumulos suos, et monumenta sepulchralia, laicorum etiam mortuorum effigies, vestibus religiosi à sculptoribus indutæ, non rarò videntur expressæ²."

¹ Nichols's History of Leicesterhire, vol. I. p. 299.

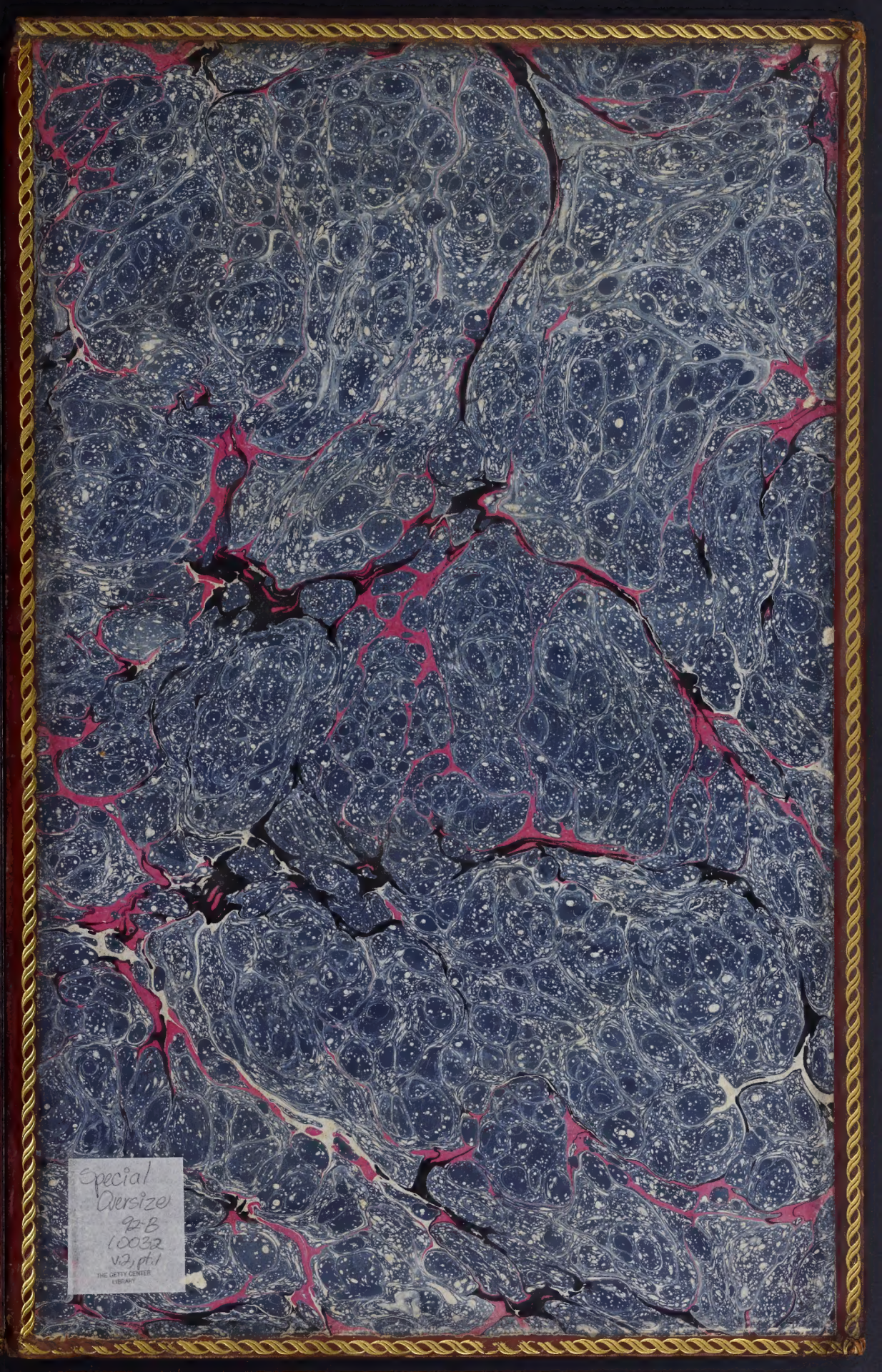
² Harl. MSS. 4938. p. 11; ex Inq. ad quod dampn. 13 Edw. I. 1255. N^o 55. Leicest.









The image shows the front cover of a book. The cover is decorated with a complex marbled paper pattern. The primary colors are a deep navy blue and a vibrant magenta or fuchsia. These colors are interwoven with thin, swirling veins of cream or off-white. The overall effect is a dense, organic, and somewhat chaotic pattern, characteristic of traditional hand-marbled paper. Surrounding the marbled area is a wide, decorative border. This border is made of a gold-colored material, possibly leather or a high-quality gold leaf, and features a repeating, interlocking chain-link or rope-like motif. The border is slightly raised, giving it a three-dimensional appearance. In the bottom-left corner, there is a small, rectangular, light-colored paper label. It contains handwritten text in dark ink, which appears to be a library or archival identification. The text is written in a cursive, slightly slanted hand. The label is partially overlapping the marbled paper and the gold border.

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